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Apropos of a Recent Study in Old Assyrian Chronology

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The interesting reports of Tahsin and Ninet Özgüç on the outstanding results of their excavations at Kaniš/Kültepe are now being supplemented by communications in which Dr. Kemal Balkan, the able epigraphist cooperating with Professor Özgüç and his associates, attempts to combine the publication of specimens of, or quotations from, the thousands of Kültepe texts found in situ with the discussion of important historical questions confronting the discoverers of the new source material. As indicated by its title "Observations on the Chronological Problems of the Kārūm Kaniš" (¹), the first of these special studies, to which I referred already elsewhere (²), is concerned with certain pieces of information relating to the date of the "Cappadocian" tablets.

The evidence to be examined in such studies is by now not only more ample but also by far more complex than twenty or thirty years ago when the few data then available — above all, the mention in the tablets of one or two Assyrian kings and some fifty names of eponyms (³) — left little doubt that the texts obtained first by clandestine diggings and subsequently by Hrozny's excavations were to be attributed to a single period extending over two or perhaps three generations and likely to have included the reign of Šarrum-kēn I

(¹) Ankara 1955. That the Turkish Historical Society made it possible to publish this booklet not only in Turkish (pp. 1-40) but also in an unabridged English version (pp. 41-77) with an appendix (pp. 78-101) consisting mainly in compilations of "Baba names", in a few instances not known previously, will be appreciated by Assyriologists and historians.

(²) See *Hebrew Union College Annual* XXVII (1956), p. 27. *Ibidem*, pp. 27 ff. with notes 111 ff. and p. 78, note 332, I stated my reasons for rejecting as unfounded and untenable Balkan's approach to, and evaluation of, the Old Assyrian seal legends mentioning *Šarrum-kēn* PA.TB.SI *ŠA šar* and *Šulālu* PA.TB.SI *A-šulki*, respectively.

(³) Cf. Götze, *Elmiasien* (1933), p. 66 with note 3.

of Assyria. For, thanks to the resumption by Özgüç of the excavations started by Hrozny, the area identified by the latter as both the *kārum Kanis* and the place of origin of virtually all Kültepe tablets previously known has now turned out to consist of several strata two of which, now designated as levels 1 b and 2, furnish Old Assyrian tablets. Moreover, the Turkish savants not only convinced themselves that the accumulation of debris of 1 to 1.50 meters which separates these levels represents a period during which the *kārum Kanis* was not inhabited⁽¹⁾, but they even came to the conclusion that the "late tablets" of level 1 b reflect a period without the "previous vigorous trade relations between Anatolia and Assur", a period characterized by the absence of "evidence that tin⁽²⁾ and valuable garments continued to be imported from Assur". Balkan considered it therefore an urgent task to determine whether the two eponyms mentioned in the few "late tablets" so far discovered⁽³⁾ can be dated to a ruler later than Šarrum-kēn or his son Puzur-Aššur who, as will be recalled, figures as (crown-)prince (*mēr ra ba im*) in a tablet published in 1935 by Gelb⁽⁴⁾.

Since, with two exceptions⁽⁵⁾, all Old Assyrian eponyms at present known to have held office after Puzur-Aššur's reign belong to the time of Šamši-Adad's rule over Mari, Balkan was actually confronted with the question whether perhaps the one or the other of this comparatively small group of *limē* can reasonably be identified with one of the two eponyms figuring in 1 b texts from Kültepe. As this is impossible because neither of the two recurs in the lists of *limē* from the time of Šamši-Adad I and his son Iasmah-Adad which

⁽¹⁾ Cf. Balkan, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁽²⁾ *Annakum*. Whereas I continue to identify this metal with *plumbum nigrum*, Balkan relies on his teachers, Landsberger and Güterbock (*Orientalia* 12 [1943], p. 119), and translates the term by "tin". This rendering is, in my opinion, all the less indicated since the excavations at Kanis continue to yield leaden figurines and utensils but no implements made of tin or containing considerable amounts of tin. See also *Orientalia* 21 (1952), p. 422, note 1.

⁽³⁾ The names and patronymics of these two officials are found toward the end (p. 100) of the afore-mentioned appendix of Balkan's booklet.

⁽⁴⁾ For a detailed discussion of this text and its implications see *HUCA* XXVII (1956), pp. 31 ff.

⁽⁵⁾ These are the eponyms Ibni-Adad and Atamar-Ištar who figure in col. I, 39 ll. of the king list from Khorsabad, as supplemented by the "SDAS King List".

Gadd [7] and Dossin [8] compiled from the texts unearthed at Çagar Pazar and Mari, Balkan had the idea of enlarging the number of eponyms found in the "late tablets" from Kültepe: He assigned the document *Jena 444* — *EL 276*, which is dated *warah Sinu hi-mu-am A-wi-li-a*, to level 1 b [9] and synchronized the 1 b tablets with the Old Assyrian texts from Alişar which their editor, Ignace J. Gelb, regarded "only a generation later" than the Kültepe texts available at the time of his writing. In Balkan's opinion, the synchronization is possible because the Alişar tablet No. 15, which belongs to the correspondence of a certain Nabi-linil [4], makes use of the expression *nemalum ana halisa zudrum* which recurs in one of the few discovered 1 b tablets from Kültepe [5]; as another indication of the contemporaneity of these texts and the Alişar tablets he mentions repeatedly the "beginning of the omission of the rigid imitation rules of the Old Assyrian dialect" (p. 42), on which already Gelb [6] had relied when estimating that the Alişar texts were written not later than about fifty years after the accession of Šarrum-kên I of Aššur. After thus broadening the basis of his investigation, Balkan felt free to attribute great significance to the fact that not only the

[7] *Iraq* VII (1940), p. 23.

[8] See *Studia Mariana* (Leiden 1950), pp. 53 f.

[9] In Balkan's opinion this is justified because a feature distinguishing *EL 276* from a large number of tablets unquestionably coming from level 2, namely the substitution of *warah Sinu* for the usual *warah hi-mu-am* which I noted in *KI Banckerts*, p. 21 and in *Archiv Orientalní* XI (1939), p. 36 with note 4, recurs so far only in a document recently found in level 1 b. According to Balkan's statements on pp. 44 and 100, this latter document furnishes the name of one of the two "late" eponyms.

[5] Cf. J. Lewy, *HUCA* XXVII (1956), p. 62, note 261.

[6] Since, contrary to a view advanced many years ago by Landsberger, the term *nemalum* "profit" is frequently found in Kültepe texts which can safely be attributed to level 2 (for some of the pertinent passages see *KT* II, p. 107, note), and since the common Akkadian expression *ana halisa zudrum* occurs likewise in such texts (see, e.g., *RLN* VI 79, x + 12 l.), this observation of Balkan is, of course, without significance. Moreover, his bold assertion (p. 66) that, in distinction from its significance in contracts from level 2, *nemalum* denotes in the "late tablets" the "share of the agents in individual deals" is not only contrary to the facts (see for the present H. Lewy, *JAS* 67 [1947], p. 308, note 15) but anticipates the correctness of his dating of *Alişar* No. 15. But his dating of this text is untenable; see below, pp. 17 f.

[4] *Inscriptions from Alişar and Vicinity* (Chicago 1935), pp. 8 l.

rare name *A-wi-lî-a* but also one of the names appearing in Gelb's enumeration of "Alīṣar eponyms" ⁽¹⁾, viz. the frequent name *Adad-bāni* ⁽²⁾, recurs among the names listed by Gadd and Dossin as names of eponyms of the time of Šamši Adad I and his son Iasmah Adad whose administration of Mari and its dependencies continued for a few years after his father's reign had ended in 1786 B.C. ⁽³⁾ Being therefore convinced that the eponyms figuring in *EL* 276 and *Alīṣar* No. 29 are also known from the Mari texts, he assigns both the Kül-tepe tablets from level 1 b and the Alīṣar texts dealing with Assyrians to the reign of Šamši Adad.

The inherent weaknesses of Balkan's reasoning can easily be discerned. As for the "loosening of the nimation rules", he himself eventually admitted its insignificance in noting in pp. 44 f. that three texts naming the "native" ruler Anitta, whom he dates "after level 2", write twice *ra-ba-im* ⁽⁴⁾ and once *ra-ba-a* ⁽⁵⁾. To see in the occurrence in *EL* 276 of the month name *Šin* a sufficient reason for assigning the eponym Awilīa to the time of Šamši-Adad and to speak in this connection of a "change in the Old Assyrian calendar" which "must have taken place during the 1 b period" is not permis-

⁽¹⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 8; cf. Balkan's repetition of this list at the end of his booklet.

⁽²⁾ This eponym appears in *Alīṣar* No. 29, a fragment which, in distinction from the afore-mentioned text No. 15, comes from the archive of a certain *Idi Kaban mēr Uṣur-ša-Aššur*; cf. *HUCA* XXVI (1956), p. 62, note 261, on the one hand, and *ibidem*, p. 61, note 257; p. 71, note 304, on the other.

⁽³⁾ Thus if we follow Hildegard Lewy, *Mélanges Isidore Lévý* (Bruxelles 1955), pp. 241 ff., who purposely used no disputed or disputable astronomical data as basis for her chronology. When adopting Sidney Smith's chronology which makes partial use of the "Venus Tablets", one is entitled to date Šamši Adad's death to 1791 B. C. Balkan, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 ff. uncritically prefers a higher chronology (designated by him as "the chronology of Landsberger"), according to which Šamši Adad would have ruled over Assyria from 1852 to 1819 B.C.

⁽⁴⁾ This form occurs not only in the Alīṣar text No. 49, but also in the legend É.GAL *A-wi-lî-ra-ba-im* of a bronze dagger recently found in the remnants of a larger building on the "Hüyük" next to the *kārum Kanīš*; see Balkan, p. 78 and fig. 12 and cf. Tahsin Özgüç, *Belleten* No. 77 (January 1956), pp. 33 ff.

⁽⁵⁾ The form *ra-ba-a* is found in the Alīṣar fragment No. 1; cf. *RHA* III (1934-36), p. 6 with note 27, where I warned against relying on the omission of the nimation when determining the date of the Alīṣar tablets in general and the "Anitta documents" in particular.

sible because far-reaching chronological conclusions cannot be based on the appearance, within the same series of month names, of two designations of one and the same month; had Balkan recalled, for instance, the fact, evidenced by the variant writings of the personal name **Ka-nu-a-a*, that, in the Neo-Assyrian period, people designated the month of *Tebētu* as *Kanānu* ⁽¹⁾, he probably would not have committed this methodological error. Furthermore, an examination of the archives of which *Ališar* No. 29 is a part ⁽²⁾ shows that neither the language nor the contents of these "Idi-Kubum tablets" differ to any significant extent from the Kültepe tablets from level 2 ⁽³⁾. Consequently, even he who, as Balkan erroneously does (see above, p. 14 with note 5 and below, pp. 17 f.), synchronizes the Kültepe tablets from level 1 b with the Nabi Enlil archive to which *Ališar* No. 15 belongs cannot a priori identify the *Amum* Adad bāni of the *Ališar* text No. 29 with the namesake known from the Mari and Çagar Pazar tablets; for he must first prove that the Nabi Enlil and Idi-Kubum archives from *Ališar* are strictly contemporary sources.

The unwarranted haste with which Balkan arrives at his conclusion leaps to the eye when it is recalled that, much as an *I-ku-pi-ia* appears in Dossin's afore mentioned list, Gelb's enumeration of the five eponyms met with in the *Ališar* tablets includes an *I-ku-pi-a* *mēr Šul-šim-A-šar*. When trying to find out why this fact was not adduced by Balkan as an argument supporting his dating of the groups of texts which he synchronizes, one comes across the startling assertion: "The *Ališar* tablets yield five *šumu*-names, none of which, except for Adad-bāni, have been found elsewhere" (p. 47). ⁽⁴⁾ This

⁽¹⁾ Similarly, the series of month names used in the Çagar Pazar tablets and that found in the strictly contemporaneous correspondence of Šamši-Adad I with his sons differ in regard to one name: for *warab na-ab-ri-i* of the former texts Šamši-Adad I substitutes in his letters *warab Du-gan*. Obviously, this fact is to be attributed not to a "change of calendar" during Šamši-Adad's reign but to the royal family's special devotion to the god Dugan which is evidenced, inter alia, by the name of Šamši-Adad's successor on the Assyrian throne.

⁽²⁾ See above, p. 15, note 2.

⁽³⁾ For details see below, pp. 20 f.

⁽⁴⁾ Balkan's failure to apply to Ikuppia the same standard as to Awilā and Adad bāni is all the more surprising since he took pains to deal in a footnote (p. 68, note 17) with the minor question — certainly not bearing upon the subject of his study — whether or not the *I-ku-pi-ia* and the *I-ku-un-pi-a* ⁽⁵⁾ found in Dossin's list were one and the same person.

is, however, but one of many inconsistencies and contradictions which necessarily arouse scepticism as to the results of Balkan's investigations: As was mentioned above, he sees in the occurrence in the letter *Ališar* No. 15 of the expression *nēmalam ana šinīšu zuāzum* a reason for synchronizing the *Ališar* documents with the Kültepe texts from level 1 b. That letter is addressed to a certain *Da-a-a* with whom its writer, *Nabi-Enlil*, had previously discussed business matters in *Ḫattuš;Boğazköy* (?). As I did in note 261 of the article just quoted, Balkan proposes to identify this business associate of *Nabi-Enlil* with the *Da a a* to whom the letter *Bo 289:h* (unearthed in 1938 at *Boğazköy* (?)) is addressed and who also figures in *VAT 7676 = EL 34* as well as in the tablets 2017/1 and 2018/1 found at *Boğazköy* in 1953 and in part communicated by Otten (?). Balkan, to whom we are grateful for having availed himself of the opportunity to communicate *Bo 289:h* in toto, correctly adds on p. 48 the observation that "there is not the slightest grammatical difference" between these tablets from *Boğazköy* and "those of Kültepe level 2". (?) But did he not say in an earlier chapter of his booklet (pp. 42 f.) that the afore-quoted letter written by *Da'a's* correspondent *Nabi-Enlil* points to contemporaneity of the 1 b tablets from Kültepe and the *Ališar* texts? In other words, Balkan did not realize which grave mistake he committed in basing on the same *Da'a's* correspondence two conflicting hypotheses: on the one hand, his conclusion that the Old Assyrian tablets from *Ḫattuš* belong "in the interval between level 2 and 1 b of Kültepe" (p. 51) (?) and, on the other hand, the contention

(?) See *HUCA* XXVII (1956), p. 62, note 261; the pertinent passage was also quoted by Otten, *MDOG* 87 (1955), p. 24.

(?) As for photographs of its obverse which were published soon after its discovery, see likewise *HUCA* XXVII, p. 62, note 261.

(?) *Loc. cit.*, p. 24.

(?) Thus on p. 48: see also p. 49, where he emphasizes once more that *Bo 289:h* is "indistinguishable from the tablets with the same contents from level 2 of Kültepe."

(?) It might be well to note at this point that, as mentioned as early as 1950 in *Orientalia* 19, p. 32, note 3, one of the texts from *Boğazköy* repeatedly cited by Balkan, viz. *VAT 6130*, includes the following statement of *Da'a*: ¹¹ *ma-nā-am* ¹² *siqlim* [*kaš-pum i-na Ka ni-is* ¹³ *a-na* *na-na-e ma dā-gū-ut-ma* ¹⁴ *is-lū tāb-ur* *na-na-e ū-šē gi a-ha*]. Is it Balkan's intention to make us believe that, at a time when the *kārum* lay in ruins and was not inhabited, *Da'a* was in *Kaniš* and redeemed there the Assyrian *Siqlim* [...] (thus according to ll. 2 ff.; cf. *HUCA* XXVII [1956], pp. 15 f., note 65) ??? (In the letter *VAT 13533* which may or

that "the texts from Alişar and Kültepe 1 b. . . . possess the same characteristics" (p. 43).

After uncovering some of the inherent weaknesses and contradictions of Balkan's attempts to determine the relative chronology of the Old Assyrian documents from Boğazköy, we are ready to submit the evidence in the light of which these texts can and must be synchronized with the Kültepe tablets from level 2: According to *Bo* 289:h (1), Da'a was a contemporary of a certain Zi-hi (2) who resided, or stayed at least temporarily, at Boğazköy. The extremely rare name Zi-hi recurs in *EL* 232, where its bearer appears in the company of a Nūr-Ištar. Since Nūr-Ištar is likewise a name not often found in Old Assyrian documents, and since, according to *ICK* 162 (3), a Nūr-Ištar carried lead and bales of cloth to Hattum/Boğazköy (4), it is obvious that *EL* 232 and *Bo* 289:h concern the same Zi-hi. Additional information about Nūr-Ištar and his trip or trips to Hattum comes from *L* 29-560 (5), an unpublished letter written by Šalim-aḫum to Pāšu-kēn and Haprat-bāni and addressed particularly to the latter (6),

may not have been accessible to Balkan, a *bēš* Da-a-a is mentioned together with a *bēš* *ti* *we* *is* which lay certainly in Kaniš: it seems not impossible that the owner of that "house of Da'a" was the Da'a *mē* *li-hāni* of the tablets from Boğazköy.)

(1) See II. 190 ff.: *a ma kam* ²⁰*Zi-hi* *ā* *A-lā-a* ²¹*Ša-i-ik*. For the context see Balkan, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

(2) Or Zi-gi? Cf. the occurrence in the Old Akkadian texts from Casur of the name Zi-gi and the remarks of Gelb, *Hittite and Subarians* (Chicago 1944), p. 53.

(3) See II. 17: *šil man* *hē* *annaham* ²⁶*Šu-la-aš* ²⁷*Ša* *gi* *ip* *ti* *ni* ²⁸*Nu* *ur* *Istar* *ša* *na* *Ha* *tin* ²⁹*ā* *bi* *ik*. The wording of these lines as well as the contents of the remainder of *ICK* 162 leave no doubt that Nūr-Ištar journeyed to Hattum not on his own but as an employee or partner of certain merchants established in Kaniš.

(4) That Boğazköy figures in the Old Assyrian sources not only as *Hattus* but also as *Hattum* was demonstrated in *Symbolae Hrozný* IV (1950), pp. 370 f. For additional evidence see Otten, *MDOG* 86 (1953), pp. 62 f. and cf. further *UEA* XXVII (1956), p. 6, note 26 and the letter *L* 29-560 to be cited presently.

(5) I am greatly obliged to Professor S. N. Kramer for having given me the opportunity to inspect this valuable text in April, 1956. I hope soon to be able to communicate it in toto together with other unpublished Kültepe tablets bequeathed by H. V. Hilprecht to the University Museum at Philadelphia.

(6) See II. 1-3: *an* *ma* *Ša* *im* *a-pu-um-ma* *a-na* ²*Pu-Šu-hi* *in* *ā* *Haprat-Šu-ni* ³*a-na* *Haprat-ba-ni* *qi* *bi* *ma*.

who is known to have been the son of an Aššur-mālik (?). 1.1. 4 ff. of this letter run as follows: "6 In (accordance with) Išqūp's tablet, 7 Il-aprat-bāni "took in your container 8 1/3 minas of lead 9 and "went 10 on that very same day to 11 Hattum. 12 Il-aštanu 13 carried a 14 white mantle, 15 (part) of my *ihribā* (?), 16 to Aššur-mālik. 17 He did 18 not 19 reach Aššur-mālik; he had left (town). 20 You took 21 the mantle. Thus you (said): 22 (It is) for my father. (As for) the shipment of 23 1/2 (bale of) *kudsum*-cloth which was transported by 24 Nūr-Ištar (?), 25 you promised Dan-Aššur 26 15 shekels of silver. 27 Thus you (said): 28 After your departure 29 I shall send (the silver). 30 Since the eponymy of Ah(a)m-arši 31 you hold 32 all this (merchandise). 33 My (relevant) directive 34 came five times to you: 35 Give Pāšu-kēn 36 the money 37 for the lead as well as for the mantle 38 and the 1/2 (bale of) *kudsum*-cloth (4) 39 or 40 write me so that 41 I can take (it) 42 here from 43 your money." (5) Although Šalim aḫum does not expressly say that Hattum (l. 8) was the place where Nūr-Ištar (l. 16) delivered to Ilaprat-bāni the cloth referred to in ll. 15 and 24, it cannot reasonably be doubted that this is implied, and that the three commercial transactions dealt with in this section of L 29-560 took place in the future capital of the Hittite Empire. For Ilaprat-bāni was a brother of

(4) See, e.g., *SL* 176, 5 and 9 ff.; *TC* 101 234, 17.; *BIS* VI 152, 8 f. and cf. ll. 10-14 of the letter here under discussion.

(5) *Ihribā* denotes capital advanced by a temple administration to a businessman and goods as well as certain profits obtained with such funds.

(6) On the expression *ša šēp X* "of the transport of X", "transported by X" see *KTHahs*, p. 12.

(7) We learn here that, in his younger years, Pāšu-kēn went on business trips to Hattum even as subsequently his second son, Šinēa; cf. the latter's message, *VAT* 9222, and my remarks in *Symbolae Hieronymi* IV (1950), p. 371 and *HUCA* XXVII (1956), p. 61, note 257 in fine.

(8) The Assyrian text of this passage from L 29-560 reads as follows: "i-na šup-pi-am ša 1.ā-qi-ep 6 1/3 man'ē annakam i-na 7 iṣ-ṣu uq li ká 8 Ilaprat ba-ni 9 iṣ-ṣu-qi-ma i-nu-mi šu-ma a-na 10 iṣ-ṣu i-ta-lá ah hu-si-tám 11 pá-qi-tám ša iṣ-ṣu iṣ-ṣu 12 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 13 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 14 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 15 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 16 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 17 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 18 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 19 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 20 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 21 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 22 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 23 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 24 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 25 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 26 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 27 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 28 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 29 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 30 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 31 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 32 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 33 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 34 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 35 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 36 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 37 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 38 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 39 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 40 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 41 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 42 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 43 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 44 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 45 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 46 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 47 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 48 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 49 i-ṣi-ṣu i-ṣi-ṣu 50 i-ṣi-ṣu 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Idi Ištar (¹), a resident of Kanīš (²) whose temporary presence and activity in Hattum is well attested by *ICK* 178 (³).

When summing up the data just gathered, we are obviously entitled to state that *Zi-hi*, the acquaintance of Da'a of Hattūš, was a contemporary of a well-known group of Assyrians who were established in business at Kanīš during the eponymy of Abūm-arši. (⁴) As the year named after Abūm-arši coincided with one of the earlier years of Pūša-kēn's activities, it follows that the eponyms Pīlah Šin and Za'a who figure in the small group of "Da'a texts" from Boğazköy are to be dated to the same period, i. e. approximately to the time of king Šarrum-kēn. (⁵) Since, as was recalled above, Da'a appears in one of the "Nabi-lūlil tablets" from Ališar, the latter evidently belong likewise in this early epoch.

As the "Nabi-lūlil tablets" and the archive of the afore-mentioned Idi-Kubum mār Ušur-ša-Aššur come from the same level 10,

(¹) See *EL* 176,5 ff.; 10 ff.

(²) That Kanīš was the principal center of Idi-Ištar's business activities follows from a considerable number of documents from Kültepe in which he figures as creditor; cf., e.g., *EL* 45; *EL* 87; *EL* 90; *EL* 185; *TC* III 219; *TC* III 222; *ICK* 142. *EL* 97 shows him ready to go on a business trip to Aššur. (The suggestion of Landsberger, *Symbolae Hierogl.* IV [1950], p. 323, note 100 that prince Labarša obtained from Idi-Ištar a loan is so arbitrary that it hardly deserves any refutation.)

(³) See II. x—1 ff: *I-di Ištar i ku x¹²i-mu-mi Lā-bo ar ša x¹³ru-ba-ū-tām x¹⁴q bu tā ni x¹⁵karšum i₁ q₁ š x¹⁶i-mu-mi I-di Ištar x¹⁷iš-iš Ha-tim x¹⁸i-šā-ra ni karšum x¹⁹i-sa-qā lu*. On the expression *rubā'uttam qabātum* "to accede to the throne" see Landsberger, *Türk Tarih Arkeologiya ve Etnografya Dergisi* IV (Istanbul 1940), p. 28. His assumption that this idiom does not necessarily refer to "gewaltsamer Inbesitznahme der Herrschaft" has now been fully confirmed by the appearance, in a newly discovered document mentioned in passing by Balkan, p. 81 sub 8, of the expression *li-mu-um ša i qā ti A-mur-A-šur i₁ ba tū*, i. e., literally, "eponym he who received (the eponymy-office) from Amur-Aššur's hand(s)". The usual *li-mu-um ša qā-ti* (rare variants: *ša qā ai* and *ša qā-ti-e*) X thus turns out to be an abridgment in which the words *i₁na* and *i₁nu* are omitted.

(⁴) The same eponym figures in another letter of Šalim aḥum which was communicated in *EL* I, p. 219 (222 f.), note a. Since Balkan's *Rose* lists (pp. 79 ff.) are intended to be exhaustive, it is surprising that that letter (*VAT* 9225) was not cited by him on p. 80 sub 3. For similar shortcomings of his list see below, pp. 34 ff.

(⁵) As for the ample evidence permitting us to see in Pūša-kēn a contemporary of Šarrum-kēn I of Aššur, see *HUCA* XXVII (1956), pp. 77 ff.

albeit from different plots, of the southern terrace of the Alishar Hüyük, it is reasonable to assume that this Idi-Kubum lived likewise in the period here under discussion. The correctness of this assumption becomes manifest if it is duly recalled that the "Idi-Kubum texts" include a legal decision rendered by the *kārum Kanis* ⁽¹⁾ and the first lines of a directive issued by the *šiprū ša ālim u kārim Kanis* and addressed to "every *kārum* and all the *wubārāim*" ⁽²⁾. Hence there is not the slightest doubt that the "Idi-Kubum tablets" and with them the eponyms named therein are to be dated to the time when the *kārum Kanis* was intact and its officers controlled the major and minor Assyrian settlements of Central Anatolia ⁽³⁾. The eponym Adad-bāni who figures in *Alishar* No. 29, i.e., as was stated above, in a small fragment found together with the "Idi-Kubum texts", cannot therefore be identical with the *limum* of this name who, according to the texts from Mari and Çagar Pazar, held office in one of the later years of the reign of Šamši-Adad I. ⁽⁴⁾ In other words, we are entitled to discard Balkan's suggestions as to the date and the person of the *limum* Adad-bāni of the Alishar text No. 29 and to propose, instead, his identification with the eponym of the same name who appears in many a Kültepe text from level 2.

In order to justify this proposal, we turn to the contract recorded in ll. 38 ff. of the *Sammelurkunde EL 225*, the appurtenance of which to the Kültepe texts from level 2 will not be doubted. This contract dates from the eponymy of Adad-bāni and mentions as creditor of one Aššur-ṭab a certain Aššur-mālik who is known to have been the father of Hattitum, a woman who, as indicated by her name, was born in Hattum/Hattinā, and of Enlil-bāni, who figures in ll. 7 and 29 of our *Sammelurkunde* as creditor of the *kārum*. ⁽⁵⁾ According to several other contracts, Enlil-bāni was also a creditor of one or the

⁽¹⁾ *Alishar* No. 12; for a transliteration and translation see for the present Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar*, p. 32.

⁽²⁾ For a full discussion of this fragment (*Alishar* No. 40) see *HUCA* XXVII (1956), p. 71 with note 304.

⁽³⁾ For details see *HUCA* XXVII, pp. 65 ff.

⁽⁴⁾ That this Adad-bāni's eponymy fell in one of the last years of Šamši-Adad's long reign will be shown in a forthcoming paper by Hildegarde Lewy; see for the present p. 250 of her above cited article in *Mélanges Isidore Lévy*.

⁽⁵⁾ On Enlil-bāni and his sister Hattitum and their parents Aššur-mālik and Tarsi-mātum, both of whom spent their later years in the city of Aššur, see J. Lewy, *Symbolae Hieron.* IV (1950), p. 373 with note 43.

other son of Pūšu-kēn.⁽¹⁾ If, consequently, Aššur-mālik belonged more or less to the same generation of Assyrian merchants as Pūšu-kēn, the eponym Adad-bāni must be regarded as one of the latter's older contemporaries; for it is reasonable to assume that only older men were entrusted with the *limum* office. On the other hand, we learn from one of the afore-mentioned tablets from the archive of Idi-Kubum that this resident of Aliṣar gave a son of his the rare name Nimar-Ištar⁽²⁾. The appearance of a Nimar-Ištar mēr Idi-Kubim⁽³⁾ in a Kültepe contract naming Pūšu-kēn⁽⁴⁾ shows therefore that Idi-Kubum was active in business (and, in all probability, established at Aliṣar) in the year when the residents of Kaniš dated their documents "*limum Adad-bāni*". In other words, hypotheses aiming at drawing a distinction between this eponym and the *limum* Adad-bāni of the "Idi-Kubum text", Aliṣar No. 29, prove to be baseless.

In the light of the data assembled in the preceding pages it becomes apparent that still another Aliṣar text dealing with Assyrians, viz. No. 18, can and must be dated to the time of the bulk of the Kültepe tablets from level 2. No. 18, which belongs to neither of the small Aliṣar archives so far discussed⁽⁵⁾, mentions an Amur-Aššur-nēr Šū-Ištar as Co II. 15 f. of the Kültepe letter TC 26. Whereas this fact could previously be attributed to a mere coincidence, this is now no longer feasible. For the writer (Šalim-aḫum) and the addressee (Pūšu-kēn and Ilaprat-bāni) of TC 26 are identical with those of

⁽¹⁾ See, for instance, II. 31 ff. of the *Sammelurkunde* EI. 226 which name Pūšu-kēn's third son, Buzāzu, as Enlil-bāni's debtor.

⁽²⁾ See II. 13 f. of Aliṣar No. 20.

⁽³⁾ The restoration of the patronymic is virtually certain. For the patronymics of the two other bearers of the name Nimar-Ištar met with in the Kültepe texts — *Ni-mar-Ištar mēr Ka-lá* (TC III 199, 11 f.; *ELN* VI 84, 26) and *Ni-mar-Ištar mēr Pazur-Sin* (*EL* 229, 22; 322, 5; etc.) — do not terminate in *-im*.

⁽⁴⁾ This unpublished contract was inspected by me in 1928 in the office of a dealer in antiquities and ought to have been included as "I. 10" in *EL*. It reads as follows: 1' 5/6 *mand'á harpum* 2' *ga-ru-pá am i gé-er* 3' *Pazur-A-na* 4' *Šu-Be-lám i-šu* 5' *il-tá ha-mu-as-lim* 6' *ka A-túr ma liš* 7' *á i-na a* 8' *1 1/2 šiglam* 9' *šá-tp [šáw i-na]* 10' *warkim^{KAM} a [na mand'omem]* 11' *á ga up warah* [1 ^{KAM}] 12' *Be-šá-šá-lál-lim li-mu-un* 13' *A šur-na-ša* 14' *Pu-šu-li-in* 15' *ga-ta-ša* 16' *han* 17' *maḥar Ni-mar-Ištar* 18' *mér [I di Ku bi]* 19' *im* 20' *maḥar A-ai-na*

⁽⁵⁾ The archives of Idi-Kubum and Nabi-Enlil emerged in the plots designated by the excavators as P 27 and M 33, respectively; Aliṣar No. 18 was found in the plot Q 30.

the above-quoted letter L 29-560 (1) which proved useful in establishing that the "Nabi-Enlil tablets" from Alişar and the "Da'a texts" from Boğazköy must be dated to the time of Pānu-kēr.

* * *

As can be seen from our discussion of the evidence quoted in the preceding pages, before basing chronological hypotheses on his untenable identification of a *limum* known to have served under Šamši-Adad with an officer figuring in an Alişar tablet, Balkan ought to have paid attention to the biographical and prosopographical data found in the Old Assyrian tablets from Kültepe, Alişar and Boğazköy. Instead, he took pains to assail in lengthy digressions (pp. 71 ff.) what he calls my "Grossreichstheorie". (2) By this term — a term obviously coined by his teacher Landsberger — Balkan designates the view (1) that the penetration of Central Anatolia and its commercial exploitation by Assyrian merchants reflects far-reaching conquests of Iluṣumma's successors and (2) that these conquests resulted in the creation of a vassal state (governed by an *išṣākkum* of Assyrian nationality) which can, for various reasons, be called Halys Assyria.

In this connection Balkan recalls that a few years ago, at a meeting attended by him, the emergence in the Kültepe texts of a god *Šar-ra-ma-ti-in* (variant *Šar-ra-ma-ti-en*) was mentioned by me as one of several reasons for considering the expression *Halys Assyria* an appropriate designation of those vast regions of Central Anatolia

(1) Note that the lead, the mantle and the cloth which are the topic of the passage quoted above from L 29-560 are mentioned at the end of TC 26. According to a collation done by me in 1932, ll. 31 ff. of TC 26 read as follows: ³¹ 1/2 *man'dam* *ḫurāṣum* *pā* *sāl* *lam* ³² *bi* *lam* *i* *man'dam* *ḫaṣpam* *a* *ku-ni* ³³ *ilim* *i* *ra-mi-ni-ka* *ma* *(i)* *li* ³⁴ *li* *bi*, *la* *la* *la* *ma-an* ³⁵ *ilam* *bei* *(i)* *ci* *(i)* *ik* *ti* *bi* *ti* *ir* *at* *li* *(i)* ³⁶ *i* *tu* *pi* *im* *ia* *La* *qi* *pi* *im* *a* *Pu* *ku* *hi* *in* ³⁷ *6* *man'da* *am* *akum* *a* *ku* *at* *tum* *a* *1/2* *ku* *ta* *nina* *(i)* ³⁸ *i* *ti* *ti* *Ilapru* *la* *ni* *a* *hi* *a* *ta* ³⁹ *ras* *pi* *ti* *bi* *lam*. The words *a* *ni* *(i)* *is* *(i)* *ha* *(i)* *at* *(i)* on the margin between lines 31 and 32 are likely to belong to the end of l. 30 so that l. 30 is meant to read *la* *ra* *ba* *ta* *qam* *5* *man'da* *ḫaṣpam* *a* *ni* *is* *ga* *at*. The editor of the text overlooked not only the whole line 38 but also a *-ma* at the end of l. 1 which, of course, he ought to have expected to find there.

(2) In order to justify his digressions, Balkan asserts that "adherence to this or the opposite theory has a great impact" on his chronological conclusions.

in which Assyrians lived and prospered for about sixty or seventy years in the Old Assyrian epoch circumscribed by the names of the kings Irišum I, Ikūnum, Šarrum-kēn I and Puzur-Aššur II. Having shown elsewhere (1) that these Assyrians designated Central Anatolia or at least a large section of it as *mātum*, I took that divine name to signify "The King of the Two Countries" and concluded that, in the epoch under discussion, the god Aššur was regarded as the divine ruler over two domains, Assyria proper and Halys Assyria. (2) Unable to propose another rendering of the name *Šar-ra-ma-ti-in*, Balkan now argues that "we are not sure at all that the god *Šarra-mālin* had his cult in the city of Aššur" (*op. cit.*, p. 72). But it so happens that a text of the same familiar type as, e.g., *HL* 127, i. e. a text enumerating large sums of silver to be shipped from Kaniš to Aššur, includes the item *1 ri-ik-sū 15 šiqū ik-ri-bu ša Šar-ma-ti-in* (3). Moreover, the letter VAT 9295, quoted by me as early as 1929 and 1930 (4) as a source acquainting us with a priest of that god, consists in a lengthy report concerned, inter alia, with the arrival at Kaniš of 8 talents of lead (*annakum*) and 32 bales of cloth: as this report was written by Lāqipum and Pēšu-kēn (who had traveled with the caravan carrying that merchandise from Aššur to Kaniš as had, to all appearances, the priest mentioned by them), and as it is addressed to the above-mentioned Šalim-ahum, who figures in many letters as a resident of the city of Aššur (5), it would be clear that the priest was from the same city even if he would not be described in fl. x+6 l. as "your priest (*ku-am-ri-kū*) *ša Šar-ra-ma-ti-in*".

(1) *Symbolae Hieronymi* IV (1950), pp. 418 ff.; see now also *HUCA* XXVII (1956), p. 13.

(2) As for the details, I must here limit myself to a reference to *HUCA* XXVII (1956), pp. 13 ff.

(3) For the context see *loc. cit.*, p. 16, note 66.

(4) See especially *KT Habn.* p. 21 and *HL* I, p. 182, note c. I am unable to see owing to which confusion on his part Balkan correctly quoted on p. 71 of his booklet as relevant to VAT 9295 the footnote just cited, but, nonetheless asserted on p. 66 that VAT 9295 and my pertinent footnote relate to the "gabation of Samuha" which, as I stated repeatedly, figures in VAT 6209. Balkan's contention (*videtur*) that the latter tablet "concerns a deal with wool (*šapsum*) and could easily be dated at 1 b" has no foundation at all: cf. my transliteration of VAT 6209 in *HUC* XXVII (1956), p. 70, note 301.

(5) It appears that, like other well-known merchants of Kaniš, Šalim-ahum spent his later years at Aššur.

In view of such evidence, we dispense with a discussion of Balkan's unsubstantiated guess that "the merchants traveling between Aššur and Kanīš used the priests of this god as trustees". But it is perhaps in order to say a few words about his attempt to discredit the view, first advanced by Meissner and Tallqvist, that Aššur was identical with the god *Šar-ru-ma a-lim* who figures after Šamaš, Eaḫil and Adad in col. V, ll. 22 ff. of Šamši Adad's well-known "Stone Slab Inscription from Aššur". Balkan (p. 72) boldly asserts "it is to be expected that Aššur, being a national god, would appear at the beginning of any enumeration of gods of this period." We doubt that this reasoning expresses a considered opinion. For in the light of col. IV of Šamši Adad's "Nineveh Inscription" (1) it is manifest that that enumeration begins with Šamaš because he was venerated as the "judge of heaven and earth" and therefore regarded as the deity most apt to punish any later ruler guilty of disregard for Šamši Adad's memory.

A second grievance of Balkan (*op. cit.*, p. 73) concerns *KTP* 14, a report sent to "the envoys of the city" (2) and to the *kārum* Kanīš by the *kārum* Wašḫana. The latter had been informed by the prince of the near-by town of Wašḫania of his accession to the throne and his wish to be sworn in (3). According to ll. 9^b-18, the prince had received the following reply from the *kārum*: "10 The [k]ārum Kanīš 11 (is) our [superior]. We shall send (a message to the proper authorities). 12 (Thereupon) [they] 13 will 14 either 15 [s]end (a message) 16 to [you] 17 or 18 they will [s]end (a message) 19 [to] us. 20 [T]wo (men) of the [g]overnment (4) 21 will come to you and then 22 they 23 also 24 will make you swear the oath!" (5)

Landsberger, who was the first to recognize the importance of this unusual document (6), concluded from the prince's message "dass

(1) Published by Thompson and Hamilton, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* XIX, Nos. 3-4 (1932), pp. 105 ff. and pls. LXXXI ff.

(2) On the *šipri sa ālim*, i.e. "envoys of the city (of Aššur)", and their tasks see most recently *HUCA* XXVII (1956), pp. 69 ff.

(3) See ll. 7-9^a: *[ku-si a-am ša a-bi, a [as]-bu-at ma mi tām(!) [ta]-mī a-mi*. For *tammū'um* "to make (somebody) swear", "to bind (somebody by an oath) to do (a thing)" see *HUCA* XXVII (1956), p. 17, note 73 and cf. the significant passage cited in *KTS*, p. 64 sub 21^b.

(4) *[Ši-na ša m'a-t(m)]*.

(5) For an annotated transliteration of the original text see *HUCA* XXVII (1956), p. 18.

(6) *Loc. cit.*, pp. 26 ff.

der Fürst von Uššaria bei Regierungsantritt dem *karum Uaišusuana* eine eidliche Verpflichtung abzulegen wünscht, offenbar um sich dadurch die Anerkennung des *karum* zu sichern"; with respect to the answer of the *karum Wahšusuana*, he wondered why "dieser Fürst die ihm nach unserem Brief erteilte Antwort des *karum Uaišusuana* nicht voraussah und sich nicht direkt an das Zentral-karum von Kaniš wandte." Being primarily concerned with the question "whether the seat of the government of 'The Land' was at Kaniš", I, on my part, commented as follows: "According to this letter, the Assyrian magistrates of an important Anatolian town other than Kaniš expected that an oath of allegiance to be sworn by the ruler of a near-by principality . . . would be administered by men who, being sent by the Assyrian authorities of Kaniš, would act as representatives of 'the land' or, to render *mātum* more adequately, 'the government'." (1) However, in the opinion of Balkar, it is inadmissible to see in lines 8 f. and 18 f. references to an oath to be sworn by the prince. "A new parallel document", he says, "enables us to correct this letter" (2) and, after boldly adding "not the *rašā'u* were bound by an oath, but the Assyrian merchants", he goes on to communicate the letter *kt 183* from "Kultepe 1 b" which, according to him, justifies his veiled criticism of Landsberger's rendering of *KTP 14* and "undermines the empire theory".

This latter remark can, of course, be dismissed as one of the contradictions and inconsistencies in which Balkar's booklet abounds. For my conclusions as to the might and extension of the Old Assyrian Empire, to which Balkar vaguely alludes, were based exclusively upon the contents of the Kültepe tablets from level 2. Consequently, they cannot be undermined by a single text from level 1 b, all the less so since, as Balkar emphasizes, the close relations between Kaniš and the city of Assur, which are in many respects the most significant feature of the earlier period, did not exist in the later period when, after a period of desolation, the *karum Kaniš* was again inhabited.

(1) See *loc. cit.*, pp. 20 f.

(2) If Balkar means to say that the letter *KTP 14* ought to be amended, I see no sense in arguing with him. But if he intended to imply that Landsberger and I misread it, I can assure him that this is not the case. A collation with the original recently done by me corroborated our interpretation of the copy published in *JSOR XI* (1927), p. 119. As for the minor question whether l. 19 reads *ú-ta-mu-ú-ka* (Landsberger) or *ú-ta-mu-ú-ha* (Lewy), the traces still visible on the original support my reading of the disputed sign.

When now proceeding to an examination of the new text in regard to its alleged comparability with *KTP* 14, we find that, in distinction from *KTP* 14, *kt j/k* 183 is not addressed to the *šiprū ša ālim* and the *hārum Kaniš* but only to the latter, *kt j/k* 183 being a report sent by the *hārum Tammia* to the *hārum Kaniš*.⁽¹⁾ Likewise, the equally significant mention in *KTP* 14 of *šind ša mātum* who were expected to administer the oath to the prince of Waššania has no analogue in *kt j/k* 183. In other words, *KTP* 14 and *kt j/k* 183 resemble each other in two respects only: either text relates to the question as to who has the power to administer an oath to the prince of an Anatolian town, and in either text one of the parties concerned implies that only representatives of the authorities in Kaniš have this power. Obviously, these resemblances cannot be regarded as a solid basis for Balkan's tacit assumption that, in spite of the hiatus separating the Kültepe texts of levels 2 and 1 b⁽²⁾, the political situation evidenced by the younger letter was exactly the same as in the earlier period.

A complete analysis of the two texts confirms the conclusion that the situation reflected by *KTP* 14 differed considerably from the circumstances in which *kt j/k* 183 was written. According to *KTP* 14, the prince of Waššania was not only ready to render the oath but was even eager to see it administered by the officers of the *hārum Waššušana* whom he obviously regarded as representatives of the *hārum Kaniš* equipped with the power to act for the authorities in Kaniš. But *kt j/k* 183 characterizes the prince of Tammia⁽³⁾ as

(1) For the reader's convenience we reproduce here Balkan's transliteration of *kt j/k* 183: ¹*a-na kà-ri-im* ²*Kà-ni-iš qí-bi-ma* ³*um-ma kà-ru-um* ⁴*Ta-am-ni-a-ma* ⁵*ší-íp-ru-ú ša kà-ri-im* ⁶*Tur, hu mē is* ⁷*a-na ru-ba-im ša Ta-am-ni-a* ⁸*a-na ta-mu-im* ⁹*ir-ba-am ub-iu-ni-sa-ma* ¹⁰*um-ma šu-ut-ma a-na* ¹¹*ší-íp-ri-ma* ¹²*a-ii ší-íp-ru* ¹³*šú a-ba-e-a* ¹⁴*ša kà-ri-im Kà-ni-iš* ¹⁵*šu-nu k-ší-hu-nim-ma* ¹⁶*ik-ti šu-nu* ¹⁷*ma mē-tám a-lá-gi-ma* ¹⁸*ú-ma za-aš-ni-a-ti-ma* ¹⁹*um-ma šu-ut-ma* ²⁰*a-lá-am e-pá-šš* . . . ²¹*ir-ba-am ni-ší-šu-um* ²²*ú-za-šu-nu ni-íp-ti* ²³*a-ii-ham e-ú-ma-ni-hu*.

(2) On the tentative assumption "that the resettlement of Kültepe in the 1 b period began in the tenth year of Šamši-Adad's 33-year reign", Balkan (p. 60) estimates that the interval between level 2 and level 1 b amounts to "at least one generation". On the basis of the data submitted below, pp. 32 ff., we reckon with the possibility that about eighty years separate the resettlement from the catastrophe which put an end to the older Assyrian settlement on the *hārum Kaniš*.

(3) As was felt by Balkan (p. 75), *Ta-am-ni-a* is likely to be identical with *Ta-mi-ni-a* (see, e.g., *KTN* 30, 4; on the *hārum* *Ta-mi-ni-a* see

unfriendly and, as we shall presently see, defiant. When envoys of the *kārum* *Darḫumid* ⁽¹⁾ asked the prince for an audience ⁽²⁾ "in order to make (him) swear the oath" (ll. 5-9), he, *inter alia* ⁽³⁾, declared ironically: "Where are the envoys of my fathers of the *kārum* *Kaniš*? ⁽⁴⁾ Let them come here and they shall administer the oath to me! ⁽⁵⁾" (ll. 10-17).

HUCA XXVII, p. 45 with note 170). So far as I can see, there is nothing to prevent us from proposing a tentative identification of Tawinia with Tavium/Nefesköy.

⁽¹⁾ On the basis of the Hittite sources discussed by Götz, *RIHA* I (1930-33), pp. 20 f., it can perhaps be assumed that *Darḫumid*/*Turumilla* lay not very far from Tawinia/Tamnia.

⁽²⁾ This is here the implication of the expression *ibum wadlum*. As can be seen, e.g., from *CC* IV 15, 7 f. and *TaM* I 24e, 1 ff., people who wished to be received by a prince presented him with valuable gifts. From passages such as *TC* III 85,6 ff. and *VC* 39,7 ff. it is learnt that such gifts were designated as *ibum*; as this term obviously belongs to *wadlum*, we may assume that it means especially "gift for admittance".

⁽³⁾ Thus we may render the *-ma* at the end of l. 17; for when attached to a verb which terminates a quotation, *-ma* frequently signifies "etc.".

⁽⁴⁾ Although it has repeatedly been stated that, in the Kültepe texts as well as elsewhere, "my fathers" means as much as "my superiors", Balkan (p. 74) comments on ll. 12-14 "That is: where are the messengers of the *Kārum* *Kaniš* who came to the previous kings, my fathers?". It might therefore be well not only to refer once more to the official letter *SLP* 7 but also to quote a fragmentary letter (*WAG* 48:1466) addressed to the *kārum* *Kaniš* by a prince or other high-ranking personality so far not traceable elsewhere: ¹*a na hā-ri-i'm* ²*Kā-ai-iš gi-li-ma* ³*um-ma* ⁴*li-ma-da-ar-ma* ⁵*a-ba-d-a a-tū-nu a-ḫu-a* ⁶*a-tū-nu ma-a-a-hu-nu* ⁷*a-na-ku a-na-ham a na a* [i tim] ⁸*a za az a* [m]a *ham*.....] ⁹[š] *pār* *ku nu la i li*.....; incidentally, on the reverse of this unpublished tablet, *II-madar* mentions, *inter alia*, the violent death of a *zūḫrum* (see ll. x-11 f.: *gi-ḫa-ar-ḫu i na* ^{x-12}[.....] *ri lu i du ku š*) and goes on to assure the *kārum* *Kaniš* of his readiness to take an oath (see ll. x+16 ff.: *ku nu li li ham ma* ^{x+17}*a-sar li-bi, šu lu ta nē a* [m] ^{x+18}*a-ba-d-a bi-lu-a a-tū-nu*.....).

⁽⁵⁾ IāL: "and from them I shall take the oath". That this does not mean "I will bind them also [sic] to myself by an oath" (thus Balkan, p. 74) follows, on the one hand, from *TC* II 41,6 f. and 27 f. and, on the other, from passages such as *EL* 164,2-4; *EL* 190, 2 f.; *EL* 285,8-11; *VAT* 9235, 3b-6a; 9-11 (see *EL* I, p. 327, note b); *EL* 316,9 f. These passages preclude any doubt that *laqū'm* (something) *liti X* signifies "to accept (something) from X", just as *la laqū'm* (e.g., *EL* 238,19) means "to refuse to accept"; cf. also the well-known Old Babylonian idioms *āluam ann'am ul ālqā, dīnam idtu ul ālqā, dīnam šudte ul ālqā* and

(p. 75) deduces from this utterance that the prince "intended to build a fortified town, probably to protect the merchants" (4), we do not doubt that it describes the prince's intention to refuse allegiance to the Assyrian magistrates of Kaniš. For there is ample evidence from various periods of Ancient Oriental history (1) that, when used in respect to a town already in existence (2), "to build" signifies "to consolidate (the town)", "to erect fortifications" (3), (2) that the building of fortifications used to be one of the first actions of potentates who were about to rise against their overlords or had just done so (4) and (3) that the overlords saw in the unauthorized construction of fortifications by a vassal an unmistakable sign of rebellion (5). Consequently, we learn from *kt jk* 183 that even during the "late

ruled over city states, i.e. small territories which did not and could not comprise more than one major town and a few villages. Only those native potentates to whom the texts accord the titles *rubā'um rubā'um* or *šarum* can be supposed to have ruled over more than one small city-state; cf. *Symbolae Hrosvy* IV (1950), pp. 366 ff. On the use of *šum* as designation of the non-Assyrian part of a town see *HUCA* XXVII (1956), p. 61 and p. 62, note 259.

(2) The question why and against whom the Assyrian merchants were in need of protection is left unanswered by Balkan. His reasoning is all the more obscure since, owing to his misunderstanding of the verb *massuḫum*, he thinks that the prince "squeezed" the Assyrians "for presents". Shall we assume that a local prince who, to quote Balkan's rendering of *massuḫum*, "squeezed juice" from the Assyrians was eager to build for them a fortified town?

(3) Cf. above, p. 29, note 3.

(4) This follows especially from the Bible; see, e.g., I Kings 9.15 in fine and II Chr 11.6. Balkan correctly refers to the Mari letters (see now Finet, *ARMT* XV, p. 186), but without realizing that the pertinent passages concern towns already in existence and not towns to be founded.

(5) Cf. the biblical account of the "Disruption of the Kingdom": After reporting (in 12.20) the choice of Jeroboam as king of the mutinous northern tribes of Israel, the First Book of the Kings goes on to state that Jeroboam fortified the ancient capital city of Shechem (12.25). As for several pieces of information clearly pointing to analogous events in various phases of the history of Assyria and Babylonia, see Hildegarde Lewy in *Mélanges Isidore Lévy* (Bruxelles 1955), pp. 266 ff.; 280 ff. and in *Orientalia* 24 (1955), pp. 283 f.

(6) Cf. Aššur nāṣir-apli, "Annals" II, 23 ff.: *tēnu ušerāni mā* "Nār-Adad" "našiku ša" "Nagara ittabalḫat" "Zamua ana šihiriān apāšā iškūšā nārān ša" "Babite" "šāra irgipā ana apār qablī u tāḫar ana libbā itbāni.

period" of "Kültepe 1 b" the Assyrian population of Central Anatolia claimed for themselves the traditional right to demand of "native" rulers an oath of allegiance and that they met with difficulties when trying to assert this right.

After having mailed the manuscript of the present article to the editor of *Orientalia*, I had an opportunity to collate in the University Museum at Philadelphia the tablet CBS 5681 — KTP 6. (1) The results of this collation of a letter addressed by the *karum* Kanis to the *rubdum* Širmiašum, i. e. to the prince of Širmin (2), bear so much on the interpretation of *kl fih* 183, as proposed in the preceding pages, that it is in order to publish them here at once. As will be seen from the following transliteration and translation, ll. x + 5 ff. of KTP 6 fully confirm our thesis that, while extending to the "native" princes all the courtesies normally accorded royalty, the Assyrian magistrates of Kanis did not hesitate to call those princes their "sons", thus indicating that they saw in their protégés supposed to comply with their orders with the deference with which a son accepts and obeys his father's wishes. (3)

KTP 6 runs as follows: ¹a-na ru-ba-im ²Ši-ir-mi-i-a-im ³qi-bi-ma um ma ⁴hā-ru-um Kā ni-šā-mā ⁵1 mašdum haspam sa ru-pu um ⁶š 3 šiglā parāsum ⁷A-bi-a-a ū A gu-a ⁸kl-ir-ra-ni ⁹na-as-ā [ni] hum ¹⁰fup-pi-kā ni šā-ma-ma ¹¹[...] Kā(?)-ni(?) iš(?) (lower edge and beginning of reverse lost) ¹²... a ma-[ia] ša ¹³šā-¹⁴al-pu-ra-ni ¹⁵š ¹⁶pu us ma ¹⁷la-aq-bi ia hā ¹⁸i li-bi, ni ¹⁹ir-ba kl mo-ra-ni be d ni a ia ²⁰ma-la kl-ir-ra-ni ²¹i qā-[bi]-ā-

(1) CBS 5681 belongs to the Kültepe texts of the Mrs. Phoebe Hearst Collection. According to the data obligingly placed at my disposal by Professor S. N. Kramer and his assistant, Dr. E. L. Corson, H. V. Hilprecht bought this small collection of altogether eleven tablets, the major part of which is published in *JSON* XI (1927), pp. 110 ff., in 1899 in Istanbul from an Armenian from Kayseri.

(2) Cf. *BIN* IV 7,3 l. 1: šš-ū Ši-ir-ma in ⁴a-ta-(bi)-a um.

(3) As for the connotation "protégé" of the term "son", see especially II Kings 16,7 and cf. my remarks in *Orientalia* 21 (1952), p. 114, note 3.

(4) This rare spelling of *haspawanni* recurs in an unpublished letter of the Giessen Collection. Note that our text also offers *na as ā-ni-hum* instead of the usual *na as ā-ni-hum* and cf. the remarks of Gelb, *AJSL* LIII (1936-37), p. 35.

(5) The last two words of this long line extend beyond the right edge of the tablet into the obverse. This fact may explain why *a-ta* was not noticed at all by the editor of our text. Less excusable is his failure to take cognizance of the signs on the left edge of the tablet.

[*ni-ku-ni*] ^{x+13}*mêr A-šur* [.....] (upper edge and beginning of left edge lost) ^{x+1}*ša a-na sé-ri-ka*] ^{x+2}*i-lá-ka-ni* [.....]
 "To the Širīan 'prince say: Thus (spoke) 'the *hārum* Kaniš:
 '1 mina of refined silver 'and 3 shekels of gold 'Abiā and Agua,
 'our envoys, 'bring (them) to you (?). 'We read (?) your tablets and
 ".....] Kaniš(?) ^{x+4}Act ^{x+1}[in fulfillment of [what] ^{x+2}you
 wrote, ^{x+4}and then ^{x+5}we shall heed ^{x+6}what you said (?). ^{x+7}You
 are our son (?) (and) our lord! ^{x+8}Whatever our envoys ^{x+9}will
 t[c]ll [you] ^{x+10}the son of Aššur [.....] ^{x+11}who ^{x+12}will
 come ^{x+13}to [you] ^{x+14}....."

* * *

To come back to the problem of dating the "late" Kültepe texts from level 1 b. we are inclined to attribute importance to a piece of information not mentioned by Balkan. When Dossin⁽⁵⁾ published in 1939 the much-cited Mari text in which Kaniš, Išarsamā and Išattiša figure as a source of riches and as producing articles of craftsmanship⁽⁶⁾, he cited from a letter addressed to Zimri-Išm the following three lines relating to a "caravan"⁽⁷⁾: **Aš-kuur-Adad a-na libbi ma-ti-ša a-wa-aš šī-ir-[š]u* ŠA. BA 50 imēru^{H1.A} *u awilū*^{MRS.} *ša nu a-na Ka-aš-šū^{K1} i-lá-gá ša-pi-el tum ma aš ri šu ma iš-ka šī* (?). Consequently, we have evidence that big caravans, to all appearances organized in much the same way as previously at the time of Šarrum-kēn and Puzur-Aššur II, journeyed to Kaniš some

(5) Obviously, these amounts of silver and gold represent an *irbun*; cf. above, p. 28, note 2; p. 29, note 2.

(6) Literally, "We heard".

(7) Lit., "^{x+4}and then ^{x+5}your saying ^{x+7}will be present ^{x+8}in our heart".

(8) Cf. the corresponding *ma-a-ku-nu* in l. 5 of the letter WAG 48/1468, cited above, p. 28, note 4.

(9) *RIIA* V (1938-40), pp. 70 ff.

(10) Cf. the remarks of Albright, *BASOR* 77 (1940), p. 31.

(11) *Garram*; see Dossin, *loc. cit.*, p. 74, note 5.

(12) In consideration of the context, Dossin rendered these lines as follows: "Aškur-Adad au milieu de son pays relâcha la (caravane). De celle-ci, 50 ânes et leurs hommes s'avancèrent en direction de Kaniš, tandis que le reste était retenu auprès de lui."

time after Išme-Dagan I, the son and first successor of Šamši-Adad I, had ascended the throne of Assyria; for, according to the data at present available, Zimri-Lim, the addressee of the letter here under discussion, ruled over Mari from the sixth to the 37th year after Šamši-Adad's death (1). However, since those other letters from Mari which relate to king Aškur-Adad of Karanā deal with events of the 30th and 31st year of Hammur-rapi of Babylon (2) and, particularly, since the first half of Išme-Dagan's long reign (3) was a period of Assyrian decline and struggle for survival (4), it would appear that the caravan the movements of which were reported to Zimri-Lim journeyed to Kaniš at the earliest some twenty five years after Išme-Dagan's accession in 1786 B.C. (5).

As was just intimated in correlating the approximate date of its departure for Kaniš with regnal years of Išme-Dagan, we presume that this caravan was organized in Assyria and consisted of servants of the Assyrian king. This seems probable, on the one hand, because, as shown by the letters ARMT II 41 (6) and 43 (7), Aškur-Adad's relations with Išme-Dagan were such as to explain the above-cited report on his not unfriendly attitude toward the caravan (8), and, on

(1) See Hildegard Lewy, *Mélanges Isidore Lévy*, p. 243.

(2) See Hildegard Lewy, *Orientalia* 25 (1956), pp. 343 ff.

(3) As will be recalled, the Assyrian king list from Khorsabad (II, 2f.) attributes to Išme-Dagan a reign of forty years; the "SOAS King List" (II, 7) gives him even fifty years.

(4) See H. Lewy, *loc. cit.*, p. 330, note 3 in fine and pp. 347 ff.

(5) Cf. above, p. 15 with note 3.

(6) According to this text, king Atamrum of Andariq, who was an ally of Zimri-Lim's and an old adversary of Išme-Dagan's, considered Aškur-Adad's attitude of friendliness toward the Assyrian so provocative as to merit the following rebuke: "x-2 Why x-2 travel x-2 your envoys x-2 again and again x-2 together with x-2 Išme-Dagan's x-2 envoys? x-2 You even will provide him with grain to such an extent that he will be sated!" Cf. H. Lewy, *loc. cit.*, p. 348 with note 2.

(7) Much as the source cited in the preceding footnote, this letter clearly indicates that, although a vassal of Zimri-Lim's, Aškur-Adad could hardly be described as an adversary of Išme-Dagan's; for it states that a message delivered at Karanā by an envoy of the Assyrian ruler included the statement: "We have but one enemy! he is certainly Andariq! he is certainly the only one!" For further details see H. Lewy, *loc. cit.*, p. 346.

(8) Various sources, a full discussion of which would lead us too far beyond the scope of this paper, indicate that, unless bound by treaty to act otherwise, every monarch could, and frequently did, detain foreign-

the other hand, because caravans en route from Aššur to Kaniš frequented highways passing through the vicinity of Karanā. ⁽¹⁾

Although these considerations are highly conjectural, it seems permissible to base upon them the suggestion to assign the Kültepe tablets from level 1 b to the middle of the eighteenth century. ⁽²⁾ For, in distinction from Balkan's above-mentioned assumption that the resettlement of the *hārūm* Kaniš began in Šamši-Adad's tenth year ⁽³⁾, this dating is easily compatible with the find in level 1 b of specimens of painted "Khabur ware" ⁽⁴⁾, i.e. of that type of ceramic the first examples of which Mallowan ⁽⁵⁾ dates to the time of Šamši-Adad's younger son, Iasmah-Adad, whose rule over Mari ended about 1782 B.C.

* * *

It remains to make a few contributions to Balkan's alphabetic list of "Kültepe 2 eponyms" which, as intimated before, calls for

ers entering his territory until they ransomed themselves or were ransomed by their ruler. Aškur-Adad acted therefore not without consideration for the foreigners and their ruler when he detained only part of the caravan which, for some reason, had fallen into his hands and permitted its major part to proceed to its destination.

⁽¹⁾ The most significant data which point in this direction are the following: (1) The evidence gathered by H. Lewy, *loc. cit.*, p. 338, note 5 and pp. 344 ff. shows that Karanā lay not far from Razama; according to *ARM* V 67,30 f. and *ARM* I 109,7, the latter town, in turn, was located in the same region as Burullum. On the other hand, the passage quoted in *Orientalia* 21 (1952), p. 266, note 2 from the afore-mentioned Old Assyrian letter VAT 9295 leaves no doubt that caravans journeying from Aššur to Kaniš passed through Razama and Burullum. (2) Similarly, we learn from Kültepe texts such as B.M. 77810 (latest publication by Wiseman, *JCS* 7 [1953], p. 109) that those caravans travelled sometimes via the town of Nahur which figures in *ARM* II 62,5-5 as a place in Aškur-Adad's sphere of interest.

⁽²⁾ For the chronology adopted in the present paper see above, p. 15, note 3.

⁽³⁾ Cf. above, p. 27, note 2. As Balkan (p. 60) has felt, his assumption meets with some difficulty because the earliest datable pieces of "Khabur ware" come from the later years of Šamši-Adad's reign. See also above, p. 21 with note 4.

⁽⁴⁾ See Tahsin Özgüç, *Balkan* No. 65 (1953), pp. 115 f.; *ibidem*, No. 71 (1954), p. 379.

⁽⁵⁾ *Iraq* IX (1947), pp. 82 f.

quite a number of corrections and modifications (1). The patronymic of the eponym No. 50 is provided by TC III 248,5 ff.: *iš-tà waraḥ^{KAN} ma-hu-w-e-[li] li-mu um ša qd-ti Ša-kà-li-a mēr Mī-na nim*. This eponym figures also in ICK 148,11 f. and in the interesting formula *li-mu um ša wa (ar)-ki Ša-kà-li-a* (ICK 91,13 f.) which parallels the Neo-Assyrian *lim-mu ša arki^{ma} Nabā-sarra ušur* found in VS I 81 and 85 (2). — The patronymic *mēr Ba-qū-ni-im* of *Ih-ni-Adad* (No. 28) is found in l. 23 of a letter (Gissen 2-1) which was not accessible to Balkan. — Ad No. 11: Balkan ought to have noted (1) that TuM I 15⁴, x+5 gives *mēr A-bar-zī-zī-im* (3) as the patronymic of No. 11 and (2) that the *lim-mu Aškur damiq* figures also in KTS 57², x+8; instead, he erroneously cited the case-tablet BIN VI 216 as evidence for Aškur-damiq's patronymic. — The patronymic of No. 15 has been known for many years from the fragmentary case-tablet published by Böhl, *Mededeelingen uit de Leidsche Verzameling van Spijkerschrift-Inscripties*, II (Amsterdam 1931), p. 38, No. 1203. — No. 19 occurs also in ICK 33,10 f. — Ad No. 29, paragraph 1: Cf. further ICK 50, left edge. — Ad No. 30, paragraph 3: The text has correctly *li-mu-um ša qd-ti* (see EL II, p. 184 sub 225). — Ad No. 41, paragraph 2: none of the six published texts cited by Balkan furnishes the date *li-mu-um ša qd-ti Ku-bi-a*, which occurs, however, in an unpublished text which was inspected by me in 1928. — Ad No. 43:

(1) The value of this list would have been greatly enhanced if Dr. Balkan had thought of communicating the full context of the new passages, presumably numerous, in which a particular eponym is mentioned together with *hamūthum* officers. In the absence of original *lim-mu* lists the progress of investigations aiming at establishing the sequence of the eponyms of "Kultepe level 2" depends almost exclusively upon publications which, in addition to communicating all chronological statements contained in one and the same contract as well as the names of the contracting parties and the witnesses, indicate whether a *hamūthum*-officer figures immediately before a reference to month and *lim-mu* as, e.g., in the contracts EL 23 ff. or rather a few lines before such a reference, as is the case in EL 50 ff.

(2) Cf. Ungnad, *RLA* II, p. 452. Cf. also the formula *li-mu warhi Tāb^{ma}-pili^{ma}-Ašur* which Dossin communicated sub No. 17 in his above-cited list of eponyms mentioned in the administrative texts from Mari.

(3) The patronymic *mēr A-bar-zī-zī-im* is found also in VAT 13508, 20 where it serves as substitute for the name of a person not known to us.

Nu (*inam* B) *Pu-sa-zu* is mentioned in *KTS* 49^b (6). — Ad No. 45, paragraph 1: *Puzer-Nirah* figures also in *BIN* IV 161 = *EL* 212, A 24. — Ad No. 61, paragraph 2: It remains to be seen whether Balkan's emendation of *Šu* 1.R(?) *MAIJ* (... *Šu Piriqqim?* (8)) is justified.

(7) Since the document lists in ll. 17 f. 3 1/2 minas of wool *a-ne Wa qur-tum*, it is obvious that the *Bu-sa-zu* referred to in l. 11 is *Pūšu-kên*'s third son. (On *Pūšu-kên*'s daughter *Wapī qur-tum* see *HUCA* XXVII, p. 79, note 333.)

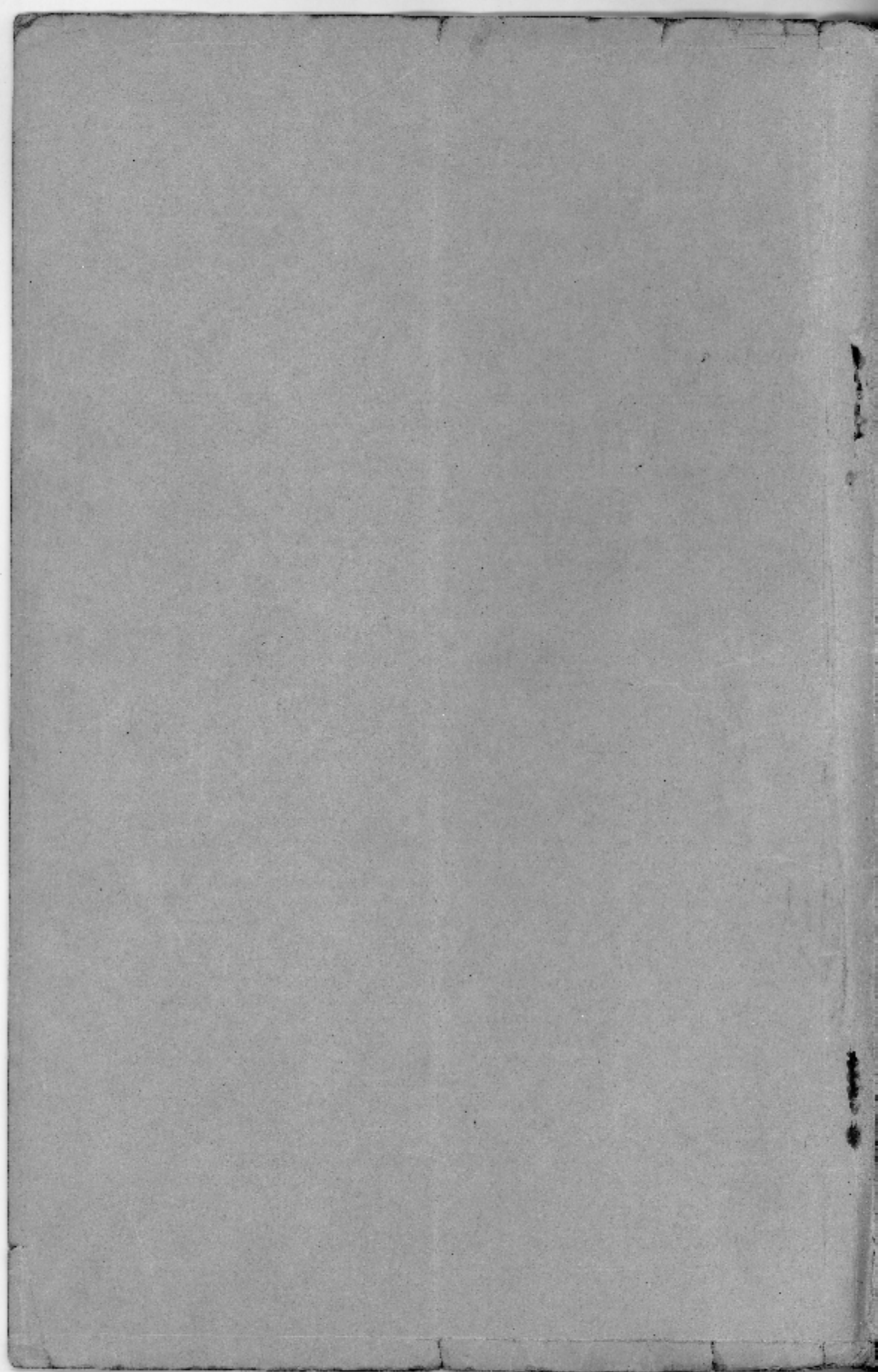
(8) On the cult of the "mythological lion" designated as *piriqqum* in *Assur* see *Orientalia* 19 (1950), p. 25, note 3.

with the writer's regards

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ON SOME INSTITUTIONS
OF THE OLD ASSYRIAN EMPIRE¹

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BEDŘICH HROZNÝ determined in 1925 the exact place of the clandestine diggings owing to which many museums and private collectors had been able to acquire, in the course of the preceding five decades, thousands of "Kultepe texts". Having thus solved a problem with which earlier explorers had wrestled in vain², he unearthed several hundred texts of the same type in the immediate neighborhood of the small area of the secret excavations. As the majority of the new tablets was in excellent condition and promised new insight into many problems more or less unsolved, their prompt publication was most desirable, all the more so since then, in 1925, the number of "Cappadocian" texts generally accessible amounted to less than 400 pieces many of which were poorly preserved or fragmentary. Hence it was welcome news when, in 1929, a French publisher announced the first volume of Hrozný's "Inscriptions cunéiformes du Kultépé" as forthcoming. However, for reasons which have never been divulged, the expectations raised by the publisher's announcement (which mentioned also an "introduction") remained unfulfilled, and some twenty

¹ The point of departure of this article was Hrozný's volume of Old Assyrian texts from Kültepe. Some of the observations presented in the following pages were communicated in papers read at Chicago on April 10, 1954 at a meeting of the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society and on August 25, 1954 at Cambridge at the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists, the respective titles of those papers being "New Light on the Old Assyrian Empire" and "The *Šulkišum* of Kaniš and the Old Assyrian Empire".

² In his *Kültepe Kuzusu Raporu*, Ankara 1950, pp. 6 f. (pp. 109 f. of the German version), the director of the Turkish excavations at Kültepe, Dr. Tahsin Özgüç, describes Hrozný's diggings as the fourth attempt to obtain certainty about the provenience of the so-called Cappadocian Tablets. In doing so he obviously overlooked the attempt of Waldemar Belck whose interesting report on his stay at Kültepe (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* XXXIII, 1901, pp. 489 ff.) begins as follows: "In Caesarea kamen wir am 24. October [1901] an . . . Eine der Aufgaben, die ich mir für diese mehr orientierende Reise gestellt hatte, war die Bestimmung des tatsächlichen Fundortes der sog. 'cappadocischen' mit Keilschrift bedeckten Thontafelchen." Although this forgotten report abounds in untenable conclusions, it is likely that a careful study of its factual data would have been helpful to Winckler, Grothe and, especially, Hrozný. As for Hilprecht's inspection of the Kültepe, see Thureau-Dangin, *LC*, p. VIII, note 2 and cf. my *TAM* I, p. 5.

years elapsed until, but a few months before his passing, Hrozný had the satisfaction of seeing his volume published in Prague³ — to all appearances, in much the same form as originally planned.⁴ In a sense, the postponement of the publication was beneficial; for, aside from permitting collations of the autographed copies with the original tablets in the museums of Ankara and Istanbul, it gave Lubor Matouš the opportunity of contributing a very valuable index of proper names.⁵ As is learnt from the brief preface (p. 1), the delay resulted, on the other hand, in the loss "par suite d'événements de guerre" of the copies of seven tablets.⁶ To list in the present article all the new

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³ *Monographie archéologique orientalisches* edited by J. Rypl, vol. XIV: *Inscriptions cuneiformes du Kilišepi*, vol. 1, edited by Bedřich Hrozný (Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, Praha 1952); hereafter cited as *ICK*. Lists of the abbreviations hereafter used when citing other editions of Kilišepi texts or periodicals are found in *Orientalia* 13, 1946, p. 382, note 1 and in Hesser and Lewy, *Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kilišepi*, I (Leipzig 1939), pp. XVI ff. and II (Leipzig 1935), p. IV; this corpus of legal documents will here be cited as *EL*.

Hrozný's autographed copies appear on plates I to L (=texts Nos. 1-73) and plates LXXV-CXXIV (Nos. 81-194). Plates LI-LXXIV, which are the work of an architect, Mr. I. Cukr, are filled with drawings of seal impressions found on the case-tablets; as all case-tablets were opened, Hrozný was in the enviable position of being able to offer a complete edition of the numerous documents and letters which, when unearthed in 1925, were still in their envelopes. When comparing, e.g., "Sceau A" on pl. LI with the drawing No. 62 on pl. CXXIV of my *Tablettes cappadociennes* or "Sceau C" on pl. LXX with the slightly enlarged photograph of the obverse of *KT 83* which I published in *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, VI, pl. 60, one notices that Mr. Cukr's drawings are enormously enlarged and more or less sketchy. As this makes it difficult to determine which seals are known from other publications — a task which, incidentally, might have been undertaken by the editor —, it must be regretted that Hrozný published on pl. CXXV-CXXVII only a few photographs which show the (unopened) case-tablets in natural size. Such photographs would have been helpful also in finding out in which instances Cukr (or Hrozný?) correctly implied that the number of seals referred to in the text of a case is at variance with the number of seals actually used in encasing a document and in which instances his statements to this effect are erroneous.

⁴ Pp. 9-20. The brief "description des tablettes" which follows in pp. 21 f. seems to have been written prior to 1929; it ought to have been revised, on the one hand, in order to eliminate faulty transliterations of proper names which figure correctly in Matouš's list and, on the other hand, in order to classify the texts in accordance with our present knowledge. A welcome addition is the inventory (pp. 3-7) which, in conjunction with the "plan des édifices trouvés en 1925" (pl. CXXIX), permits to determine the places where the various tablets were unearthed.

⁵ Nos. 74-80. It would have been desirable to communicate at least transliterations of these tablets, all the more so since there appears on pl. LII sub 12a the note "Voir N° 74c, un fragment qui appartient au N° 12a", whence we must conclude that No. 74 (cf. the drawing on pl. LXXIII) constitutes a valuable "join" to the fragmentary case tablet of No. 12.

data contained in the remaining 187 legal documents, business notes and letters is, of course, impossible. But the following gleanings and comments will suffice to illustrate the importance of this first volume of a series of text editions (now entrusted to Matouš) which we hope will continue to enhance Old Assyrian studies.

* * *

ICK 32 sheds, *inter alia*, new light on the family laws of the Old Assyrian period. As this unique document begins with a statement to the effect that a certain Pilaḥ-līstar divorced (lit., "left") "his maid-servant" Walawala, and that she received in full her divorce-settlement,⁷ we learn here that in certain cases a woman entitled, like a "legitimate wife", to alimony was denoted not as *aššatum* but as *amtum*.⁸ This may well account for the fact that in a promissory note such as CCT 11^b = EL 24 *amtum* figures (in l. 8) in the place of the usual *aššatum*.⁹ Moreover, since it is reasonable to suppose that, unless legitimized by their father, children borne by an *amtum* did not enjoy the same rights as the children of an *aššatum*,¹⁰ the occurrence in ICK 32, 2 of the term *amtum* may explain why in the contract TC 67 =

⁷ See ll. 1 ff.: Pī-lā-a[h]-līstar Wa-a[š]š(?)-wa-lā(?) 'a-mu-sū [a-šš-ib]-sar 'e-š-šū-lā-š[a] kašpam 'a-hu-a-ut.

⁸ Bilgiç, *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* IX, 1952, p. 248 defines Walawala as "eindeimische Sklavin". But this definition, which seems to be based on the non-Assyrian character of her name, is open to serious doubts. On the one hand, in view of the obvious implications of the fact that, according to ll. 7 f. (see presently), her mother and one of her brothers bore the Assyrian names Šū līstar and Amur Aššur, and, on the other hand, because a woman designated as *amtum* X was not necessarily X's "slave". This follows, *inter alia*, from the Neo-Assyrian document 83-1-18, 45 (published by Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, XII, Chicago 1913, No. 1239; for the lines here quoted see most recently H. Levy, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 11, 1952, p. 282 with note 92) which begins as follows: [a-di-e] šā 'A-ku-u-te amti šā 'Šin-a[š] [šē^{MEŠ}.erba] '[unm]i 'Aššur-aš šiddia šarri mē^{MEŠ} Aššur^{KI}. It would seem that the queen dowager speaks here of herself as Sennacherib's *amtum* according to the principle owing to which many a king or powerful minister denoted himself as *wardum* of the ruler whom he served. Quite aside from these considerations, there is nothing in ICK 32 which, directly or indirectly, characterizes Walawala as an unfree person.

⁹ According to ll. 22 ff. of the *Samnialurkunde* Gēb No. 59, the damaged lines 3 ff. of EL 24 read as follows: [1/3 ma] mē^{MEŠ} en kašpam u-ru-pā-am '[i šē-e]r 'A-ma-lā-ah '[mēr Šin] 'e-š-šū 'a Wa-wa-lā '[am]-ti-šu 'En-šū-lā-ni i-šu '[i]š-tā ha-muš-tim ša qā-šū-im 'a qā-ti E-na-nim <unraḥ>^{KAM} 'a-lā-mu-tim li-mu-um 'A-gu-tum 1/2 šipim TA i warḥim^{KAM} 'a ip-tūn 'a qā-pu kašpam 'a qā-qā-ad šūl-mē-šū-nu ra-ki-šū 'a qā-ti 'En-šū-lā-[ni i šē-e]r 'a Wa-wa-lā [ša-ak-na-ut].

¹⁰ Cf. CH §§ 170 f.

EL 1 the matronymic *mer'ai Ištar-na'dā*¹¹, and not a patronymic, identifies a girl (*subārtum*) who was, or was soon to become¹², the wife (*aššatum*) of one Adad-damiq. The conclusion that, like *Walawala amat Pīlah-Ištar*, *Ištar-na'dā* was not entitled to call herself *aššatum* and figures therefore in *EL* 1, 6 f. instead of the girl's father appears to be supported by a feature common to *EL* 1 and *ICK* 32: much as *Ištar-na'dā*'s brothers seem to be mentioned in *EL* 1, 18^b f.¹³, *Walawala*'s brothers play a role in *ICK* 32.¹⁴ The reason why, in distinction from other Kültepe texts relating to divorce or, for that matter, to marriage, *ICK* 32 uses *anum* instead of *aššatum* is unknown. But it is perhaps not too daring to conjecture that the Assyrian traders of Kaniš did not and could not accord to their wives the title *aššatum* whenever they were married to an *aššatum* residing elsewhere — for instance in the city of Aššur — or wished to retain the right to marry another woman whom they intended to make their *aššatum*. *ICK* 32 points, in fact, in this direction since its second clause refers to children of *Pīlah-Ištar* whom he obviously had not begotten with *Walawala*.

Beginning with the words *ana awātim onnī ātim* "in connection with this affair", i. e. with the divorce and the divorce-settlement, as reported in ll. 1-4¹⁵, this second and most essential section of *ICK* 32

¹¹ That the name *Ištar-na-da* was borne by women follows from *TC* III 255 A, lines 1-3; cf. *Archives d'Histoire du Proche-Orient* I, 1937, p. 98, note 1.

¹² That *EL* 1 deals with the marriage of a girl under age which was not yet consummated, was noted by J. Lewy, *Studien zu den assyrischen Texten aus Kappadokien*, Berlin 1922, p. 68, note 1 and A. var. Praag, *Droit matrimonial assyriobabylonien*, Amsterdam 1945, p. 89; so now also Bilgiç, *loc. cit.*, p. 243.

¹³ See ll. 18^b f.: *a-ḫi-a 14d ḫ-bb-sā* "He shall not bind my brothers". The interpretation of this clause by Eisser, *EL* I, p. 1 (see now also Bilgiç, *loc. cit.*, pp. 243 f.), who finds in *ahḫēja* a reference to "the bride's" brothers, meets with serious difficulties because, being under age and the object — not the subject — of the contract, *Ištar-na'dā*'s daughter was certainly not the person to make a statement concerning "my brothers" and to have it appended to the document which contained the agreements relating to her marriage to Adad-damiq. On the other hand, it is significant that, according to ll. 1-4, the latter was the only party concerned who, by sealing the case-tablet, recognized obligations on his part. In other words, in view of the well-known rules governing the sealing of Old Assyrian contracts, it appears that *EL* 1 records exclusively rights conceded to *Ištar-na'dā* (and through her to her daughter) when she consented to her daughter's marriage. Hence it is probable that the brothers said to be exempt from any obligations were *Ištar-na'dā*'s brothers. (Obviously, these observations militate against my former suggestion that ll. 18^b f. might have served the purpose of exempting Adad-damiq's brothers from the obligations of the levirate. An additional reason for withdrawing that tentative proposal is the argument, adduced by Bilgiç, that *abassā* would be the verb expected in this case.)

¹⁴ See presently.

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¹⁶ See, for instance, *EL* 4 A, ll. 5 ff.

⁴ See, e. g., EL 194 A, ll. 14^b ff.

¹⁰ This is all the less surprising since we know of quite a number of successful Assyrian businessmen who lived for years in Anatolia and returned subsequently to their home city on the Tigris.

¹⁹ Lit., "conductor".

²⁰ In the light of these clauses, it can now be said with greater assuredness than formerly (see *EL* I, p. 5) that the document *EL* 6 concerns a divorce. In particular, it now becomes manifest that the 11½ shekels of silver mentioned in ll. 10-12 of that document represent the compensation to be given to Tallama for taking care of the son she had borne to Hi-šarrani. From the comparison of *EL* 6 with *ICK* 32 it would also appear that Tallama had been living with Hi-šarrani not as *ašlatum* but as *asērum*, and that Hi-šarrani was not "verschollen" (as considered possible by Eissart) but had moved away from Kanīš, possibly to Aššur.

²¹ For the reader's convenience, we transliterate the lines not already quoted above, p. 3, note 7: a-[m] ¹a-ma-tim a-ni-a-[l]im ²Pi-lá-uy-lítar W[a]-lú-wá-lé ³Na-a-lí-ur ma-mu-[a] ⁴Na-ve á A-mur-A-lúr ⁵a-hu-á á ho-ha-á-lí ⁶zi-an-ma ⁷ni á A-lúr ni-lí A-lí ⁸ni-lí ru-ha-lim ⁹li-ma-ó-ve ¹⁰a-ma Pi-lá-uy-lítar ¹¹ve-er ¹²á ¹³na ¹⁴na-ma á-ni ¹⁵ni ¹⁶á-lí ¹⁷á-lí ru-ha-lim ¹⁸a-ma á-lí-ru-ha-lim ¹⁹li-ma ²⁰á-lí ²¹li-ma ²²á-lí ²³á-lí ²⁴á-lí ²⁵á-lí ²⁶á-lí ²⁷á-lí ²⁸á-lí ²⁹á-lí ³⁰á-lí ³¹á-lí ³²á-lí ³³á-lí ³⁴á-lí ³⁵á-lí ³⁶á-lí ³⁷á-lí ³⁸á-lí ³⁹á-lí ⁴⁰á-lí ⁴¹á-lí ⁴²á-lí ⁴³á-lí ⁴⁴á-lí ⁴⁵á-lí ⁴⁶á-lí ⁴⁷á-lí ⁴⁸á-lí ⁴⁹á-lí ⁵⁰á-lí ⁵¹á-lí ⁵²á-lí ⁵³á-lí ⁵⁴á-lí ⁵⁵á-lí ⁵⁶á-lí ⁵⁷á-lí ⁵⁸á-lí ⁵⁹á-lí ⁶⁰á-lí ⁶¹á-lí ⁶²á-lí ⁶³á-lí ⁶⁴á-lí ⁶⁵á-lí ⁶⁶á-lí ⁶⁷á-lí ⁶⁸á-lí ⁶⁹á-lí ⁷⁰á-lí ⁷¹á-lí ⁷²á-lí ⁷³á-lí ⁷⁴á-lí ⁷⁵á-lí ⁷⁶á-lí ⁷⁷á-lí ⁷⁸á-lí ⁷⁹á-lí ⁸⁰á-lí ⁸¹á-lí ⁸²á-lí ⁸³á-lí ⁸⁴á-lí ⁸⁵á-lí ⁸⁶á-lí ⁸⁷á-lí ⁸⁸á-lí ⁸⁹á-lí ⁹⁰á-lí ⁹¹á-lí ⁹²á-lí ⁹³á-lí ⁹⁴á-lí ⁹⁵á-lí ⁹⁶á-lí ⁹⁷á-lí ⁹⁸á-lí ⁹⁹á-lí ¹⁰⁰á-lí ¹⁰¹á-lí ¹⁰²á-lí ¹⁰³á-lí ¹⁰⁴á-lí ¹⁰⁵á-lí ¹⁰⁶á-lí ¹⁰⁷á-lí ¹⁰⁸á-lí ¹⁰⁹á-lí ¹¹⁰á-lí ¹¹¹á-lí ¹¹²á-lí ¹¹³á-lí ¹¹⁴á-lí ¹¹⁵á-lí ¹¹⁶á-lí ¹¹⁷á-lí ¹¹⁸á-lí ¹¹⁹á-lí ¹²⁰á-lí ¹²¹á-lí ¹²²á-lí ¹²³á-lí ¹²⁴á-lí ¹²⁵á-lí ¹²⁶á-lí ¹²⁷á-lí ¹²⁸á-lí ¹²⁹á-lí ¹³⁰á-lí ¹³¹á-lí ¹³²á-lí ¹³³á-lí ¹³⁴á-lí ¹³⁵á-lí ¹³⁶á-lí ¹³⁷á-lí ¹³⁸á-lí ¹³⁹á-lí ¹⁴⁰á-lí ¹⁴¹á-lí ¹⁴²á-lí ¹⁴³á-lí ¹⁴⁴á-lí ¹⁴⁵á-lí ¹⁴⁶á-lí ¹⁴⁷á-lí ¹⁴⁸á-lí ¹⁴⁹á-lí ¹⁵⁰á-lí ¹⁵¹á-lí ¹⁵²á-lí ¹⁵³á-lí ¹⁵⁴á-lí ¹⁵⁵á-lí ¹⁵⁶á-lí ¹⁵⁷á-lí ¹⁵⁸á-lí ¹⁵⁹á-lí ¹⁶⁰á-lí ¹⁶¹á-lí ¹⁶²á-lí ¹⁶³á-lí ¹⁶⁴á-lí ¹⁶⁵á-lí ¹⁶⁶á-lí ¹⁶⁷á-lí ¹⁶⁸á-lí ¹⁶⁹á-lí ¹⁷⁰á-lí ¹⁷¹á-lí ¹⁷²á-lí ¹⁷³á-lí ¹⁷⁴á-lí ¹⁷⁵á-lí ¹⁷⁶á-lí ¹⁷⁷á-lí ¹⁷⁸á-lí ¹⁷⁹á-lí ¹⁸⁰á-lí ¹⁸¹á-lí ¹⁸²á-lí ¹⁸³á-lí ¹⁸⁴á-lí ¹⁸⁵á-lí ¹⁸⁶á-lí ¹⁸⁷á-lí ¹⁸⁸á-lí ¹⁸⁹á-lí ¹⁹⁰á-lí ¹⁹¹á-lí ¹⁹²á-lí ¹⁹³á-lí ¹⁹⁴á-lí ¹⁹⁵á-lí ¹⁹⁶á-lí ¹⁹⁷á-lí ¹⁹⁸á-lí ¹⁹⁹á-lí ²⁰⁰á-lí ²⁰¹á-lí ²⁰²á-lí ²⁰³á-lí ²⁰⁴á-lí ²⁰⁵á-lí ²⁰⁶á-lí ²⁰⁷á-lí ²⁰⁸á-lí ²⁰⁹á-lí ²¹⁰á-lí ²¹¹á-lí ²¹²á-lí ²¹³á-lí ²¹⁴á-lí ²¹⁵á-lí ²¹⁶á-lí ²¹⁷á-lí ²¹⁸á-lí ²¹⁹á-lí ²²⁰á-lí ²²¹á-lí ²²²á-lí ²²³á-lí ²²⁴á-lí ²²⁵á-lí ²²⁶á-lí ²²⁷á-lí ²²⁸á-lí ²²⁹á-lí ²³⁰á-lí ²³¹á-lí ²³²á-lí ²³³á-lí ²³⁴á-lí ²³⁵á-lí ²³⁶á-lí ²³⁷á-lí ²³⁸á-lí ²³⁹á-lí ²⁴⁰á-lí ²⁴¹á-lí ²⁴²á-lí ²⁴³á-lí ²⁴⁴á-lí ²⁴⁵á-lí ²⁴⁶á-lí ²⁴⁷á-lí ²⁴⁸á-lí ²⁴⁹á-lí ²⁵⁰á-lí ²⁵¹á-lí ²⁵²á-lí ²⁵³á-lí ²⁵⁴á-lí ²⁵⁵á-lí ²⁵⁶á-lí ²⁵⁷á-lí ²⁵⁸á-lí ²⁵⁹á-lí ²⁶⁰á-lí ²⁶¹á-lí ²⁶²á-lí ²⁶³á-lí ²⁶⁴á-lí ²⁶⁵á-lí ²⁶⁶á-lí ²⁶⁷á-lí ²⁶⁸á-lí ²⁶⁹á-lí ²⁷⁰á-lí ²⁷¹á-lí ²⁷²á-lí ²⁷³á-lí ²⁷⁴á-lí ²⁷⁵á-lí ²⁷⁶á-lí ²⁷⁷á-lí ²⁷⁸á-lí ²⁷⁹á-lí ²⁸⁰á-lí ²⁸¹á-lí ²⁸²á-lí ²⁸³á-lí ²⁸⁴á-lí ²⁸⁵á-lí ²⁸⁶á-lí ²⁸⁷á-lí ²⁸⁸á-lí ²⁸⁹á-lí ²⁹⁰á-lí ²⁹¹á-lí ²⁹²á-lí ²⁹³á-lí ²⁹⁴á-lí ²⁹⁵á-lí ²⁹⁶á-lí ²⁹⁷á-lí ²⁹⁸á-lí ²⁹⁹á-lí ³⁰⁰á-lí ³⁰¹á-lí ³⁰²á-lí ³⁰³á-lí ³⁰⁴á-lí ³⁰⁵á-lí ³⁰⁶á-lí ³⁰⁷á-lí ³⁰⁸á-lí ³⁰⁹á-lí ³¹⁰á-lí ³¹¹á-lí ³¹²á-lí ³¹³á-lí ³¹⁴á-lí ³¹⁵á-lí ³¹⁶á-lí ³¹⁷á-lí ³¹⁸á-lí ³¹⁹á-lí ³²⁰á-lí ³²¹á-lí ³²²á-lí ³²³á-lí ³²⁴á-lí ³²⁵á-lí ³²⁶á-lí ³²⁷á-lí ³²⁸á-lí ³²⁹á-lí ³³⁰á-lí ³³¹á-lí ³³²á-lí ³³³á-lí ³³⁴á-lí ³³⁵á-lí ³³⁶á-lí ³³⁷á-lí ³³⁸á-lí ³³⁹á-lí ³⁴⁰á-lí

[Some time after the preceding comments on the contents and implications of *ICK* 32 had been put down, Dr. Matouš acquainted me with the unpublished contract *I* 490. Since, as will be presently seen, this precious document furnishes essential information about the status of spouses designated not as *alkatum* but as *amtum*, its prompt publication at this place needs no justification.²² *I* 490, which concerns the same persons as the letters *BIN* VI 111 and *VAT* 13 547²³, runs as follows: ¹*Ištar-lá-mu-si mer'at* ²*A-šur-na-da Puzur-Ištar* ³*a-na am-ti-tim* ⁴*e-ku-uz-ma a-na* ⁵*Bu-ru-ú-šu-dim* ⁶*lu a-na* ⁷*Ha-tim a-šur* ⁸*ha-ra-šu-ni iš-ti-šu* ⁹*i-ra-di-ši ñ qá-di-šu(1)-ma* ¹⁰*a-na Ká-ni-iš* ¹¹*á-ta-ra-ši* ¹²*šu-ma* ¹³*u-zi-ib-ši 5 maná'* ¹⁴*kašpum i-ša-qal* (lower edge) ¹⁵*šu-ma šá-it* (rev.) ¹⁶*u-zi-ib-šu 5 maná'* ¹⁷*ka-ša-qal* ¹⁸*šu-ma* ¹⁹*a-lá-an u-šá-ti-šu* ²⁰*a-tim A-šur* ²¹*ša-ni-lám* ²²*li e-ka-az* ²³*šu-ma* ²⁴*Ištar-lá-mu-si a-di 3 ša-na-at* ²⁵*še-ra-am lá e-nur* ²⁶*amtam i-ša-a-ma* ²⁷*e-ka-az A-šur-ú-me-di* ²⁸*A-ni-na* ²⁹*ñ um-ma-ša* ³⁰*i-di-nu-ši* ³¹*[maḥar] A-na-lí* (left edge) ³²*mēr A-at-tib* ³³*maḥar Ma-mum-ba-lám-A-šur* ³⁴*mēr A-šur-ša-lu-lí* ³⁵*Puzur-Ištar* ³⁶*took* (in marriage) ³⁷*as amtum* ³⁸*Ištar-lamassi, the daughter of* ³⁹*Aššur-na'dá*, ⁴⁰*and (thus)* ⁴¹*he will take* ⁴²*her* ⁴³*with him* ⁴⁴*to* ⁴⁵*Burušaddum* ⁴⁶*or to* ⁴⁷*Hattum* ⁴⁸*where(soever)* ⁴⁹*this journey (will lead him);* ⁵⁰*in addition,* ⁵¹*he*

kašpum i-ša-qal ⁵²*Lá-mu-si me-er-a-ši* ⁵³*Pi-lá-ah-Ištar i-nu-ni* ⁵⁴*a-na a-tim* ⁵⁵*li-ka-ku i-ra-di-ši* ⁵⁶*lu ar-bi-tim* ⁵⁷*á-ka-ut-ta-ša* ⁵⁸*ša-ba-ši mī-nu* ⁵⁹*á-lá e-ru-ša-ši* ⁶⁰*maḥar ša-nam-A-šur* ⁶¹*maḥar E[na-na-Sin]* ⁶²*maḥar [...]* ⁶³*maḥar Da-šá-dá* ⁶⁴*maḥar A-ša-da*.

²² It goes without saying that I am most grateful to Dr. Matouš for placing at my disposal a copy of the document and for consenting to its communication in transliteration and translation.

²³ The following is a transliteration of this unpublished letter: *am-ma Puzur-Ištar-ma* ²⁴*a-na* ²⁵*Ištar-lá-mu-si* ²⁶*gi-lá-ma a-na-ham* [erasure ending in *-na(?)*] ²⁷*a-šur* ²⁸*šá-it-tim* ²⁹*to gi-ri* ³⁰*hiššum 50 maná'* ³¹*acnukum ku-nu-ku á* ³²*i-na me-er-a-ši* ³³*a-na* ³⁴*ša-ar-ši-im* ³⁵*me-er-a-ši* ³⁶*in* ³⁷*re* ³⁸*at 30* ³⁹*šá-it-tim* ⁴⁰*(edge)* ⁴¹*ša qá-tim* ⁴²*mi-at 20* ⁴³*šá-it-tim* ⁴⁴*(rev.)* ⁴⁵*damqatum* ⁴⁶*amāra* ⁴⁷*ša-lá-an* (sic) ⁴⁸*á mī-ma* ⁴⁹*a-nim i-na* ⁵⁰*šá-it-tim* ⁵¹*ku-na* ⁵²*ka-ša-qal* ⁵³*me-er-a-ši* ⁵⁴*acnukum a-na* ⁵⁵*ša-ši* ⁵⁶*a-na lá* ⁵⁷*ir-gi-i* ⁵⁸*a-dá* ⁵⁹*iš-ti-ši* ⁶⁰*co-ku-sá* ⁶¹*šu-ru-ši* ⁶²*ni*.

²⁴ Lit., "Ištar-lamassi, the daughter of Aššur-na'dá, Puzur-Ištar 'took (in marriage) 'to be *amtum*".

²⁷ Lit., "conduct".

²⁸ It will be noted how lines 4^b 10 coordinate Burušaddum and Hattum as alternative goals of a commercial trip and contrast them with Kanīš. Thus this passage supplements the data adduced by me in *Symboleae Hraev.* IV, 1950, pp. 368 ff. as evidence that, like Burušaddum, Kanīš and other place names, Hattum occurs in the Kültepe texts as the name of a city as well as of the territory dominated by this city, i. e. in the function of the terms *URU Hatti* and *KUR URU Hatti*, as found in the later sources unearthed at Boğazköy. As regards Landsberger's latest attempt (*ibidem*, pp. 321 ff.) to deny this and to prove that *i-ur* *Ha-tim* means "auf dem flachen Lande", "in der Provinz", I recall in passing that Old Assyrian expresses this notion by *ina eglon* and *eglam*; cf., e. g., *TC* II 21, 7 ff. (see *EL* II, pp. 90 f.),

will bring her ¹⁰together with him ¹¹back ¹²to Kanīš.¹³ ¹⁴If ¹⁵he divorces her, ¹⁶he will pay ¹⁷5 minas of ¹⁸silver; ¹⁹if she ²⁰divorces him, ²¹she will pay ²²5 minas. ²³[If²⁴] ²⁵Besides his wife ²⁶in²⁷ the city of Aššur²⁸ ²⁹he shall not take (in marriage) ³⁰another (woman). ³¹If ³²Ištar-lamassi ³³does not behold³⁴ an infant³⁵ ³⁶within 3 years, ³⁷he will buy a maid-

EL 331, 23 ff. *ṣu-ḫū-tum lu i-na a-lim^{K1} lu i-na eplim^{lim} u na i-lit lu sa-ou e-ra-bō* [see EL II, pp. 195 f.], EL 286, 1, TC III 33, 12 ff. (*emūram eplim^{lim} i-na-ut-ma* . . .), ICK 12, 11: 29 f. If Landsberger tries to support his assertions by the far-fetched argument "Schliesslich wäre es mehr als sonderbar, wenn in I¹ (= ICK 162) and g (= ICK 178), den einzigen Urkunden, in denen die Rückzahlung eines Darlehens nach Rückkehr eines Kontrahenten von der Reise erfolgt, beidemal diese Reise nach Hattin³ gegangen wäre", he merely shows that he failed to take cognizance of documents as easily accessible as EL 68 (see II, 5 ff.: *iš-tā a-lim^{K1} i-bu-ann i ša-a-ri-ku A-gu-ša kas-pum i-ba-gal*), EL 69 (see II, 5 ff.: *iš-tā i-na e-ra-bū-tu-ma i-ba-gal Ga-ū-lū i-ba-ba-lam iš-tā i-na i-ba-ri-ku i-ba-gal*), TC III 245 (see II, 5 ff.: *iš-tā a-lim^{K1} i-na i-ba-ri-ku i-ba-gal*), BIN VI 229 (see II, 5 ff.: *i-na Kā-ni-š <i-na> e-ra-bū-tu i-ba-gal*), EL 227 (see I, 5-15) and others.

¹³ Lit., "he will make her returned ¹⁴to Kanīš ¹⁵together with him only."

²⁴ *Samma* "if" is here obviously out of place; since the preceding and the following clauses of our document begin with *Samma*, it appears that the scribe repeated it by mistake.

²⁵ Lit., "of".

²⁶ The spelling *a-lim A-sar* must, of course, be compared with *a-lim A-sar* in TC III 58, 16 where the context suggests the reading *a-lam A-sar*. (For LIM - *lam* see, e. g., EL 252, 6; EL 313, 10; TC III 33, 12 [see above, p. 6, note 26]; TC III 166, 13; TC III 202, 2 and cf. von Soden, *Das Akkadische Syllabar*, p. 77 who prefers the transliteration *lam*.) For the spellings *a-lim^{K1} A-sar* and *a-lim^{K1} A-sar* see III, 102, A 15 and EL 239, 22.

²⁷ Instead of *e-mar* one expects *e-mar* or *e-mar-ar*. However, the well-known fact that other Semitic languages substitute *ar* for *ur* (see, e. g., Bauer und Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, Halle 1927, p. 42 sub u) and, especially, the Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian forms *ašpar* and *šapar*, which were discussed by von Soden, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 2, 1948, p. 301, prevent us from seeing in *e-mar* a faulty form. [The reasons for which Gelb, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 12, 1955, p. 48 rejects von Soden's evaluation of the forms *ašpar* and *šapar* are not cogent, all the less so since the inverse phenomenon of the occurrence of *emim* instead of *emmar* (in Middle Assyrian documents; see von Soden, *loc. cit.*, p. 300) has a parallel in Old Assyrian in which, as will be recalled, *batūg wa-tār* alternates in the same idiom with *batūg wa-tā-ar*. Since *batūg* is 1 r, it appears, in fact, that against my former explanation of *wa-tā-ar* as II 1, *wa-tār* stands for *wa-tār*, just as Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian *emmar* and *šippar* stand for *emmar* and *šippar*. In other words, it seems that, as early as the epoch of the Kültepe texts, the Assyrian dialect was characterized by phonetic phenomena familiar in part from Biblical Aramaic (see above) and in part from Syriac (see, e. g., Bruckmann, *Syrische Grammatik*, 1951, § 56 sub aš).]

²⁸ In view of Ištar-lamassi's legal status it is but logical that our document uses here the term *šarraz*; for, as was repeatedly noted, *šarraz* (var. *šarraz*) denotes children begotten with an *eslam*.

servant and ²²take her (as concubine). Aššur-nêmedi, ²³Anina and her mother ²⁴gave her (in marriage).²⁵ ²⁶[Before] Anna-(i)li, ²⁷the son of Āl-tāb; ²⁸before Maunum-balam-Aššur, ²⁹the son of Aššur-sulūli."

Besides shedding light on the legal position of an *amtum* of, no doubt, Assyrian nationality who married at Kaniš an Assyrian from Aššur, I 490 helps to establish the exact wording of the cognate document ICK 3³⁴ which, however, represents the marriage contract of an *aššatum*³⁵ characterized by her own and her father's name³⁶ as an Anatolian "native" from Kaniš.³⁷ This important text may now be

³⁴ On the basis of *Geš* No. 36, 28 f. (*ṣar-paš A-šur-nê-me-dî mēr A-šur-as-da*; acc. also *KTS* 8³⁵, 1. 43), it seems quite likely that the two men figuring in ll. 22-24 of our document were brothers of the bride Ištar-lamassi. In view of the habit of using as witnesses to business transactions relatives and especially brothers, we mention as further evidence which possibly points in this direction the fact that, according to *RL* 124, 21, an *A-nê-na* witnessed a transaction which concerned, inter alia, an amount of silver owned by an *A-šur-nê-me-dî* (ll. 13 f.).

³⁵ An unpublished first translation and translation of this contract of Lāqipum with Hatala was published as early as 1939 by Hrozný in *Symbolae Kerschbair*, pp. 108 ff.; see further Landsberger, *Symbolae Hrozný*, III (1950), pp. 338 f. (with faulty designation of the text!); J. Lewy, *Babylon*, IV (1950), p. 421; Bilgiç, *loc. cit.*, pp. 242 f.; Driver and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws*, I, Oxford 1932, p. 370, note 5.

³⁶ Thus if we follow Hrozný, *loc. cit.*, p. 109 in taking it for granted that Lāqipum's wife *Hu-ta-lā* (ICK 3, 1 ff.) was identical with that *Hu-a-ta-lā* *uštāt Lā-gi-ip mēr IR* (... c. *mēr Wardim*; cf. below, p. 76, note 325) who appears in ICK 67, 2 f. It is, in fact, difficult to believe in a coincidence and, accordingly, to draw a distinction between Lāqipum who was the husband of a *Hu-a-ta-lā* and another Lāqipum who married a *Hu-ta-lā*. According to Hrozný, the latter ICK 69 substitutes for *Hu-a-ta-lā* or *Hu-ta-lā* the "variant" *Hu-ta-lā*. It must, however, be noted that the other letters addressed by Lāqipum to his wife (CCT III 30³⁸ and BIN IV 228) offer *Hu-ta-lā* as does ICK 3. Note that CCT III 30³⁸ concerns the same debtor as the document ICK 97, and that ICK 97 and ICK 69 were found in one and the same room.

³⁷ Hatala's father, a certain Enišrū, is known to have been a money-lender apparently of considerable means; see J. Lewy, *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental* I, 1937, pp. 96 f.

³⁸ The observation that their respective names and patronymics permit us to define Lāqipum and Hatala as spouses of different ethnical origins is borne out by the fact, already briefly noted by Hrozný, *loc. cit.*, p. 111, that their marriage contract was witnessed by two Assyrians and two bearers of the typically "native" names Talia and Šubbianikka. For obvious reasons, it is also important to note that persons named Šubbianikka were women. (The pertinent evidence adduced by me in *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental* II, 1938, p. 114, note 1 is now supplemented, inter alia, by the document ICK 35, the inner tablet of which begins as follows: "Šalu(w)atca bought Šulī; his mother (*ym uštāt*) Šu š) Šubbianikka offered him for sale.") Finally, attention must be called to the fact that there occurs in ll. 15, 16 and 18 of ICK 3 the masculine suffix *-ka* instead of the respective feminine suffixes *-sa* and *-ši* required by the context. As this is a characteristic feature of many a document relating to bearers of non-Assyrian names, it is hardly too daring to assume that this contract was recorded by a "native" scribe who may or may not have been in the employ of Enišrū and/or his daughter.

"and "even later on", "after "she procures "somehow" an infant.
 "for him, "she may sell her "where(socver) she pleases." "If Lāqipum
 "divorces her, "he will pay 5 minas of silver, "and if Hatala divorces
 him, "she will pay 2 1/2 minas of "silver. "Before Mašāa, "before
 Aššurī-tikal, "before Talia, "before Šubbianikka.""]

* * *

As said above, the occurrence in *ICK* 32 of an oath by "Aššur, Anna and the prince" is so remarkable as to call for further investigation. Since, according to scores of contemporary Babylonian documents, the inhabitants of many a major city were wont to mention in their oaths the divine patron of their city, we must, above all, determine whether Anna can be supposed to have been the god of the city of Kaniš. Considering the circumstances in which he figures in the contracts *EL* 67, *TC* III 254¹⁵ and *ICK* 115, in the document *EL* 153 and, especially, in an unpublished letter of the Sayce Collection¹⁶, it

¹⁵ As for *rea ar-kā-tām* "later on", see *EL* II, p. 167, note b.

¹⁶ Thus on the supposition that *mā-in* stands incorrectly for *mā-ma*; cf. the frequent use in negative sentences of *mā-ma* in the sense of "in any way". For a proposal to eliminate *mā-in* see Landsberger (*loc. cit.*, p. 339, note 59) whose interpretation of the context (*ll.* 7^b-16) is, however, as unacceptable to me as it was to Hilgig, *loc. cit.*, p. 244.

¹⁷ It so happens that a message addressed by Lāqipum to Hatala, viz. the aforementioned letter *ICK* 69, includes the following passage: "šāi-ma ku(!) šu-ma ku-tum i šā-ri-ki(!) "šā šā-ba-at "ša na ki-mi-šo "šāi mī-šā-ma "šā-in-šā(!) šā-qi "I am well. If "the maid-zervant, "has not found favor "with you, "and her "for the purchase-price "and "take her purchase-price "j, e. s. "sell her at the price at which she was acquired and keep the money you receive for her". But there is, of course, no reason to combine this passage with *ll.* 7^b-16 of *ICK* 3. — I also mention for the sake of completeness that *EL* 94, 23 names a certain Wardum mār Lāqip (see *EL* II, p. 176). As the Kültepe texts acquaint us with numerous instances in which a boy was given his grandfather's name, and as Hatala's husband was the son of a Wardum, that reference to a Wardum mār Lāqip leaves little doubt that Lāqipum and Hatala had at least one son. Moreover, just as *EL* 187 and *VAT* 9253 mention an Aššur-mālik mār Lāqip, *ICK* 121, *ICK* 138 and *EL* 183 refer to a Lāqip(m) mār Aššur-mālik; since *ICK* 138 comes from the same house as the document *ICK* 67, which concerns both Lāqip mār Wardum and Hatala, it would appear that Wardum mār Lāqip had a brother Aššur-mālik and a nephew Lāqip. From an unpublished text quoted in part by Hilgig, *Kapadokya meşetlerinde geçen yerli cözpallıyer ve bunların eski Anadolu dilleri üzerindeki yeri*. Ankara 1953, p. 15 it even seems that Lāqip mār Wardum had still other sons.

¹⁸ For a transliteration and annotated translation of *TC* III 254 see *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental* I, 1937, pp. 42 ff.

¹⁹ The pertinent lines of this letter begin with a statement to the effect that,

appears, in fact, most likely that the non-Assyrian "natives" of Kanīš and their fellow-citizens of Assyrian extraction worshipped Anna as the protector of their home-city.⁴⁷ Moreover, when looking for further instances of oaths by two deities and one man of princely status, one learns from a large number of contracts dating from approximately the same epoch as *ICK* 32 that at Larsam, i. e. in a city dedicated to the cult of the sun-god Šamaš which, like Aššur and Kanīš, had previously been governed in the name of the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur⁴⁸, persons who assumed certain obligations swore "by Nannar, Šamaš and Sin-iddinam"⁴⁹, subsequently "by Nannar, Šamaš and king Warad-Sin"⁵⁰ and, finally, "by Nannar, Šamaš and king Rīm-Sin".⁵¹ On the other hand, it follows from the titles borne by Sin-iddinam, Warad-Sin and Rīm-Sin in their "historical" inscriptions that these kings of Larsam considered their possession of Ur as important as, if not more important than, the possession of their own city Larsam,

having received one mina and three shekels of lead *ana tadmiqtim*, a certain *Šū-Bēlum* *aka* *Hadāu* (who reappears now in *ICK* 96, 17 f.) promised Aššur-bēl-awātīm ten and a half shekels of silver, the implication being that Šū-Bēlum failed to keep his promise. Turning therefore to his "brothers" Aššur-na'dā, Aššur-rē'um and Ilapat-hāni (to whom the letter is addressed), Aššur-bēl-awātīm concludes his complaints about Šū-Bēlum's unreliability in this and other matters with the significant words "In case he speaks forcibly and is not willing to settle the accounts, let them exclude (him) from Anna's abode!" (I am obliged to A. Goetze for kindly having shown me in 1928 his copy of this important letter which he had just studied in Sayce's home.)

⁴⁷ That the cult of Anna was not limited to the "natives" is corroborated by theophorous personal names such as *Puzur-A-na* (*EL* 26, 10; 34, 14; 116, 8; etc.), *Ma-na-ba-lu-um-A-na* (*CC* III 31, 12), *En-ur-A-na* (*ICK* 138, 17; *A-na-š* (*EL* 112, 7; 145, 16; 238, 33; etc.). (The assumption of Matouš, *ICK*, pp. 9, 13 and 19 that *ICK* 94, 5 mentions an *A-šā-lu-um mēr* "I-bē-lum-A-na is erroneous; as can be seen from *EL* 391, 2 f., the passage quoted by Matouš deals with an *A-šā-lu-um mēr* *I-bē-lu-um*.) Inversely, we miss on p. 19 of Matouš's list a reference to our passage, *ICK* 32, 11.)

⁴⁸ On the evidence which leads to the conclusion that administrative officers of the king of Ur were stationed at Kanīš see *Synchrone Historie*, IV, 1950, pp. 416 f. As for the presence of such officers at Aššur, see *OLZ* XXVI, 1923, col. 538.

⁴⁹ Thus according to *FBC* 4485, a text from Sin-iddinam's seventh year (about 1844 B. C.) which was published by Goetze, *JCS* 4, 1950, pp. 97 and 112.

⁵⁰ Thus, for instance, in the documents *AO* 6353 and 6352 (published by Jean, *Contrats de Larsa, première série*, Paris 1926, Nos. 10 and 11) which date from the tenth and eleventh year of Warad-Sin, i. e. from about 1826 and 1825 B. C.

⁵¹ See, inter alia, *FBC* 4220 (latest edition by Faust, *Contracts from Larsa*, New Haven 1941, No. 58; translated by Koschaker and Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetze*, VI, Leipzig 1923, No. 1563) and *FBC* 4210 (published by Faust, *op. cit.*, No. 124).

obviously because Ur, the city of the moon-god Nannar, had been, for more than a century, the capital of the whole state of "Sumer and Akkad". This being so, and since the oath formulae of the Early Babylonian epoch are known to reflect the political developments which resulted in the creation of larger states²², it is easy to see that, in the complex oaths here under discussion, the people of Larsam invoked Nannar as the god of the land to whose grace their monarch owed his rule over a territory larger than that of their native city²³, Šamaš as the patron god of their city, and Šin-iddinam (and subsequently Warad-Sin and his successor, respectively) as the prince who, while residing at Larsam, was the earthly ruler of "the land" which, as just stated, included Larsam.²⁴ A comparison of the oath formula

²² Instructive examples of changes in the oath formulae which were due to political events are provided, inter alia, by those contracts from Sippar which record oaths (1) "by Šamaš and Immerum" (scr. c. g., KU III 375), (2) "by Šamaš and Immerum, Marduk and Sumu-lā-ilā" (KU III 380), (3) "by Šamaš, Marduk, Sumu-lā-ilā and Buu-ah<1>un-ilā" (KU VI 1744), and (4) "Šamaš, Marduk and Sumu-lā-ilā" (KU III 383). It is a safe conclusion, borne out, inter alia, by the existence of those well-known year dates which mention certain activities of Immerum and his successor Buu-ah<1>un-ilā, that the first of these four formulae was in use when Sippar was the capital of an independent city-state, the second and third after Sumu-lā-ilā of Babylon compelled the rulers of Sippar to recognize him as their overlord, and the fourth after he removed Buu-ah<1>un-ilā from the throne. It will be noted that, in invoking Marduk in the oaths attested by formulae 2, 3 and 4, the people of Sippar paid homage to the divine ruler of the city of Babylon.

²³ For evidence to the effect that the moon-god was regarded not only as the divine patron and king of the city of Ur (cf. the personal name ²⁵Šin-šar-irān^{K1}) but also as the deity who "holds the life of all the land" and "chooses for kingship" see J. Lewy, *HUC* 19, 1946, p. 478. That the kings of Larsam somehow shared this belief is suggested, inter alia, by the dedicatory inscription (Gadd and Legrain, *Ur Excavations, Texts*, 1, London and Philadelphia 1928, No. 111) in which Nû-Adad calls himself *pa-mur-ma* ²⁶Nannar^{K1}-ka. Legal documents such as B. M. 33191 (latest edition by Jursa, *Tell Sifr*, Paris 1931, No. 1) point in the same direction since they mention an oath "by ²⁷Nannar and king Nû-Adad". The occurrence in various Old Babylonian texts of the personal name ²⁸Šin-šar-ma-tim "Sin is the King of the Land" shows likewise that that ancient concept survived the downfall of the Third Dynasty of Ur. (Note that one of the pertinent sources, YBC 5855 [published by Faust, *op. cit.* No. 42] comes from Larsam and dates from Šim-Sin's 24th year.) On the occurrence in V R 44 of an analogous personal name (²⁹Mār-šar-ma-a-ti) and, especially, on the fact that the notion of a divine "king of the land" is, since early times, traceable in almost every part of the Fertile Crescent in which Akkadian-speaking nations succeeded in uniting several city-states in one commonwealth see Dessin, *Syria XXI*, 1940, pp. 161 ff.

²⁴ For reasons which will presently become apparent, it is worthwhile noting that, although part of a united kingdom, Larsam continued more or less to be regarded as a city-state of its own. This follows from two dedicatory inscriptions in which Warad-Sin designates himself as *ensi Larsam*^{K1} and *ensi* ³⁰Uru, respectively;

in use at Larsam with that transmitted to us by the new Kültepe text here under discussion raises therefore the four interrelated questions: (1) Was Kaniš situated within a political unit large enough to have been considered the domain of a "god of the land"? (2) If so, was Aššur the god of that land who bestowed the scepter upon its earthly ruler? (3) Was Kaniš the seat of the government of that land? and (4) If so, was this government headed by a ruler who might be identical with the "prince" (*rubū'm*) referred to in *ICK* 32?

The answer to the first of these questions is in the affirmative, for, as was shown elsewhere¹⁵, an examination of the circumstances in which the Kültepe texts employ expressions such as *ina mālim*, *mātum išallim*, *mātum ana ašriša litur*¹⁶, *ana mālim kalīša*¹⁷, *bilum ina aban mātīm*¹⁸, *manū um ša mālim* makes it manifest that, in the period here under consideration, an area which included the city of Kaniš but was by far larger than an average city-state used to be designated by the inhabitants of Kaniš as "the land (par excellence)".¹⁹

In proceeding to the second of our questions, it is important to note that a name in which *šurra-mātū(m)* "The King of the Land" serves as theophorous element, namely the personal name *Ni-mar-ša-ra-na-ti*²⁰, figures in an Old Assyrian document from Ališar.²¹ For, in view of the data just mentioned²², it follows from this name that the notion "god of the land" was familiar to the Assyrian-speaking

see, on the one hand, No. 126 of the afore-cited work of Gadd and Lagrain and, on the other hand, the text published by Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux, cachets et pierres gravées du Musée du Louvre*, II, Paris 1923, p. 179 sub 817 and pl. 93, Nos. 84 and 85 (latest transliteration and translation by Barton, *Library of Ancient Semitic Inscriptions*, I, New Haven 1929, pp. 324 f. sub 8).

¹⁵ See *Symbolae Hrozný*, IV, 1950, pp. 418 ff. and cf. above, p. 9, note 38.

¹⁶ *BIN* IV 34, 9 f.; cf. *KT'Hahn*, p. 2.

¹⁷ *CC* III 26-30, 29 f.; cf. Landsberger, *Symbolae Hrozný*, III, 1950, p. 337, note 48.

¹⁸ This term occurs in ll. x+6 ff. (. . . . 3 šigān x+7 haspūm š 40 manā'ā x+8 erū'm š u A-šur-i-dī x+9 bištum erū'm i-na a-ba-an x+10[er]o-tum) of a fragment a copy of which was shown to me in 1933 by the late Abbé de Genouillac.

¹⁹ As was mentioned in *Symbolae Hrozný*, IV, pp. 420 f., Old Assyrian *mātum* "the land" has sometimes the same sense as English "this country"; at other times it corresponds to "our country" and to German "das Vaterland".

²⁰ On the first element of this name see J. Lewy, *Die Kültepe-Texte der Sammlung Rudolf Blancherts*, Berlin 1929, p. 23, and *ZA* 38, 1929, p. 245, note 2; Dossin, *loc. cit.*, p. 154. As for the second a vowel of the compound *šurra-mātūm*, see J. Lewy, *ZA* 38, 1929, p. 246, note 2; Gelb, *Inscriptions from Ališar and Vicinity*, Chicago 1935, p. 21; von Soden, *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik*, Roma 1952, § 65 d.

²¹ Gelb, *op. cit.*, No. 2; latest transliteration and translation by J. Lewy, *Orientalia* 19, 1950, p. 23, note 1.

²² See above, p. 12, note 53.

population of Anatolia. Since Šamši-Adad's Stone Slab Inscription (KAH I, No. 2 and duplicates) speaks of *Šar-ru-ma-a-tim* in a passage where a reference to Aššur is indispensable⁶³, there is, on the other hand, no doubt that the inhabitants of the Assyrian metropolis on the Tigris saw in Aššur the "Divine King of the Land".⁶⁴ To be sure, this

⁶³ This was justly emphasized by Tallqvist, *Der Assyrische Gott*, Helsingfors 1932, pp. 10 f. and p. 11, note 1. (See also Dossin, *loc. cit.*, p. 166.) However, Tallqvist's assumption that it was Šamši-Adad I to whom Aššur owed his elevation "zum Landesgott" is untenable because the related divine name to be mentioned presently figures in a Kültepe text, i. e. in a source from the epoch preceding Šamši-Adad's accession to the throne. Moreover, the god Aššur seems to be defined as the owner of "the land" by the personal name *Ša-Ašur-MA-IDA*, which occurs in an unpublished Kültepe tablet shown to me by De Genouillac (cf. *Revue d'Assyriologie* 35, 1932, p. 87, note 1).

On the other hand, it must be noted that Tallqvist's statement "Der Kult Aššurs war ursprünglich auf die Stadt Aššur beschränkt" (*op. cit.*, p. 15) is not contradicted by these data. For to say nothing of the fact that one and the same deity used to be invoked as "The King of Ur" and "The King of the Land" (cf. above, p. 12, note 53), an unpublished Kültepe text of the Fisher Collection seems to indicate that in the period here under discussion, in which, as is well known, *šarrum* was the current designation of the city of Aššur, the expression "The King of the City" referred to the heavenly and not to the earthly ruler of the Assyrian capital city: As will be seen below, p. 26, note 109, the opening lines of this fragmentary letter deal with a considerable amount of iron (*šuštrum*) and go on to say that one half thereof (or of the proceeds of its sale?) was the property of LUGAL *a-lim*. On the other hand, it follows from EL 127, 11 f. (*1/2 man'um a-mi-lu-ri-im ša ik-ri-bi-a*) that iron was among the valuable goods which, like certain profits resulting from their sale, were characterized as temple property by being designated, if not briefly as *šribā*, either as *šribā ša Aššur* (*šribā ša Ištar*, *šribā ša Aššur u Ištar*, *šribā ša Šamš* etc. etc.; see for the present *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* CX, 1934, p. 42, note 25) or as "copper of the goddess Ninkarrak" (see TC II 54, x+8: *3 man'ā er'um dammuqum ša Ninkarrak*), "gold of Adad" (see, e. g., Oxford 427, 16 f.: *2 man'ā šarāšum i-na 'ša Adad u-dī-lu-nu-ti*) etc. If we add to these data the fact that in one of the pertinent passages, viz. in BIN IV 41, 4 ff. (*a ša-mi šarāšum ša ša Ašur-ma-liš 'šā šarāšum ša Adad 'ša lu-dī-pu-ra-ni na-dī-er-ta-kā 'ni-š-me-ma . . .*), a reference to "gold of the god Adad" is preceded by one to gold of a human family it becomes obvious that we need not hesitate to infer that in the clause *ina libbišā mi-š-lim ša En-no-Šin mi-š-lim ša LUGAL a-lim* the term "king of the city" denotes the god of the Assyrian metropolis. (On Enma-Sin see below, p. 26, note 109.)

⁶⁴ This doctrine of Aššur's divine kingship (which, incidentally, illustrates biblical passages such as Ex. 15.18 ["Yahweh shall reign for ever and ever"] and Judges 8.22 f.) explains why the Old Assyrian kings of the epoch elucidated by the Kültepe tablets refrained from assuming the title *šarrum*, *rubāšum* being their preferred official designation (cf. EL II, p. 76, note d) which, however, interchanges occasionally with PA-TEŠT-*šit'adikum* (cf. ZA 36, 1923, pp. 24 f. sub a and see below, pp. 26 ff.). Some of their subjects, however, were more or less inclined to designate them as *šarrum*. This follows from TC II 54, a list of various sums of silver and gold

does not prove that the Assyrians who lived in Kaniš and numerous other towns of Asia Minor¹² regarded the same deity as the omnipotent patron and owner of the territory which they were wont to designate as "the land". But evidence which compels us to draw this conclusion and, accordingly, to state that the god Aššur was believed to rule over two different countries is supplied by two references in VAT 9295

and other valuable items entrusted to a Puzur-Aššur with the instruction to deliver them to a certain person who lived in the Assyrian capital: according to a collation done by me in 1932, l. 17 of this list mentions ten shekels *ša a-na ša-ri-im i-šā(ū)-d(ū)*. (See also CCT IV 30¹, 11.) Such occasional use of *šarum* instead of *rašd'um* is, after all, not surprising since the latter term is virtually synonymous with Sumerian *lugal* "great man", "king". For *rašd'um* means as much as "he who is always great", "great par excellence"; cf. Landberger, *Isis* II, 1926, pp. 363 f.; J. Lewy, *KTBL*, pp. 24 f.

¹² Perhaps it should expressly be stated that it would be a grave error to assume that the majority of the Assyrians of whom we hear in the Kültepe texts were successful merchants who, having traded for a number of years in the commercial centers of Asia Minor, returned to the Assyrian capital city. That, on the contrary, many Assyrian men and women spent their whole life in Asia Minor follows from numerous texts which attest intermarriage between Assyrians and non-Assyrians, either indirectly by showing how Assyrian and non-Assyrian names were current within one and the same family or directly by mentioning, e. g., that the daughter of a wealthy Assyrian married a "barbarian" (as for the details and the identity of the persons concerned, see *Synchrone Hrasn*, IV, 1950, pp. 374 f., note 49); cf. also *ICK* 3, the contract discussed above, pp. 3 ff., according to which Išaršum, when marrying at Kaniš a "native" woman as *allatun*, pledged himself to marry at Aššur only a spouse of inferior status, whence it follows with fair certainty that his permanent domicile was to be at Kaniš. Nor is there any reason for believing that the Assyrians of Kaniš were exclusively concerned with the sale of goods which they imported from Babylonia, Mesopotamia and Northern Syria. The allusions to the rearing of cattle, sheep or geese which occur, for instance in the letters and business notes CCT III 7¹ 18, CCT IV 15¹, BIN IV 75, BIN VI 84, TC II 47, Gok. 13 and KTS 52¹ show that other activities were not alien to them. It goes almost without saying that these data militate against the views of those savants who characterize the Assyrians of Asia Minor as autonomous colonists living in precarious conditions in "Handels-kommunen", i. e. apart from the "natives". This idea, which was never sufficiently substantiated (cf. my criticism in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* XXIX, 1926, col. 734), is, in fact, incompatible with the contents of documents such as EL 215 and TC III 255 which clearly imply that non-Assyrian "natives" and people of Assyrian extraction were neighbors and did not hesitate to buy plots of land from each other; for EL 215 relates that, being indebted to "the barbarian", Idi-Sin ceded to the latter and his sister Muza "the parcels behind the house", and TC III 255 states that the house in which an Išar-na'dā (cf. above, p. 4, note 11) was living was owned by a certain Išumman, who was willing to sell (or resell) it for three minas of silver. Similarly, we learn from EL 107 that a house owned by an Ikūmm was sold to a man who, to judge by his name Perrua, was a "native". This documentary evidence has now been confirmed by the results of the Turkish excavations at Kültepe. According to the preliminary report, *American Journal of Archae-*

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to a *kumrum* *ša Sar-ra-ma-ti-en*⁶⁶, that is a "priest of 'The King of the Two Lands' ".⁶⁷ It goes almost without saying that in drawing this conclusion we explain — and are at the same time supported by — those Greek geographical sources which, as was repeatedly noted in previous discussions of the Kültepe texts and their historical implications⁶⁸, designate as *Assoupla* the northeastern part of Central

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ology LV, 1951, p. 91, it was established "that the city of the colonists was not independent of Kaneš but a large quarter within the Anatolian city". See also H. Cambel, *Orientalia* XX, 1951, p. 247 who, while still using the unfortunate expression *Handelskolonie*, comes to the following conclusion: "Im grossen und ganzen gesehen aber zeigt sich die materielle Kultur der assyrischen Handelskolonie also als durchaus anatolisch und auch im weitesten Sinne des Wortes 'hethitisch' sowohl in der Architekturfunde, in den Kleinfunden wie als auch in der Keramik"

In consideration of the Assyrian habit of designating the "native" population as "barbarians" (*ma'at*), it can, on the other hand, hardly be denied that a certain more or less pronounced antagonism existed between Assyrians and non-Assyrians.

An interesting trace of this antagonism, which may have slowly subsided during the period covered by the texts at present available, is found in the Ališar tablet No. 12 and in the unpublished texts VAT 6180 and 7674 which cannot be discussed here in detail. As I intimated in *Orientalia* XIX, 1950, p. 32, note 3 by quoting a few typical lines from VAT 6180, these documents concern the redemption by a fellow-citizen of one or several Assyrians from "the house of the barbarian"; in the instance dealt with in the fragmentary text VAT 6180, *Da-da* seems to assert that he redeemed first the wife and three sons of a certain *Ša-šar* (. . . .), subsequently the latter and finally his two daughters. Thus it appears that the Assyrians of Anatolia looked at a fellow-countryman's servitude in an alien's house with the same feelings as did the ancient Israelites according to *Lev.* 25.47 f. As indicative of an old antagonism between Assyrians and "barbarians" we may further adduce TC II 27, 12-14. As already stated in *Symbulae Hrozný*, IV, p. 438, in this passage a trader contemptuously characterized another one as follows: "The gentleman is close to the palace [scil. of Hurrama]"; "he continuously behaves like a barbarian."

⁶⁶ Thus in col. II, l. 2 of the left edge of VAT 9295; rev., l. x+7 has *Sar-ra-ma-ti-in*. For the context see *EL* I, p. 182, note c, where the divine name erroneously was printed in both passages as *Sar-ra-ma-ti-in*. (An additional reference to the "(Divine) King of the Two Lands" is contained in one of the valuable texts which, thanks to the kindness of the authorities of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire of Geneva, I was able to study in July 1955. This document (MAH 16204) begins as follows: 2 *inlātum* 20 *maš'd'ā kaspum* 'ni-is-ša-sū watrā ša-d(u-sū) 'ša-lu ša qī-šp-ti-šu 2/3 *maš'd'um* 5 *šigilā ša qī-šp-ti-šu* 15 *maš'd'ā kaspum* ni-is-ša-[sū] 'watrā ša-du-a-sū ša-bu 'ša tamharin 11 *ri-ik-sū* 15 *šigilā* 'ik-ri-bu ša Sar-ma-ti-in 10/10 *šigilā* a qā-ra bi-tim 20 *maš'd'ā* er'am ik-ri-bu 11 *ša* *Bi-lim*.)

⁶⁷ It will be noted that, from the linguistic point of view, this interpretation of the divine name is preferable to my former proposal (in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 38, 1929, p. 246) to see in *sa-ti-in/en* not a dual but a by-form of the singular *mātim*.

⁶⁸ Cf. Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, 2^e, Stuttgart und Berlin 1913, p. 611; J. Lewy, *OLZ* 26, 1923, col. 542; *ZA* 35, 1924, p. 148; *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, VI, p. 217; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, III, Berlin 1929, col. 552.

See also
p. 247
H. Cambel

Antagonism

Anatolia¹⁹, thus indicating that the ancients actually knew of two domains of the god Aššur, each of which was duly named after him. In order not to be incumbered by the ambiguity which would result if, like the early Greek historians and geographers, we would denote either "land of Aššur" by the same name, it seems appropriate to designate Aššur's Anatolian dominion as "Halys Assyria"²⁰. This designation is all the more indicated since it is not always feasible to follow the example of the writers of the Kültepe texts who, as we have seen, called Aššur's Anatolian possession "The Land" (*mātum*).

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We are now prepared to enter into a discussion of the third question asked above²¹, viz. whether the seat of the government of "The Land" was at Kaniš. The answer to this question is found in *KTP* 14.²² This somewhat damaged document, an official letter, the restoration of which was considerably furthered by Landsberger²³, reads as follows:

¹⁹ For lists of the pertinent sources see Ed. Meyer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 613 f.; Ruge in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, XII, 1925, col. 2291 f.; cf. also Nöldcke, *Hermes* V, 1871, pp. 446 ff.

²⁰ Thus in view of the location not far from the River Halys of the city of Kaniš which, as will be shown presently, was the administrative center of this dominion.

²¹ See above, p. 13.

²² A facsimile of this text of the University Museum in Philadelphia was published in *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* XI, 1927, p. 119. Contrary to a remark by Landsberger (see presently), this facsimile was not made by Professor Stephens; see *loc. cit.*, p. 101. In view of Stephens' statement concerning the authorship of the facsimiles published *loc. cit.*, pp. 110-136, it seems in order to mention that, in a conversation which I had with him in 1928 at Bonn, the late Professor Chiera disclaimed his authorship of any of these copies. Hence we may conjecture that at least a part of them were made by Sayce who, according to an editorial remark in vol. IX (1918), p. 148 of *The Museum Journal*, "copied, translated and prepared for publication all of the Cappadocian Tablets in the Museum's collection".

²³ *Türk Tarih, Arkeologiya ve Etnografya Dergisi* IV, Istanbul 1940, pp. 26 ff. Landsberger's interpretation of this document differs considerably from ours. Inter alia, we fail to see why he dismissed l. 16 as unimportant (see *loc. cit.*, p. 27: "Während ich auf die Lesung von Z. 16 keinen Wert lege, ist für das Verständnis des Briefes die Wiederherstellung von Z. 7 f. und Z. 9 (vgl. 19) wesentlich."). But it may suffice to limit our criticism to his untenable assertions (*loc. cit.*, p. 28) concerning the expression *mdnūtum tammu'um* "to make (a person) swear an oath" (ll. 8 f. and 18 f.) which seem to be due to his failure to pay attention to the remarks of Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 24, 1927, p. 83. Thureau-Dangin's observations as to the facitive signification of *tamnu'um/tammū* are, in fact, borne out by quite a few Old Assyrian passages. I refer especially to *KTS* 13^b, a letter in which an Aššur-na'dā (l. 1) informs his representative Idi-Sin (l. 2) and his "maid-servant", a certain Ši-ba-ah-<Šu>-Ša-or

¹[a]-na šē-i[p-ri ša a-lim^{KI}] ²šē kà-ri-[im Kà-ni-iš] ³[g]i-bi-ma um-ma kà-ru-[um] ⁴[W]a-aš-šu-ša-na-ma ⁵[r]u-ba-um ša Wa-aš-ša-n[i]-a ⁶[i]š-pu-ra-am um-ma šu-ut-ma ⁷[ku-si]-a-am ša a-bi-a ⁸[ay]-ba-ul ma-mi-tam(?) ⁹[ta]-mā-a-ni-um-ma ni-nu-[ma] ¹⁰[kà]-ru-um Kà-ni-iš ¹¹[be-lu]-ni¹² ni-ša-pār ¹³[ku-nu] ā-ul a šē-ri-[kà] ¹⁴[i]-š[a-pu-ru-nim] ¹⁵ā-ul a šē-ri-ni ¹⁶[i]-š[a-pu-ru-ni]m ¹⁷[i]š-na ša [m]a-ti[m] ¹⁸i-lu-ku-ni-ku-ma ¹⁹ma-mi-t[ā]m ²⁰ā-ta-mu-ā-kà²¹ ²²ā-ti-nu ma-lā-ku-nu ²³tē-er-tā-ku-nu ²⁴i-li-ka-m ²⁵20 manā²⁶ ē erī-am ²⁷a-na šē-i[p-ri-ni] ²⁸ni-[dā-in] ²⁹[T]o the env[oy]s of the city ³⁰and (to) the kēru[m] Kaniš ³¹š[peak]: Thus (said) the kēru[m] ³²[W]ahšūšana: ³³The [prince of Wašhan]ia³⁴ ³⁵š[ent] (a message). Thus

(l. 3; cf. l. 15), of the claims he believes to have upon Kuzia (l. 7) and goes on to instruct Idi-Sin in regard to the steps to be taken by the latter in connection with this affair. In doing so he writes: ³⁶ā-ma-al kaspi³⁷-a ³⁸ša iš-tū 10 ša-na-tim ³⁹i-be-nu ⁴⁰kaspan lu-dā-qi-ū-ša-ma ⁴¹na-na a-am-tim ⁴²dā-in lu-na mī-ma ⁴³i-qā ša lu-ga-ri-a-am ⁴⁴šo A-šar ⁴⁵i-š-na-ma ⁴⁶šē i-š-ša-qi-šu. Obviously, Ašur-na'dā discusses in these lines two possibilities, viz. (1) that Idi-Sin receives the sum claimed by Ašur-na'dā and is therefore in a position to hand it over to Šikahšūkar, and (2) that Kuzia "wants to say something", i. e. rejects Ašur-na'dā's claims. In this second case, Kuzia would have to "swear by Ašur's hook-shaped emblem" (ll. 17^b-19; on *šagarrišum ša Ašur* see *Orientalia* XIX, 1950, pp. 23 ff.), i. e. to declare under oath that Ašur-na'dā has no claims upon him, the consequence being that he would keep (lit., "carry away") the contested amount of silver. In these circumstances it is most significant that Ašur-na'dā concludes this section of his letter in summing up his directives in the following terms: ⁴⁷na-pa-tam tā lu-ga-mi-ū-šu ⁴⁸ā-ul kaspan ⁴⁹i-š-qi-ū-š ⁵⁰i-š-šā-mā-šu ⁵¹"Please! Do not treat him kindly! ⁵²Either ⁵³may he pay "the silver" or make him swear!" For we see here that in telling his representative how to act against Kuzia Ašur-na'dā employs the suffixed imperative II 1, *lu-mi-šu*, whereas previously, when pointing out the possibility that Kuzia would rather swear than satisfy Ašur-na'dā, he used the I 1 form *šē-mā*. See also below, p. 19, note 78.

⁵⁴ That this restoration is not too daring follows from *SUF* 7, the well-known letter by which the kērum *Ušū* reported to the kērum *Kaniš* how the Ašur temple of Ušū was ransacked by burglars; for this letter includes in ll. 20 f. the phrase *a-ba-ši-ni be-lu-ni[a] a-tā-ma*.

⁵⁵ A glance at the autography of our text, as found in *JSOR* XI (see above, p. 17, note 72), shows that its unknown copyist drew an almost perfect *ma*, and that the insertion of *š* (sic) between *ma* and *kà* meets with no difficulty at all; hence it is hard to see why Landsberger preferred the rather unusual reading *šē-ta-um-ā-kà* about which he felt as uneasy as to make twice (*loc. cit.*, p. 27, note 2 and p. 28) a statement to the effect that "die erhaltenen Reste . . . nicht zu Ü stimmen."

⁵⁶ As was noted in pp. 13 f. of my contribution to the *Haus Börsen Memorial Volume* (Ankara 1947), Wašhania figures in the itineraries *Geb* No. 54 and *TC* III 165 as the first halt on the caravan road from Kaniš to the principalities of Wašhāšana and Burušhaddum. From the same sources it follows with fair certainty that it lay closer to Wašhāšana than to Burušhaddum. Hence it is not surprising to learn from *KTP* 14 that a prince of Wašhania informed the kērum *Wahšūšana*, and not the kērum *Burušhaddum*, about his accession to his father's throne. — I should like to take this opportunity to correct a faulty quotation in note 14 of the article

(said) he (in his message): ¹¹"I [acceded to] my father's [thr]one.¹²
¹³"Make me [sw]ear ¹⁴"the oath!"¹⁵ (In answering this message) we (said)
 thus: ¹⁶"The [kū]rum Kanīš ¹⁷(is) our [superior].¹⁸ We shall send (a
 message to the proper authorities). ¹⁹(Thereupon) [they²⁰] ²¹will ²²either
²³[s]end (a message) ²⁴to [you] ²⁵[or] ²⁶they will [s]end (a message)
²⁷[r]o us.²⁸ ²⁹"[T]wo (men) of the [g]overnment³⁰ ³¹will come to you and
 then ³²they ³³also ³⁴will make you swear ³⁵the oath.³⁶ ³⁷It is up to

just cited which I had no chance to eliminate because the editors of the *Memorial Volume*, who received my manuscript in September 1939, saw no way of sending me proofs: the text referred to as N 72 is TC 72.

¹² On the restoration of [ku-si]-a-am and particularly on the expression *kursi'ani gabtūni* see Landsberger, *loc. cit.*, pp. 27 f. (Landsberger's references to *ku-si-a-am* are to be corrected to *BIN* IV 162, 29 and *OIP* 27, 55, 18, respectively; see also J. Lewy, *Orientalia* XIX, 1950, p. 21, notes 2 and 3.)

¹³ I. e. "Have [plural] me swear the oath of allegiance!" That this special signification must here be attributed to the above-mentioned idiom *admittant tam-mu-um* follows, inter alia, from the occurrence of *admittit illūqā rabišū a-na arduat-ke šu-tom-ši-šu-nu-ti* in the well-known passage, col. V, ll. 8 ff. of the "Prism Inscription" of Tiglath-Pileser I. As will be recalled, the Assyrian king relates here in the following terms how he dealt with the defeated kings of the Nairi-countries: "I came to have mercy upon these kings and spared their lives. While they were captives and in bonds, I freed (them) in the presence of Šamaš, my lord, and for vassalage I had them swear an oath by my great gods for future days, (even) for ever." Similarly, his great predecessor, Tukulti-Ninurta I, reports in *KAB* II 60, 49 ff.: *šarrūniMEŠ adittū Na-i-riMEŠ a-na-ū na be ri-š siparri dītūMEŠ. šu-ua "ar-pi-iq a-na šu-urri šadī rabīšūMEŠ tu-bīt-ti ša a-na ma-šar d'As-šurMEŠ šu-bi-ša šu-nu-ti a-i-š illāniMEŠ. 14-rabūtiMEŠ šu-šamē irqinū šu-tam-ūi-šu-nu-ti "billa šu-mar-ša a-na šu-urriMEŠ a-na-ū šu-urriMEŠ šu-urriMEŠ šu-urriMEŠ šu-urriMEŠ. 15-šamē irqinū šu-tam-ūi-šu-nu-ti "billa šu-mar-ša a-na šu-urriMEŠ a-na-ū šu-urriMEŠ šu-urriMEŠ šu-urriMEŠ šu-urriMEŠ.*

¹⁴ Lit., "The *kārum Kanīš* (i. e. the men constituting the administration of the *šārum Kanīš*) are our [masters]." This laconic statement means as much as "without instructions from our superiors we are not entitled to take any action and can, therefore, not gratify you".

¹⁵ I. e. the authorities concerned.

¹⁶ The meaning of the lines 12-15 seems to be "You will either directly or through us be informed that the authorities concerned are aware of your readiness to swear the oath."

¹⁷ On *mātum* "government" see below, p. 21, note 87. As an analogue to the expression *šadī šu mātum* "two government officials", we quote the term *šā šāšūm* "a palace official" which occurs in *CCP* IV 7, 4 f.: *a šu-ri-e a-na ma-ak-na-ki im ša šāšūm šāšūmMEŠ a-i-š ri-ša* "Would (for the (master of the) sealed room) you had not asked the palace (for a man) of the palace!" (The attempt of von Soden, *Grammatik der akkadischen Grammatik*, Roma 1952, p. 64 to attribute to *mānākum* [genitive: *mānākin*] the meaning "Urkunde" is incompatible with *ETBL* No. 14, 27 ff. and the passages quoted *ibidem*, p. 38.)

¹⁸ That the *kārum Hēkšāna* predicts that the government would dispatch two representatives is not surprising since, as we shall presently demonstrate, the authorities were more or less wont to send two men whenever out-of-town business was involved.

chise Han
 = ship

As already intimated, according to this letter, the Assyrian magistrates of an important Anatolian town other than Kaniš expected that an oath of allegiance to be sworn by the ruler of a nearby principality (which may be looked for in the vicinity of Nevešir³⁰) would

³⁴ Or "We leave the matter entirely in your hands!" Cf. the frequent singular *a-a ma-lá-ká* (*Col.* 15, 13 f.; *CCT* III 19^b, 9 f.; *BLN* IV 28, 25 f.; *TC* III 74, 8; etc.) which interchanges with the fuller *a-a a-ma-kam ma-lá-ká* (*BLN* IV 21, 25 f.; *TC* II 10, x+8 f.; etc.).

⁶³ We are inclined to see in *šī-i[p-r-ni]* the genitive of *šīp-rāni*, and not of *šīpari*, because it follows from several texts that, as a rule, two men were charged with official missions even in those instances in which the task of the "messengers" was merely the delivery of a letter to the authorities of another town. I refer, above all, to KTP 10, a letter of the *wa-bar-tum* in *Ša-šā* $\langle \text{to} \rangle$ or to the *hārum* *Wahšūma*, which concludes with the clause $\times^{14} \text{f-šā-A-šār šī-i-šī-ū-ā} \times^{15} \text{šī-i-p-r-ni}$; to BIN VI 120 (see ll. 6 ff.: $[4] \text{-šār-tabi i i-ka-pi-a šī-i-p-r-ni-ū-ā}$) and to BIN VI 8, a letter of the *hārum* *Kanīš* to "each and every *hārum*" which states in ll. 13 ff. $\text{A-šār-šā} \text{šā Adī-lū-ā} \text{šī-i-p-r-ni}$. Evidence to the same effect comes from KTP 6, a letter of the *hārum* *Kanīš* to the *ra'id'um* *Sinraju'um* (see ll. 3 ff.: $\text{i ra'id'um kaspuu} \text{ša-ru-pu-um} \text{šā 2 šigdan hurāyūm} \dots \text{A-šī-a-a i A-gu-a šī-i-p-r-ni} \text{šā-a-šī-ū-ni-kam}$), and from the fragmentary letter TC 40 which, according to collation, reads in l. $\times+6$ (sic) ff. as follows: $\text{kaspum ru-bar-um šī-i-šī-ū-ā-ma} \times+7 \text{[i hu-ma-šī-šū} \text{šī-i-p-r-ni}$ (left edge) $\times+8 \text{[a-rib-i-u-nim]$. Equally instructive is Chastre 11, a letter by which the *hārum* *Zalpa* (ll. 3 f.) notified the *šīp-rāni* (l. 1) and the *hārum* *[Kanīš]* (l. 2) of the arrival of a "tablet" from Aššur (see ll. 4^{th} l.: $\text{šu [p-pu-uni]} \text{[šī-šā} \text{a-lim-ki i-[š-kam]}$) and goes on to say: $\times^{15} \text{[šī-i-p-r-ni} \times^{14} \text{[a-šī-ū-ni-ku-nu šī} \times^{15} \text{[š-ni}$ (this according to collation) $\text{šu-p-šā šā a-lim-ki} \times^{16} \text{[šā-r]c(l)-om}$ $\text{Za-lā-[pā} \times^{17} \text{[šā-pi-it} \dots$. Cf. also KTS 7^b, l. 2^b ff. (see *Synobolus Hrozný*, IV, 1930, p. 427, note 338) and VAT 6209, $\times+5$ ff. (see below, p. 70, note 370).

⁸² As was shown in detail in pp. 13 ff. of my above-cited article in the *Habil Edhem Memorial Volume*, the localization of Waṣḥānīa in the neighborhood of Nevşehir (about seventy kilometers west of Kayseri) results from the identification of Nīnāṣṣā/Nanassos with Nenizi (seven forty kilometers east of Aksaray). BÜlgü, *AKO* XV, 1945-51, p. 20 with note 148 accepts the identification of Nīnāṣṣā with Nanassos but rejects the identification of Nanassos with the present Nenizi, to all appearances because he considers the identification of the names Mmmassos and Nenizi more plausible, and because some authors seek Nazianzos at, or in the neighborhood of, Nenizi. (Hence he looks for Waṣḥānīa in the vicinity of İncesu [about forty kilometers east of Nevşehir].) As surprising as this reasoning is Bİlgü's assertion (*loc. cit.*, p. 22, note 156) that I proposed "die Gleichung Šalatiwar = Salambriai, siehe Oite dei Garsauritis". The truth is that I rejected Hruzy's proposal to identify Šalatiwar with Šuvātara/Σαούρα and suggested (*loc. cit.*, p. 13) the identification of Šalatiwar "with the station of Salaberina of the Tabula Peutingeriana, the exact position of which is unknown, but which must be placed somewhere south of Helvacin at the foot of the Haan Dağı". In other words, Bİlgü confirmed my statement, in which Salambriai was not even mentioned, with a remark by Ramsay. *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, p. 286, according to whom "Salambria seems to be the same as Saluberina".

be administered by men who, being sent by the Assyrian authorities of Kaniš, would act as representatives of "the land" or, to render *mātum* more adequately, "the government".⁸⁷ Thus we see here that the territory governed from Kaniš was by far larger than that of an average city-state. It will be noted that this evidence is supplemented by the contents of the document *EL* 247, according to which "the palace", i. e., no doubt, the palace of Kaniš⁸⁸, effectuated the return of two traders and their merchandise from *a-al Si-si-im*. As this town can safely be identified with Sisium/Sis⁸⁹, the comparison of *KTP* 14 with *EL* 247 results, in fact, in a relatively clear picture of the extent of at least one of the regions in which the authorities established at Kaniš or, as we prefer to say, the government of Halys Assyria exerted their power.⁹⁰

* * *

As regards the last of the questions raised by the oath formula of *ICK* 32 — the question as to whether the head of the government of Halys Assyria used to be designated as *rubā'um* —, attention must be paid above all to *CCT* III 44⁹¹, a letter written by Asānum⁹² in order

⁸⁷ That *mātum* means sometimes as much as "government" follows, inter alia, from the habit of Neo-Assyrian scribes to write A.BA KUR instead of A.BA É.GAL.

⁸⁸ Cf. the texts cited below, p. 24, note 103 in line.

⁸⁹ On the identity of *Sisium* and *Sis* (now Kozan) about sixty kilometers north-north-east of Adana; see most recently *Symbolae Hraus*, IV, p. 400 with notes 167 and 168.

⁹⁰ The conclusion that the region between Ninašz/Naassus/Nezi and Sisium/Sisium/Sis is among those parts of Anatolia which figure in the Kültepe texts is strongly supported by the obvious identity of Balışa (see *KTH* 40, 2: *ina Ba-li-ša-um* with Ilu Hurdāgbih's Balisa (i. e. the modern Valisa) about 20 kilometers due north of Tyana; cf. Hünigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches*, Bruxelles 1935, pp. 45 f.).

⁹¹ *CCT* III 44^b reads as follows: *'um-ma A-sā-nu-ma a-na 'A-ni-na a qī-ti-na 'na' (p) ā-pu-ra-ka-ai 'um-ma a-na ku ma 90 gubātū dūngālim e-ci-ib 'a-pu-lum uš-at gubātū 'A dūngālim uš' (l) <at> -ra-am 'a i-na Tē-ga-ra-mu 'a i-na Ba-ra-dē ša 'e-ri ša a ša-ai 'Dūngālim ša-lim (l) na 'a-ri na kī-da-ak-um 'a i pā-ri-ib (l) 'a-na šum ru-ba-am 'd-ma-mu a-na 'pā-ni lu nu i-tā-ar-dum 'a-na-ri ra-qū-lim 'a-na na-dē-ri-lim 'a dē i e-ma-ri 'd-ma-tim a-ut-lā-am 'a-ri-ba-am 10 nu-nē' e-ri-an dūngālim 'E-nu-Re-lim 'a-a-ā-a-ku-um.*

⁹² From *YC* III 18, *YC* III 99, *BIN* VI 78, *CCT* II 32^a, *CCT* III 39^a, *HIN* IV 96 and a few other texts it follows that Asānum was a trusted employee of Aššur-muttabil and Dušāzu, the sons of Pānu-kān, whose activities as importers of cloths, lead etc. are known from scores of letters and legal documents. When not present at Kaniš (where he appears, for instance, shortly after Pānu-kān's death), Asānum served his principals as caravan-leader and as buyer of goods to be imported from Aššur.

to transmit instructions to a certain Aninâ⁹⁰ who was en route to Cappadocia with a considerable shipment of valuable cloth. For here we learn not only of the presence at Kaniš of a *rubā'um* but also of the help an endangered caravan could expect to receive from his armed forces: Beginning with a recapitulation of a previous order to "leave", i. e. "leave behind" in a safe place ninety bales of fine cloth (ll. 3-5)⁹¹, Asānum advises Aninâ that he should rather leave behind a hundred bales of fine cloth of the best quality either at Tegarama or at Baraddum (ll. 6-10).⁹² After a statement to the effect that a certain Dam-

⁹⁰ As is learned, inter alia, from *BIN* VI 67 and *TC* III 97, Aninâ was employed by the same traders and charged with the same tasks as Asānum in whose company he figures in the memorandum *BIN* IV 169 and the above-mentioned letter *CCT* II 32^a; in *EL* 219 he acts at Kaniš in the interest of his colleague Asānum.

⁹¹ From the contents of other texts it seems certain that this order had been given with the understanding that the bales of cloths to be left behind would be transported by a later caravan which would bring them safely to their destination. I refer especially to the letters *Oxford* 433 and *TC* 18 which make it clear that, when valuable merchandise had to be carried through a region supposed to be unsafe, one reduced the risk of losing the entire shipment by dividing the caravan and setting its second half in motion only after the first half was reported to have reached its destination without losses; cf. my remarks in *Symbolae Hrozný*, IV, 1950, p. 421 with notes 316 and 311 and in *Orientalia* XXI, 1952, pp. 288 f.

⁹² The information furnished by this passage, viz. that certain caravans carrying goods from Aššur to Anatolia passed through Tegarama and Baraddum, is supplemented by ll. 8-23 of the "itinerary" *CCT* 29 which, in addition to recording the cost of dispatching a messenger *a* (2) *Tel* (3) *ga* (3) *ra-na* (ll. 8^b-10), lists various amounts spent: *i* *Za-al-pā* (l. 11), *i* *Ba-ra-šim* (l. 15) and *i* *Ha-ra-na* (l. 23). In concluding from this enumeration of travelling expenses, as well as from *CCT* III 44^b, ll. 6-108, that Tegarama, Baraddum and Harana lay within much the same part of Anatolia we are borne out by two or three pieces of evidence supplied by well-known Boğazköy texts: much as *KBo* I 1 (obv., l. 11 ff. and 20 ff.) lists *ni-iš-ta la māt* *šar-ra-na* immediately after *HUR.SAG* *Har-ra-na*, *KBo* IV 4 (col. III, ll. 19^b ff.) relates that king Muṣliṣ, having arrived at *URU* *te-ra-ra-na-ma*, went on to *HUR* *Har-ra-na* since he met his army there, Harana can be supposed to have been located on a main-road, as is also indicated by our Old Assyrian sources. In consideration of the fact that a brief itinerary (*Gasten* 3-17; see *Symbolae Hrozný*, IV, 1950, p. 419, note 294) mentions *Té-ra-ra-na* (l. 3) before *Šá-pā-na* (l. 12), i. e. before the ancient capital of *Σαρωή* (see *loc. cit.* and cf. Hübschmann, *Indogermanische Forschungen* XVI, 1904, pp. 295 ff.), we can further infer that the ancient town of *Ha-ra-na* is identical with "Tel Charan", a village which figures on the Prussian map 1:80,000 (sheet "Trapezunt") of 1916 about thirty kilometers southeast of Erganişaden in the immediate vicinity of the road Erganişaden - Dişar Bekir. This tentative localization of *Ha-ra-na* in the neighborhood of the famous copper mines of Erganişaden seems to be supported by the letter *KTHab* 14 in as much as *Ha-ra-na* appears here in connection with the procurement of ten thousand minas of copper.

qum⁹² was safe⁹³ and that, accordingly, Aninā and his companions needed not to be concerned about him (ll. 10^b-13)⁹⁴, he further tells the caravan leader that "here", i. e. at Kaniš⁹⁵, "the prince dispatched troops to meet you"⁹⁶ (ll. 14-16). Obviously "the prince" referred to in these lines was as ready to protect goods en route to Kaniš as was "the palace" mentioned in the following passage of the letter *KTHaku* 13: "Abu-ilum is transporting to you two hundred and twelve bales of fine cloth of superior quality. If you can shelter them, do so; if you cannot shelter them, bring them up⁹⁷ to the palace and let the palace⁹⁸ take the toll⁹⁹ and (afterwards) bring the bales of

⁹² The same person is mentioned in *CCT III* 39^a, another letter of Asānum (cf. above, p. 21, note 92); see ll. 6^b ff.: 12 maad⁹² 'anakkum A-sur-a-um 'anēr Damqim ub-lā-kum. Cf. further *BL* 246, ll. 1: kusak Ša-Ba-lim mēr Damqim⁹².

⁹³ As for the reading *šu-lim*(?), see, for instance, *CCT II* 38, 33 and *CCT IV* 14^b, 4 f. (*šū-lā-hā ša-lim nū na šū-lā-hā lā i-pā-rī-lā*).

⁹⁴ That l. 13 must be emended to *lā i-pā-rī-lā*(?) follows, inter alia, from *CCT IV* 14^b, 4 f. (see the preceding footnote) and from *CCT IV* 13^b, 4 ff.: *šā-l-ma-ku mī ma šū-lā-hā lā i-pā-rī-lā*, i. e., literally, "I am well! let your heart not tremble in any respect!"

⁹⁵ That *anakkum* "here" means in our passage "at Kaniš" will not be doubted if it is recalled (1) that the letter here under discussion was unearthed at Kaniš where, as is well known, copies of outgoing letters were kept (cf. *CCT II* 6, 14 ff.: *mī-ma šap-pā-lā nū[š] i-tē-ni-bu-lā ku-ni 'me-eh-ri-šē-ep-šā-bā-rā*), (2) that, as a rule, Kaniš was the destination of the caravans which carried cloth, and (3) that, when not on the road, Asānum and Aninā stayed at Kaniš (cf. above, pp. 21 f., notes 92 and 93).

⁹⁶ Our rendering of *a-na 'pā-ni-tu-ur* is based upon passages such as *Leiden* 1205, rev., 3 ff. (*i-ni nā e-lā-tām 'ig-la-mē ā* thus according to an inspection of the original); *a-na 'ma-ja-ra-lān 'a-na pā-ni-a 'šū-a-am*) and *ATS* 14^a, 14^b ll. (*ā-lā 'a-na pā-ni-a 'šū-a-am ā-lā Ku-ra 'šū-up-ra-ma subātū-lā 'ā šū-lā annākin* 16) and *ATS* 14^a, 14^b ll. (*šū-up-qi šū-um* "Either 'come out to meet me or 'send me 'Kura in order that 'I may hand over to him 'the cloth and the remainder of the lead and the donkeys"). Cf. further *TC III* 105, 13 f. (*šū-ma nū a-nā a pā-ni-a 'šū-er-šā-lā i-ti-kum*), *CCT* 36^b, 1 ff. ([x] *marāš kaspam 'ā šap-pā-e a-na 'pā-ni A-na-lā 'šū-lā-hā lā*) and *TC III* 162, 6 ff. (*1/2 maad⁹²na kaspam ša 1 1/2 liqim 'šū-je-er-lān a-na pā-ni-lā 'šū-lā-hā lā*).

⁹⁷ Lit. "cause them to go up".

⁹⁸ Lit., "their extractions" (*šāghātūnu*). As for the tariff which regulated the payment of this fee, see for the present *RL* I, p. 219 (221), note a. That the *nishātum* were not so much a customs duty as a toll for the service of sheltering goods or for similar services follows with some certainty from references to *nishātum* levied or to be levied at Assur from shipments of silver and gold. For some of the pertinent sources leave no doubt that these *nishātum* accrued to individual merchants or commercial firms and not to any local authorities, I refer, above all, to the letter *TC III* 54 by which Indī-lum advised his associates and representatives at Assur of the purpose of a shipment of 20 minas of silver en route with Pilah-Ištar. After stating, inter alia, that the latter would inform them about the merchandise to be bought for this silver, Indī-lum continued as follows: *kaspam 'šū-šū-ma a-šar*

documents from Išāli, by certain Neo-Assyrian contracts and by other data, deals involving the sale of slaves who belonged to the same ethnical element as the dominant population of the country used to be closed before the king's highest local representative, it was permissible to combine the contents of the document ICK 29 with the appearance on ICK 29 B of a seal legend beginning with the words 'A-šar LUGAL. Ši-lu-[lu]¹⁰⁰ 'iššī'ak¹⁰¹ [...]. Consequently, the seal impression b of ICK 29 B seemed to establish that the highest authority to be

ra-nu-un 'ša-bu (rev.) 'mahar Ši-lu-lu 'mahar Puzur-SA.TU. The wording of the case-tablet (B) is the following: (seal impression a) 'kanuk Ši-lu-lu 'kanuk P[ur]-Ša-du-[e] 'kanuk U-gu-ra-nim (seal impression at lower edge: seal impression a: rev., seal impression b) 'ša Ši-lu-lu 'Ma-nu-un-ki-la-bi-a] 'ša Wār-ba-ni 'U-gu-ra-nu-un 'ša-bu-šī-ma 'a-na A-mur-Šamaš (upper edge) 'ša i-ti-ru (seal impression c: left edge: seal impression c). Since we learn from the seal impression a that the legend U-gu-ra-nu-un 'mār Ka-lā-a was engraved on the seal cylinder used by Ušurānum (A 3: 6; B 3: 6), it is possible to gather from other Kültepe texts some information about the man from whom, according to A, 1-7 and B, 4-9, Amur-Šamaš bought Mannum-ki-abia and Wār-bāni. From the pertinent data, which will be adduced below, pp. 73 ff., it follows not only that Ušurānum resided at Kanīš but also that our document ICK 29 originated in the same period as the bulk of the Kültepe texts so far published.

¹⁰⁰ Contrary to the impression conveyed by von Soden, *Das akkadische Syllabar*, Roma, 1948, p. 46 sub 109, the sign ŠI occurs occasionally in Kültepe texts; see TC III 173, 5: ŠI ŠI Yāb-ši-lā-A-šar. In the light of the well-known rule according to which Akkadian shifts *sa, su* and *šā* to *se, se* and *še*, respectively, the name Ši-lu-lu may well be regarded as identical with the name *salīlu* (Delitzsch, *HWB* 568^b). As for the absence of the mination, cf. Gelb, *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar*, Chicago 1952, p. 200. (The "younger" variant with mination is attested in tablets from Tell Asmar; see Gelb, *Sargonic Texts from the Diyala Region*, Chicago 1952, p. 227 sub Zā-lu-lum.)

¹⁰¹ P.A.TE.SI. That 'iššī'akku was the Old Assyrian equivalent of P.A.TE.SI was correctly noted by Landsberger and Balkan when they published the two copies (kt. a/k 353 and kt. a/k 315) of the Išum inscription unearthed at Kültepe; see *Bellator* XIV, No. 54 (April 1950), p. 230. However, their assertion that Sumerian *en-si-a(k)* and, accordingly, Old Assyrian 'iššī'akku mean "Stadtfürst" and, especially, the contentions with which they attempt to support this rendering prove untenable in the light of the following data which, in addition to showing that the domain of an *ensi* could comprise a territory larger than a city or city-state, refute their dictum that "die Verbindung 'ensi des Stadtgottes'" was "fremd" to the Sumerians: (1) Entemana, the well-known *ensi* of Lagāš, was *ensi-gal* 'Nix gir-ša-ha; (2) in col. I, ll. 15 f. of his "Nippur Inscription", Lugal-zaggisi calls himself *ensi-gal* 'En-lil; (3) according to col. II, l. 21 ff. of the same inscription this powerful king was proclaimed *ensi kar-kar-ra*; (4) the next ruler to assume the title *ensi-gal* 'En-lil, Lugal-zaggisi's conqueror, Sarum-kān of Akkad, rendered it in the Akkadian version of the Nippur text CBS 13972 by *ENSI* 'En-lil; (5) Warad-Sin figures in the afore-cited inscription from Ur (see above, p. 12, note 54) as *ensi* of Ur, Larsam, Lagāš and of the land of Kutallu.

found at Kaniš was an *išš'akkum* of Assyrian nationality who professed on his seal the belief in Aššur's divine kingship by means of the creed-like formula "Aššur is king" which recurs on *kt. a/k* 315¹⁰⁸ in the exclamation "Aššur is king, Irīšum is (priestly) prince of Aššur" (*A-šūr LUGAL. Irī-šu-um PA¹⁰⁹ A-šūr*) and thus proves to have

¹⁰⁸ On this important text see the preceding footnote and cf. presently, note 109.

¹⁰⁹ In consideration of the interchange of *Irī-šu-um PA A-šūr* (*kt. a/k* 315, obv., l. 1 and rev., l. 1; *kt. a/k* 353, obv., l. x + 24) and *Irī-šu-um i-šš'a-ab A-šūr* (*kt. a/k* 315, obv., l. 4 and lower edge, l. 4) we concur with Landsberger and Balkan (*loc. cit.*, p. 230) in concluding that PA is an abbreviation of PA.TE.SI, even though they err in asserting (*loc. cit.*, p. 226, note 16) that *kt. a/k* 315 offers in line "36" - rev., l. 1 (pl. XXV, fig. 17; cf. pl. XX, fig. 8) *i-šš'a-ab* instead of the sign PA of the corresponding passage in *kt. a/k* 353. On the other hand, there is at present no reason for deducing from the occurrence of this abbreviated spelling of the full title *išš'ak Aššur* that bearers of this title were the father and grandfather of the personage figuring in TC III 264, B, l. 1 as *Šu-Bo-šim mār PA* and in the inscription of the seal impression b of the same envelope as *Šu-Bo-šim mār Pa-az-[Šin] mār PA*. In consideration of the well-known Middle Assyrian use of PA (var. PA¹¹⁰) as ideogram of *aklam* (< *waklam*), and since the Old Assyrian document *BL* 327 and the official letter *ICK* 182, as well as *CCT* IV 33^a, *KTS* 30, *KTS* 31^a and *VAT* 9283, attest the presence at Aššur of a high-ranking official designated as *wa-ak-lim*, it is, in fact, logical to infer from TC III 264 B (1) that both Enna-Sin and his father were holders of the *waklam*-office and (2) that the position of the *waklam* was, if not always, at least sometimes held by members of the same family. Support for this conclusion comes from the afore-cited fragmentary letter in the Fisher Collection which, as we must now mention, was written by *En-na-[Šin]* (cf. *BIN* VI 21, 1; 22, 11) and addressed in part to *I-šā-a* and *E-šā-k* (cf. *BIN* VI 22, 2 ll. 1) and in part (rev., ll. 8+6 ll.) to *A-šūr-šakāššī* (cf. *BIN* VI 22, 21). As was already noted above, p. 14, note 63, the message conveyed by this letter refers in l. 4 to 8½ minas and 2 shekels of *ḫušrum* (i. e. of iron or haemarite; see *Israel Exploration Journal* V, 1935, pp. 155 ff.) and goes on to state in ll. 8 ff. that one half of the *ḫušrum* was the property of Enna-Sin, the other half being that of the god Aššur, who figures here as LUGAL *a-šur*. Since, furthermore, three of the afore-listed letters of the *waklam* include the rare phrase *makar Aššur u šša akarrabakkum* and, accordingly, imply that the *waklam* had access to the interior of Aššur's sanctuary, that partnership of Enna-Sin and the patron-god of the Assyrian metropolis can hardly be considered insignificant or coincidental. Enna-Sin's close connection with the god Aššur and his possession of a considerable amount of *ḫušrum* prove even more suggestive if we remember, on the one hand, that so influential a businessman of Kaniš as was Pōšū-kēn failed in an attempt to obtain through his agent Puzur-Aššur that rare and coveted metal from the *bit ḫušim* at Aššur (see TC II 9, 1 ff.; *a-ka Pu-šu-ki-in qī-bi-ma 'am-ma Pu-ur-A-šūr ma ša šu mī a-mu-tim š hu-šā-rī ša lu šī-pu-ra-ni bīt ti-mi-in šū lā i-du-mi*) and, on the other hand, that in one of the above-mentioned messages a *waklam* informed Pōšū-kēn that a certain Asrudum (who is known to have been in Pōšū-kēn's employ) received from the *waklam*'s father for transportation to Cappadocia other goods as well as five minas and five shekels of *ḫušrum* of the best quality (see *KTS* 30, 12 ff.; 2 *šūšlān 5 mašā'ē ammadim 30 hu-šu-er 22 emārī ga-lā-ur 5 mašā'ē 5 šūšlān 5 hu-šā-ra-am damqam wa-ut-ru-am 211 šūšlān a-mu-tum bi-š-ru-um Pu-ur-ma a-ni-šm*

been current as early as the Old Assyrian epoch.¹² Recently, however, Dr. Kemal Balkan¹³ proved on the basis of seven more or less fragmentary case-tablets found at Kültepe during the excavations of 1949 and 1950 that the legend of the seal impression b of ICK 29 B must be restored to 'A-ŠAR^{KI} LUGAL Ši-lu-lu 183^{ak} A-ŠAR^{KI} mēr

a-na As-qu-dim (a-bi-i šat-in). In other words, the analysis of some of the letters relating to *hustum* shows that, in distinction from other persons, both the *waklum* and an Enna-Sin were in a position to obtain large amounts of the precious metal. Since it follows, on the other hand, from TC III 264 B that an Enna-Sin was known by the title PA, we are led to the conclusion that, if not followed by the name of a city, the sign PA served as ideogram for *waklum*, as it did subsequently in the Middle Assyrian epoch, and that an Enna-Sin was among the successive holders of the *waklum*-office the importance of which is illustrated by EJ. 327 and its much-discussed seal impression and now also by ICK 182. This conclusion is in line with the following data which supplement the previous piece of information gathered from the case-tablet TC III 264 B and the legend of its seal impression b: (1) according to the short letter KTS 31^a, a *waklum* sent *ana luttuqina* a small amount of lead to Šu-Anum mēr Enna-Sin and assured him that he, the *waklum*, would pray for him: "before Aššur and my god". (2) In TC 45, i. e. in a letter which Imša, a reputed merchant of Kanīš (see *Synchrone Handel*, IV, p. 375, note 52 in fine and p. 424), received from a Šu-Bēlum, the latter refers to the former's friendly relations with Šu-Anum and asks him to act on his behalf in the event of Šu-Anum's absence, his request being that Imša help to collect sums due to Šu-Anum and hand them over to the *šipru ša dīm* who, in turn, should carry them to Šu-Bēlum. The implications of these data are obvious: The man who figures in TC III 264 as Šu-Bēlum mēr PA and Šu-Bēlum mēr Enna-Sin was a brother of that Šu-Anum mēr Enna-Sin who appears in KTS 31^a as an intimate of a *waklum*; moreover, thanks to his father's rank, Šu-Bēlum's social position and his influence were such that he could count on the readiness of the *šipru ša dīm* to render him the service of shipping for him silver in the Assyrian capital city.

¹² That these words are a sort of watchword or creed proclaimed and repeated throughout the centuries follows from the fact that the ritual restored by K. Fr. Müller, *MVAOG* 41, 3 (1937), pp. 8 ff. by joining the fragmentary texts KAR 216, KAR 135 and KAR 137 includes, in col. I, ll. 27 ff. (thus according to Müller's numeration), a passage to the effect that "[t]he priest of Aššur . . . speaks before them thus: 'Aššur is king! Aššur is king!'. Note further that l. 15 of a prayer for Aššur-hān-apli (EAT 13631, published and discussed by Weidner, *AJO* XIII, 1939-41, pl. XIII and pp. 210 ff.) consists of the exclamation: 'Aš-šur LUGAL ŠAR-šur-ma LUGAL. Aš-šur-ba-lapli . . . Aš-šur bi-nu-ut qāšlī-šū.

¹³ *Observations on the Chronological Problems of the Kāres Kanīš*, Ankara 1955, pp. 54 f. When, thanks to the author's kindness, I received this valuable publication in March 1956, the present paper was in the hands of the printer. Unfortunately, I was therefore compelled to limit myself to a few modifications and insertions rendered necessary by Dr. Balkan's most welcome restoration of the "Self in seal" here under discussion. But I expect to be able to state elsewhere why I consider erroneous his interpretation of the interesting new letter kt. f. 183 (*op. cit.*, pp. 73 f.) and why, in my opinion, his other arguments against what he calls my "Grosselchtheorie"

period between Zariqum and Puzur-Aššur I" is as unacceptable as was his and Landsberger's remark (*loc. cit.*, p. 231) "Šilūlu dürfte ein, wohl nur kurz regierender, in die Königsliste nicht aufgenommener Nachfolger des Puzur-Aššur II. gewesen sein."¹⁰³ Such conjectures do not account for the so-called re-use of the "Šelūlu seal" by a second bearer of the rare name Šelūlu. They are, in fact, unnecessary, because the divergencies sometimes noticeable between the legends of the seal impressions on the case-tablets and the references to the persons said to have sealed them clearly imply that in the period covered by the bulk of the Kültepe texts many an Assyrian of Kaniš possessed and used a seal cylinder which he had inherited from his father or grandfather. Direct evidence to this effect comes now from the tablet *ICK* 12, in which the testator *Hi-bāni mēr Iāa* wills that his son Iāa "shall take my seal". Therefore and in consideration of the well-attested habit, already mentioned above, p. 10, note 44, of giving boys the name of their grandfathers, we are permitted to see in Šelūlu, the son of Ū-ku, a grandson of Šelūlu, the son of Dakiki, Šelūlu, the son of

¹⁰³ The considerations on which Balkan, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 ff. bases his new dating of Šelūlu are for the most part either erroneous or inconclusive. In the first place, it is not correct that "the sign ŠI (-ZE) is never used in the Old Assyrian orthography of the Kültepe period"; see above, p. 25, note 106. Secondly, it cannot well be maintained that the use of seal cylinders reserving the greater part of their surface for one-column inscriptions of six or more lines is not attested for places other than Ešnunna; for at least the first of the royal seals on Hama tablets, to which we referred in the preceding footnote, is characterized by the same feature. Thirdly, it is obviously out of place to draw a parallel between an *āššak-āššar*, whose father was a city-herald, and an *ensi* of Ešnunna such as Iurra, the builder of a temple for king Šū-Sin of Ur, whose son was first a "scribe" in the service of king Ibbi-Sin of Ur and became subsequently king of Ešnunna. Balkan's basic contention that "the seal legends of the rulers of Ešnunna, dated at the same period, show exactly the same wording as our 'Šelūlu seal'" (*op. cit.*, p. 55) is likewise without factual foundation. The legend of the Ešnunna seal adduced by him in this connection terminates with the words *44-zu-zum* ¹⁰⁴PA.TE.SI ¹⁰⁵ĀŠ-nan¹⁰⁶ KI ¹⁰⁷ARAD.ZU, whereas in the inscription of Šelūlu's seal the words ¹⁰⁸Ši-lu-lu ¹⁰⁹PA.TE.SI ¹¹⁰Ā-šar¹¹¹ KI ¹¹²DUMU ¹¹³Da-ki-ki ¹¹⁴NINGIR URU ¹¹⁵Ā-šar¹¹⁶ KI are followed not by ARAD.ZU (which would hardly be compatible with the context!) but by a blank space which, as duly noted by Balkan (*op. cit.*, p. 75, note 54), was once inscribed. Balkan assumes that the erased text of this "seventh" line consisted in the word ARAD.ZU, but he fails to look for a motive on the part of Šelūlu which might account for the erasure of just this word. Accordingly, he moves here in a circle. In our opinion, the existence of the blank for, more exactly, the erased seventh line on the impressions of the "Šelūlu seal" leads to show that the *āššakum* Šelūlu used a seal previously owned by someone else, and that, when appropriating it to himself, he had its original legend replaced by his own inscription. It will be noted that, in addition to accounting for the unusual picture on Šelūlu's seal, this hypothesis is in line with the observation that several Assyrian residents of Kaniš used "altered seals".

Šu-ku, can be shown to have been a contemporary of Pūšu-kēn and his sons, who, in turn, were active during the reign of Šarrum-kēn I of Aššur.¹⁰⁰ Hence the rule of Šelūlu, the *išši'akku*, or, as we may also say, the *rubā'um*,¹⁰¹ appears to have coincided with that of one of the early successors of Puzur-Aššur I of Aššur. This suggests that, although he called himself *išši'ak A-šur*¹⁰², he did not rule at Aššur.¹⁰³ For, to say nothing of the fact that the Assyrian king list furnishes for this period an uninterrupted succession of straight line descendants of Puzur-Aššur I, among whom there figures neither a Dakiki nor a Šelūlu, the chronological data available with respect to the period in question make it most hazardous, if not impossible, to insert between Ilušumma and Šarrum-kēn I a ruler otherwise unknown as king of Aššur.¹⁰⁴ To assume that Šelūlu might have been a successful rival of one of the Assyrian kings of this epoch would be equally unwarranted because under Ilušumma and his immediate successors Assyria was strong and its dynasty well established.¹⁰⁵ In these circumstances, and since Šelūlu cannot have been a hereditary ruler — his father held, as we have seen, the office of a city-herald at Aššur —, it seems logical to conclude that one of Ilušumma's successors entrusted him with the administration of a conquered country over which he was to rule in the name of Aššur, the divine king. That that country is likely to have been Halys Assyria and that, accordingly, Šelūlu can be supposed to

¹⁰⁰ See below, pp. 72 ff.

¹⁰¹ The use of the titles *išši'akku* and *rubā'um* with reference to the same persons is well attested; see my remarks in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 36, 1925, pp. 24 f, sub a. Note that Ilušum I figures in the text *kt. a/b* 315 as *i-šī-a-ak A-šur* (see above, p. 26, note 109), whereas Puzur-Aššur II appears in the memorandum *Gdh* No. 58 (see presently, pp. 31 ff.) as *rubā'um*.

¹⁰² As for our interpretation of the title *išši'ak Aššur* as "(priestly) prince of (the god) Aššur", see above, note 111a.

¹⁰³ The pertinent chronological data are the interval of 150 years between the beginning of the reign of Irišum I and the end of Šamši-Adad I (see most recently Landsberger, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* VIII, 1954, p. 39), the identity, by now fairly well established, of Šamši-Adad's 33rd and Hammurabi's 11th year, and the synchronism attested by the chronicle *B. M.* 26172, rev., l. 14. When taking into consideration that the well established interval from the first year of Sumu-alum's successor Sumu-ilū to Hammurabi's eleventh year amounts to less than 100 years, one realizes that the 126-year interval from the first year of Irišum I to the first year of Šamši-Adad I is too long rather than too short. The insertion of an additional ruler between Ilušumma and Puzur-Aššur II appears therefore virtually impossible.

¹⁰⁴ This is evidenced, on the one hand, by Ilušumma's expedition to Dēr and Southern Babylonia, as reported in the afore-mentioned brick inscription published and discussed by Weidner, *loc. cit.*, pp. 114 ff., and, on the other hand, by his and his descendants' considerable building activity at Aššur. Cf. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 29, 1926, col. 759, note 4 and below, p. 66, note 277.

Conjecture

have been *išši'akkum* at Kaniš is suggested by the evidence relating to the later owner of his seal, the afore-mentioned *Šelūlu mēr Ū-ku*. The eight case-tablets over which the latter rolled the seal were unearthed at Kültepe. Therefore and because two of these texts, viz. the promissory note *kt. c/k 843*^{12b} and the above-described document *ICK 29*, concern *Amur-Šamaš mēr Zā-lidi* (who is known to have lived at Kaniš^{12c}) the younger *Šelūlu* must have been a resident of Kaniš, even though there is evidence of a journey of his to the Assyrian metropolis or the Tigris. Moreover, the fact that *ICK 29* concerns a transaction by which *Amur-Šamaš mēr Zā-lidi* acquired two Assyrian slaves indicates that the younger *Šelūlu*'s associations included wealthy citizens of Kaniš. Much the same information comes from the afore-mentioned tablet *KTS 31*^a. For this letter shows that, when at Aššur, *Šelūlu mēr Ū-ku* had contacts with as high-ranking a person as the *waklum* and was asked by him to deliver at Kaniš his compliments (symbolized by the small gift of five minas of lead) to that *Šū-Anum mēr Enna-Šin* in whom we recognized a brother of *Šū-Balum*, the son and grandson of a *waklum*.^{12d} He must therefore be regarded as a member of the ruling circles of Aššur and Kaniš, which suggests that he is likely to have been at Aššur on an official mission. The fact, to be gathered from the *waklum*'s statement in *KTS 31*^a, 3b ff. that he travelled from Aššur to Kaniš in the company of a certain *Amur-Šamaš mēr E-na-a* . . . points in the same direction, for, as was demonstrated above, p. 20, note 85, the Assyrian authorities adhered to the principle of charging two men with such missions.^{12e}

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As was intimated before, when analyzing the evidence bearing upon the *waklum* residing at Kaniš attention must be paid to the somewhat damaged record *Gdh* No. 58. This important source must

^{12b} The photographs published by Balkan, *op. cit.*, fig. 8 and 10 make it possible to state that *kt. c/k 843* is a promissory note made out by *Amur-Šamaš mēr Zā-lidi* and witnessed by *Šelūlu*. But as they fail to show all parts of the document and, consequently, do not permit to identify all persons named therein, they cannot serve as a substitute for an autographed copy or a transliteration.

^{12c} See below, p. 77.

^{12d} See above, p. 26, note 100 in fine.

^{12e} Therefore, and since no *Šelūlu* is found among the various contemporary caravan-leaders and minor employees known to have continually journeyed from Aššur to Cappadocia and back, we cannot, of course, agree with Balkan's opinion (*op. cit.*, p. 53) that the younger *Šelūlu* "was a rather obscure personality who travelled between Kaniš and Aššur".

be classified as a list of goods sent from Aššur to Kaniš because it begins with a typical [x bilātum annu]kum u il-ra-sá¹² [y manā' u ann]ak¹³ qā-tim¹⁴. . . . LIB. BA 2 šubšā and terminates with an equally typical [šp-qī]-id.¹⁵ Its well-preserved part lists, inter alia, "28 right, (weighing) 7 minas¹⁶ (and made of) lead¹⁷, of Elā-(i)li, the

¹² Our restoration of L. 1 is based upon KTHahn 18, 3 (4 bilātim annakam u il-ra-sā) and BIN IV 13, 3 f. (1 bilātim annakam u il-ra-sā). The term *il-ra-sā* denoted the "extra" amount of lead by which a *loglem* (i. e. a load of "sealed" lead weighing roughly one talent and prepared for shipment from Aššur to Cappadocia) exceeded the weight of one talent. Another additional amount of lead, as a rule fixed at 10 minas per donkey or 5 minas per load, the so-called "lead of the hand" (*šumak qūtim*; see *RL* I, p. 107, note a and cf. L. 2 of the text here under discussion), was given to the caravan leaders and their drivers before their departure from Aššur in order to enable them to meet the daily expenses of the journey to Anatolia.

¹³ Whether we restore the last line to [šp-qī]-id or rather to [šp-qī]-id is, of course, irrelevant. — I take this opportunity to call attention to the fact that L. 36 ([šp-sā]-e-tim 2 ma-at-li-šā hu) acquaints us with an interesting variant of the non-Akkadian term known as *matliššum* from VC III 113, 19 and CCT 39^b (see II, 6 ff.: šā-im enārišū. A. In-ur-ci u-kā-pi ma-at-[li]-šā-šā "ma-gi-si-šu u-mi-ma šu-un-šu uš lē šā-ki" "(As for) the price of the donkeys, the pouches, the saddles, the *matliššū*, their export-toll (and) whatsoever, he is not concerned"), as well as from an unpublished text from which Bilgiç, *loc. cit.*, p. 34, note 222 quoted the words 2 manā' 15 right eršam šā-im 9 ma-at-li-šā šā. It is uncertain whether this term denotes "straps (?) of leather" (13), but its Hurrian character can hardly be questioned; cf., e. g., *ḫabrušū* (Friedrich, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1952, p. 321). [After the preceding was written, E. Bilgiç kindly sent me his afore-mentioned monograph "Kapadokya metinlerinde geçen yerli appellatifler ve bunların eski Anadolu dilleri üzerindeki yeri" (Ankara 1953) in which he quotes on p. 69 a few lines from an unpublished text in the Ankara Museum. In view of the above-cited lines of CCT 39^b, it would appear that this unpublished passage includes the words 4 u-kā-pi [ma-at]-li-šā-šā. Thus making it sure that *matliššum* and *matliššum* are variants of one and the same word. Bilgiç's rendering of *ukāpum*, in which I see the Akkadian prototype of Aramaic 'ukāpā (> Arabic 'ukāf; cf. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, pp. 105 f.; Brockelmann, *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* VIII, 1932, p. 100), is hardly compatible with passages such as HSS XIV, No. 540, 1 ff., according to which an *ukāpum* was fabricated from sheep-skins.]

¹⁴ As briefly noted by Colb, *Inscriptions from Elislar*, pp. 63 f., the term *ri-igik/ig* he recurs in connection with *šutippū* "dates" in VC II 7, i. e. in a letter which deals with goods to be shipped from Aššur to Kaniš (see II, 30^b ff.: ri-ig-šā u šā-lu-pi šāi šu-šar u šā šā ba šā kum). Hence it is perhaps not too daring to combine it with *رُقْ*, "a call palm-tree" (Lane I, Part 3, p. 1138). Since, on the other hand, the eight *riqā* mentioned in our text, Colb No. 58, are said to have consisted of lead (*canakum*), it would appear that these terms were used as designations of pieces of furniture or ornaments representing palm trees and their fruits; cf. the occurrence in a letter of Aššur-uballiṭ of the expression *šam-gi-za šā abanūqū šadā*, on which I commented on p. 321 of the *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume* (Part I, Budapest 1948), and note that, as early as 1929, de Genouillac, *Syrie* X, pp. 1 ff. published an "idole en plomb d'une triade cappadoçienne", the provenience of which from Kültepe

son of Sûa, the *lapultû'um*²⁴; ²⁵ cloths of Puzur-Aššur, the son of the *rubû'um*, ²⁵ *šûrû* of clothing²⁶, ²⁶3 belts, (weighing) 2/3 minas (and

has now been confirmed by the recent finds of other figurines made of lead. — The idiom *8 ri-tq-lu 7 manû'û annukun* with its double apposition so succinctly determining the 8 *riqlû* with respect to both weight and material has analogues in expressions such as *1 ri-ik-sim 1 manû'um 5 riqlû kaspun* (Bl. 235, 3; cf. TC III 209, 8 f.; 13 f.; etc.) and *1 nê-pi-sum 6 manû'û 5 riqlû kaspun* (EL 235, 9 f.; cf. *ibidem* 18 f.; 31 f.; TC III 209, 1; ICK 120, 1 f.; etc.).

²⁴ Further references to a NU.BANDA are found in VAT 13471 (see ll. 18 ff.: *um-na I-lu-bi-tum NU.BANDA* ²⁴*û huurum ša* ²⁴*Adad-ma* ²⁴*û huršum ša Aš-ša-lim* ²⁴*ûro-bû-ri-ni ni zo ba a[il]*), EL 127, 16 f. (*a-na I-lu-nim NU.BANDA*), TC III 259 B (see the legend of the seal impression c: *A-na-šû mēr Šu A nim NU.BANDA*), BIN IV 145, 24 (*1 riqlum kaspun A-šûr-SA-UL-e NU.BANDA*), TC III 190, 20 f. (*1 1/3 manû'û A I-lu-a-lûm mēr I-lu-a-lû-um NU.BANDA*; cf. *maḥar I-lu-a-lû-um NU.BANDA* in l. 29 of the document communicated by Landsberger, *Türk Tarih, Arkeologiya ve Etnografya Dergisi* IV, pp. 20 f.). Whereas there is no evidence to the effect that any of the NU.BANDA-officers figuring in these sources resided in Kanîš, it is certain that Aššur šadû'i, Ikûnum and Ili-muram, as well as *Plo-šû mēr Šûa NU.BANDA* and *Iqdînum NU.BANDA*, lived at Aššur. Landsberger, *loc. cit.*, p. 22, who based his pertinent remarks upon the observation that, in the Sumerian period, "der nubandu der Stellvertreter des ugula war", was, therefore, obviously right in defining the "lapultû'-Amt als das nächste nach dem des *ugula*, des Vorstandes der Stadtheerde" of Aššur. His conclusion is, in fact, confirmed by the above-mentioned unpublished letter VAT 9285 which, in acquainting us with the name of a sixth holder of this office, makes it virtually certain that the *lapultû'um* belonged to the staff of the *waklum*. VAT 9285 runs as follows: *um-na wa-ak-lum-na šu-na lu šû-ti-a* ²⁵*Pa-šû-bi-en* ²⁵*qû-bi-ma šu-na* ²⁵*Ba-šû-ta-a* ²⁵*qû-bi-ma 5 manû'û annuk* ²⁵*ku-nu-ki-a* ²⁵*Šu-Nu-na* ²⁵*šû-lû-kum šû-im annukû'û-kaspun* ²⁵*šû-bi-tum* ²⁵*šû-ta-ba lu-gûm* ²⁵*[maḥ]ar* ²⁵*A-šûr* ²⁵*šû-ti-a* ²⁵*a-na-ru-ba-bu-nu-šû* ²⁵*maḥar A-šûr-šûr-šû* ²⁵*NU.BANDA* ²⁵*maḥar A-šûr-šûr-šû mēr A-mur-šû* ²⁵*maḥar A-šûr-en-nam* ²⁵*mēr ūm-um-A-šûr* ²⁵*annakum a-na Šu-Nu-na* ²⁵*šû-p-qi-id*.

²⁶ In view of BIN VI 122, 13 l. (*lu šû-ti-ra-um*) ²⁶*Wa-pûr-šû-gûm lu* . . . [. . .] it can hardly be doubted that Gellb was right in defining *šûrum* as the Old Assyrian equivalent of Hebrew קַרֵּב "cover" or perhaps more accurately פָּנִים סָקֵר "veil". Once this is admitted, the term *šû-ti-ra lu lu bu-šû*, which recurs in TC 19, 10 f., can be assumed to denote bales of more or less transparent material destined to be worn as upper garments over ordinary clothing. From passages such as BIN VI 64, 7 (*šû-ti-ra-um ša A-bi-dî-bi*) it is learnt that such cloth came from Akkad, which furnished also the *šûdû ša A-bi-dî-e dawgûlum mûrûlum ša lu-bu-šû lu-ru-tum* "fine cloth of Akkadian make of extraordinary quality for clothing of royalty" (see ll. 4 f. of the famous "Cappadocian Tablet of the British Museum", first published and discussed by Pinches in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* IV, 1882, pl. I and pp. 11 ff.). From TC 19, 12 (*šû-ti-ra-um ša A-bar-ni-e*) and BIN VI 184, x-9 l. (*1 šû-ti-ra-um ša Za-al-pû*; cf. also Bl. 296, 6: *6 šû-ti-ra lu Za(1)-al-pû*) it follows that the Akadians and the people of Zalpa manufactured similar kinds of cloth. But since the above-discussed contents of ll. 1-3 make it certain that Gellb No. 58 records a shipment from Aššur to Kanîš, and since, on the other hand, VAT 9249, 4 ll. (see KTHuik, p. 2 and *Symbolae Hrony*, IV, p. 421, note 311 in fine) deal with the import of *šûdû ša Akkadû'û* from Akkad to Aššur by Akkadians, it is

made of) copper¹¹⁷, "for the *rubā'um*; 13 shekels of copper "for Abia, the scaler". Since, as was just demonstrated, these seven lines occur in an enumeration of merchandise and valuable articles exported from Aššur, it is obvious that Gell's statement "The Puzur-Aššur mentioned here as the son of the prince is evidently Puzur-Aššur II, the son of Sargon I of Assyria" can and must be endorsed. But if Gell¹¹⁸, followed by Klíma and Mateuš¹¹⁹, went on to say "The latter is, then, the *rubdum* of line 27", we must disagree because it results from scores of similar lists that a personal name or title preceded by *ana* denotes the consignee of the goods, whereas the name of the consignor is preceded by *ša*.¹²⁰ In other words, the striking difference between the genitive *ša Puzur-Aššur mēr rubā'im* in l. 24 and the dative *ana rubā'im* in l. 27 makes it clear that the princely consignee of the precious articles listed in ll. 22-26 resided in Cappadocia or, more exactly, in Kaniš.¹²¹

not too daring to assume that the *šurā ša rubā'it* which figure in the passage here under discussion had originally come from Akkad.

¹¹⁷ That the term *šurā-tum* denotes "belts" and belongs to *māšira* (and hence also to Syriac *šwāra* and, probably, Hebrew *šār*; cf. Zimmern *oput* Gesevius-Buhl, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch*¹¹⁸, Leipzig 1910, p. 21) is suggested by VAT 9237, 13 l.: *šurā-am a qā-ab-ši-a šurā-mai-ma* "Buy an *šrum* for my waist". TC 19, 19 f. where our term figures in close association with a *pošum*, point in the same direction. The same is true of ICK 88, 16 (*šurā-šurā-am šurā-am*) in as much as we learn here that the *šrum* was an article of clothing and could be described as a "rag" or "perse". The fact that, to judge by the passage here under examination, so much copper could be used in making *šurā-tum* that one spoke sometimes of *šurā-tum* of copper agrees well with a statement found in BIN IV 180, ll. 6 ff. according to which 20 1/2 minas and 2 shekels of copper were weighed out to the Talhatians "for 16 *šurā-tum*". To be sure, this does not prove that the whole amount of more than 20 minas of copper had been used, or was destined to be used, in manufacturing those sixteen belts; a considerable part of it may have served for payment of labour etc. But it is significant that, according to TC III 210, 8 f. (*šurā-am Tal-ha-it-tum a-ni Su-Ita-bur*), *šurā-tum* were among the products of Talhatian craftsmanship; for the people of Talhat-*Δαλχη* excelled also in the making of "ephods" (*e-pho de-ton*) which, as is learnt from Judges 8.22 ff., involved the use of metal. Since TC III 210 deals with a shipment of silver and valuable articles to Aššur, and since Su-Ituhur is known to have been a wealthy and most influential resident of that city, it also results from the passage just cited that, like the *epidatium* Talhat¹¹⁹ *šrum* mentioned in CCT II 369, 15 l. and BL 131, 23, precious *šurā-tum* found their way to the metropolis on the Tigris from which they could, of course, be re-exported to Anatolia.

¹¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

¹¹⁹ *Compte rendu de la seconde rencontre assyriologique internationale*, Paris 1931, p. 51.

¹²⁰ It is appropriate to recall in this connection the remarks of Thureau-Dangin and Contenu, *Revue d'Assyriologie* 26, 1932, p. 30. He has shown that on the legends found on precious gifts the name of the donor is preceded by *ša* and the name of the recipient of the present by *ana*.

¹²¹ Thus because Gell No. 38 was unearthed at Kültepe. As will be confirmed

In these circumstances, and since the presence at Kaniš of a *rubl'um* is attested by the letter CCT III 44^b (see above, pp. 21 ff.), it is hardly too daring to see in the memorandum Gelb No. 58 a piece of evidence to the effect that a member of the court at Aššur, namely the future king Puzur-Aššur II, sent gifts to the ruler of Halys Assyria.¹²⁰

*But why
* * not the native prince?*

In view of the information just gathered from the memorandum Gelb No. 58, one might be inclined to regard Halys Assyria as a sovereign state headed by a *rubl'um* as independent as the *išši'ak Aššur* who resided at Aššur. But such an inference would be contrary to the various and intricate implications of the well-known fact that the principal quarter of the city of Kaniš (as well as its govern-

presently (see note 122), this fact does not imply that the merchandise and valuable articles enumerated in this "bill of consignment" came from Kaniš.

¹²² That the passage here under discussion records gifts is also the view of Bilgic, *AIO XV*, 1945 51, p. 24 with note 172. However, while not expressing any opinion as to the identity of the donor, he speaks of "Geschenke an [sic] den assyrischen Kronprinzen", although, as we have seen, *ku Puzur-Aššur* means neither "ur-in P." nor "ur P.". Bilgic's remark seems to be due to his assumption that the first twenty-eight lines of Gelb No. 58 deal with the voyage from Kaniš to Aššur of a man who, travelling with what Bilgic calls "wenig Gepäck" (i. e., probably, without transporting a heavy load of merchandise), paid only twenty shekels of copper for the use of a ferry-boat, whereas, according to Bilgic, ll. 29 ff. concern a journey from Aššur to Kaniš, in the course of which the same man, now travelling with a caravan, spent no less than three hundred shekels of copper for the use of a ferry-boat. "das in Richtung hierher (den Fluss) überquert hat." I consider this interpretation of Gelb No. 58 as unworkable as my own first attempt (in *JAOI* 57, 1937, pp. 435 f.) to understand this difficult document. As mentioned above (see also *Orientalia* XXI, 1952, p. 423, note 3, where I spoke incorrectly of "two consignments destined for Cappadocia"), lines 1-3 make it perfectly clear that our traveller's so-called luggage included at least one talent of *annakum*; since, according to the unanimous testimony of hundreds of Kültepe texts, even smaller quantities of lead were never shipped from Cappadocia to Aššur, the premise of Bilgic's reasoning turns out to be erroneous. In addition, it must be noted that Bilgic's interpretation of the clause *5 minā'ā er'um ig-rī i-li-pi um ku i-bi-ra-ni* (ll. 29 f.) is not cogent, the translation "5 minas of copper, the line of the boat which will cross (the river) hitherward" being equally possible because the Old Assyrian scribes were not wont to indicate the gemination of the second radical of verbal forms such as *attiqā* or *tebbirauni*. The interpretation of *i-bi-ra-ni* as future is, in fact, required in view of texts such as *TC* 72 (ll. 14^b-16), *TC* 80 (ll. 2^b-4), *KTHake* 18 (ll. 13, 15 and 19 f.), *CCT* II 4^b+5^c (ll. 6^b 7^a and 10), *TC* III 139 (ll. 8+9 f.), *CCT* IV 2^b (ll. 7 f. and 12-14^a), *CCT* IV 7^a (ll. 20-23). For in agreement with other records relating to the transport of merchandise or other valuables these memoranda and letters show that it was

ing body which, inter alia, functioned as a law-court¹²⁰ figures as *kārum Kanīš* in official letters¹²¹, in proceedings in court¹²², in legal decisions¹²³, in contracts¹²⁴ and in other documents.¹²⁵ On the

customary to state in the bills of consignment which amounts in cash the caravan-leader was given upon his departure in order to enable him to meet the daily expenses of his journey, to pay his personnel, etc. etc.; conversely, statements as to travelling expenses already defrayed by the caravan-leader cannot be expected and are actually not found in this class of documents. Hence it is manifest that Bilgiç erred in taking it for granted that *Geb* No. 58 deals with the details of a journey to Assyria and back and that it was written after the traveller's return to his home in Cappadocia. (Any attempt to support Bilgiç's view with the argument that *Geb* No. 58 was found at Kanīš proves futile because it results from the comparison of, e. g., *TaM* I 2ⁿ [see *RL* II, p. 177 f.] with *RL* 110 that it was usual to send to Kanīš copies of the bills of consignment of goods expedited at Aššur and destined for Kanīš: we also learn from these texts that the caravan-leaders received — in the form of letters addressed to them — written instructions repeating the contents of those bills of consignment.) The afore-mentioned fact, finally, that the amounts of $\frac{1}{3}$ of a mina of copper and 5 minas of copper, respectively, which the caravan-leader received with the instruction to use them for "the hire of the boat" (l. 18) and for "the hire of the boat which will cross hitherward" (ll. 29 f.), seem to be disproportionate does not, of course, militate against our interpretation of *Geb* No. 58. For, to say nothing of the possibility that, when returning to Aššur, our voyager expected to "cross" at another place or to cover a longer distance by boat than when being outbound, it may be surmised that the fare varied according to the number of persons crossing on the same boat or depended upon still other circumstances unknown to us.

¹²⁰ Evidence that the *kārum* of a town served as law-court comes also from the Old Babylonian sources; cf. inter alia the observations of L. W. King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, III, London 1906, p. 122, note 2. In the law-suit recorded in VAT 7716 (VS XIII, No. 89; cf. Ungnad's translation in Koechler and Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Cases*, VI, Leipzig 1923, p. 159) it was the *kārum* of the town of Raḫabum (*kār Alabakī Ra-ḫa-bu-um*) who sat as court and rendered a decision; cf. Walther, *Das Altbabylonische Gerichtswesen*, Leipzig 1917, p. 70. As for a law-suit in which king Rim-Sin sent the parties to the Šamaš-temple of Larsa and *i-na bīt Šamaš ku ru ma li kom ḫa-ḫi-si-nu-ti* (AO 6370 [TCL X, No. 34]), see now Leemans, *The Old-Babylonian Merchants*, Leiden 1950, pp. 69 ff. and note the affinity of the passage with *RL* 247, 20 (*kā-ru-um lu-ḫa-ḫi-si-nu-ti*).

¹²¹ Cf., inter alia, the letters mentioned above, p. 20, note 85.

¹²² See, e. g., *RL* 245 ff.

¹²³ See, for instance, *RL* 274, 276; 280.

¹²⁴ Cf. *RL* 223, 14^b-22.

¹²⁵ To believe Landsberger, *ZA* 35, 1924, p. 223, it is most significant that, in distinction from the Neo-Assyrian sources transmitting to us numerous place names of the type *šKār-N* or *šKār-V*, the Old Assyrian documents employ always the expressions *kārum Bursiḫaddum*, *kārum Kanīš* etc. "Dunach", he says, "ist *kārum* nicht eine Behörde von Kanīš, sondern Kanīš selbst ist ein *kārum*". I am unable to concur with this opinion which served him as a point of departure for far-reaching conclusions. For in ll. 40 ff. of the letter *CCY* III 4 a certain Aššur-aklāku is expressly told that at Bursiḫaddum he should not stay (lit., "sit") in the *kārum*; this passage

surface the *kārum Kanīš* presents itself as a branch of a corporation of bankers and travelling merchants founded at the city of Assur in order to exploit the potentialities of a highly organized commercial penetration of Cappadocia and the neighboring regions. For this reason, and on the erroneous assumption that the Assyrian importers were not subject to taxes and duties, it has been said that the members of the *kārum Kanīš* and, for that matter, of the other *kāra* of Anatolia "formed a close-knit independent organization within a foreign country where the merchants had to rely upon themselves and their ability to cooperate with a variety of city rulers and the ever changing political situation".²⁹ But there is evidence that the *kārum* or, more exactly, the *bīt kārim*, i. e. the central office found in every *kārum*³⁰, served not only as a chamber of commerce and a clearing

(a transliteration and translation of which is found in *EL* I, p. 119, note c in fine) points therefore to a distinction between the city of Durūšhaddum in general and its *kāra*s. Nor can I accept Landsberger's premise that the grammatical difference between *kār Sippār* and *kārum Sippār* requires a different interpretation of the two phrases. A comparison of the sentences *a-tana 1-kār ká-šš-ša* (*TC* III 58, 16; cf. above, p. 7, note 30) and *šš-tū a-al šī-šī-ša á ša-ir* (*EL* 247, 51; cf. above, p. 21 with note 89) or, to quote an Old Babylonian letter, *a-ša šī-šī-ša a-al Sippār* (*KI* 32-ri-a-am) (*VAT* 576, 12 ff.; cf. Ungnad apud P. Kraus, *MFA* 36, 1, 1932, p. 71, note e) shows that *šš-ša* means exactly the same as *šī-šī*. Hence and because, as admitted by Landsberger, *šš-ša* and *kārum* belong in one and the same category of designations of communities and their governing bodies, I see no possibility of postulating a difference between *kār Sippār* and *kārum Sippār*.

To judge by a recent remark in *Symbolae Hierosolymitanae*, III, 1950, p. 329 in which he describes the city of Hattuş as "Sitz eines *kārum*, d. h. einer organisierten assyrischen Handelskolonie", Landsberger does no longer rigidly adhere to the views he expressed thirty years ago. But since his definition of the *kārum* as a "colony of traders" (cf. also *loc. cit.*, p. 338) implies continued adherence to his former view that *kārum* "port" came to mean "Faktorei", "Kolonie", it seemed necessary to mention the reasons why we reject the concept on which this theory is based. That this is not as superfluous as one might assume can be seen from the statements of Salonen, *Nautica Babylonica*, Helsinki 1942, pp. 35 ff. Quoting Landsberger, he asserts that *kārum* signifies "Hafen, Hafenanlage, Kaß dann Markt(wert), Kiebt, Neugründung" and goes on to speak of the "Namen der zahlreichen assyrischen Neugründungen in eroberten Gebieten: *kār-NN* «Kolonie des NN». It obviously did not occur to Salonen how unrealistic it is to assume that the Assyrians founded many major towns in Asia Minor but failed to give an Assyrian name to at least the one or the other of those "Neugründungen". Nor did he take pains to ascertain how many of the places figuring as *kār-NN* in the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions were merely renamed but not founded by the Assyrian conquerors.

²⁹ See Oppenheim, *JAO* 74, 1954, p. 13.

³⁰ Besides referring very frequently to the *bīt kārim* at Kanīš, the Kültepe texts mention a *bīt kārim* at Durūšhaddum (see *CCT* 19^b, 3 f.; *CCT* 22^a, 3 ff.; *TC* 37, 11 f.; *TeM* I 27^b, 7 f.; etc.), at Durūmīd (*CCT* II 30, 19; Oxford 685, 14), at Wahānšana (*BIN* IV 218, 21 f.), at Zalpa (see *BIN* VI 167, 8 f.; *IO subāt* 1 Ze-al-pá a-na [bīt]

house of the merchants but also as an agency of the *ékallum*. Most instructive among the pertinent tablets is the memorandum BIN IV 156 which relates in its first lines³⁰ that in payment of some pieces of cloth purchased by the palace the merchant concerned would receive in the *bît hárim* copper in the amount of 20 minas per piece.³¹ Furthermore, an examination of the numerous texts which mention either a "tithe" designated as *írátum* or a "5% duty" called *métúm* *hamšat*³² and, like other taxes or fees³³, payable in the *bît hárim*³⁴ shows not only that heavy tolls were levied on goods arriving at Kaniš but also that the *hárum* and the palace were administrative institutions serving a common end: for the fact that the *írátum* were sometimes paid to the *ékallum*³⁵ and at other times to the *bît hárim*³⁶ indicates

³⁰ *ká-ri-im i-po-[u]*. As for the significant fact that the sources employ the expressions "mina of the *hárum*" and "mina of the *bît hárim*" in one and the same sense, see *Symbolae Hieron.*, IV, 1930, p. 418, note 289.

³¹ The text begins as follows: *1-na 70 subát[um] 1-na 1-na ékallim 2-na 2-na 7 1/2 subát[um] 2-na 20 maná[ti] TA er[is] am 2-na 2-na há-ri-im 1-na 1-na 2-na 2-na*.

³² Another transaction of exactly the same character is mentioned in the first lines of the letter AYS 18; in this instance the palace bought (*ana hárim ilgi*) 20 pieces of cloth and the importers of the cloths expected to receive in the *bît hárim* 400 minas of copper. Cf. further COT II 24, ll. 21-29, where the last numeral in l. 28 must be emended to 10 LÁ 1/4. Information similar to the evidence just adduced but pertaining to the *ékallum* and *bît hárim* of Barakšuddum is contained in the following lines of the reverse of the badly damaged letter VAT 9276: 53 *subát[um]* 1-na 1-na há-ri-im 2-na há-ri-im 3-na ékallim 4-na 4-na 5-na 6-na 7-na 8-na 9-na 10-na 11-na 12-na 13-na 14-na 15-na 16-na 17-na 18-na 19-na 20-na 21-na 22-na 23-na 24-na 25-na 26-na 27-na 28-na 29-na 30-na 31-na 32-na 33-na 34-na 35-na 36-na 37-na 38-na 39-na 40-na 41-na 42-na 43-na 44-na 45-na 46-na 47-na 48-na 49-na 50-na 51-na 52-na 53-na 54-na 55-na 56-na 57-na 58-na 59-na 60-na 61-na 62-na 63-na 64-na 65-na 66-na 67-na 68-na 69-na 70-na 71-na 72-na 73-na 74-na 75-na 76-na 77-na 78-na 79-na 80-na 81-na 82-na 83-na 84-na 85-na 86-na 87-na 88-na 89-na 90-na 91-na 92-na 93-na 94-na 95-na 96-na 97-na 98-na 99-na 100-na 101-na 102-na 103-na 104-na 105-na 106-na 107-na 108-na 109-na 110-na 111-na 112-na 113-na 114-na 115-na 116-na 117-na 118-na 119-na 120-na 121-na 122-na 123-na 124-na 125-na 126-na 127-na 128-na 129-na 130-na 131-na 132-na 133-na 134-na 135-na 136-na 137-na 138-na 139-na 140-na 141-na 142-na 143-na 144-na 145-na 146-na 147-na 148-na 149-na 150-na 151-na 152-na 153-na 154-na 155-na 156-na 157-na 158-na 159-na 160-na 161-na 162-na 163-na 164-na 165-na 166-na 167-na 168-na 169-na 170-na 171-na 172-na 173-na 174-na 175-na 176-na 177-na 178-na 179-na 180-na 181-na 182-na 183-na 184-na 185-na 186-na 187-na 188-na 189-na 190-na 191-na 192-na 193-na 194-na 195-na 196-na 197-na 198-na 199-na 200-na 201-na 202-na 203-na 204-na 205-na 206-na 207-na 208-na 209-na 210-na 211-na 212-na 213-na 214-na 215-na 216-na 217-na 218-na 219-na 220-na 221-na 222-na 223-na 224-na 225-na 226-na 227-na 228-na 229-na 230-na 231-na 232-na 233-na 234-na 235-na 236-na 237-na 238-na 239-na 240-na 241-na 242-na 243-na 244-na 245-na 246-na 247-na 248-na 249-na 250-na 251-na 252-na 253-na 254-na 255-na 256-na 257-na 258-na 259-na 260-na 261-na 262-na 263-na 264-na 265-na 266-na 267-na 268-na 269-na 270-na 271-na 272-na 273-na 274-na 275-na 276-na 277-na 278-na 279-na 280-na 281-na 282-na 283-na 284-na 285-na 286-na 287-na 288-na 289-na 290-na 291-na 292-na 293-na 294-na 295-na 296-na 297-na 298-na 299-na 300-na 301-na 302-na 303-na 304-na 305-na 306-na 307-na 308-na 309-na 310-na 311-na 312-na 313-na 314-na 315-na 316-na 317-na 318-na 319-na 320-na 321-na 322-na 323-na 324-na 325-na 326-na 327-na 328-na 329-na 330-na 331-na 332-na 333-na 334-na 335-na 336-na 337-na 338-na 339-na 340-na 341-na 342-na 343-na 344-na 345-na 346-na 347-na 348-na 349-na 350-na 351-na 352-na 353-na 354-na 355-na 356-na 357-na 358-na 359-na 360-na 361-na 362-na 363-na 364-na 365-na 366-na 367-na 368-na 369-na 370-na 371-na 372-na 373-na 374-na 375-na 376-na 377-na 378-na 379-na 380-na 381-na 382-na 383-na 384-na 385-na 386-na 387-na 388-na 389-na 390-na 391-na 392-na 393-na 394-na 395-na 396-na 397-na 398-na 399-na 400-na 401-na 402-na 403-na 404-na 405-na 406-na 407-na 408-na 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552-na 553-na 554-na 555-na 556-na 557-na 558-na 559-na 560-na 561-na 562-na 563-na 564-na 565-na 566-na 567-na 568-na 569-na 570-na 571-na 572-na 573-na 574-na 575-na 576-na 577-na 578-na 579-na 580-na 581-na 582-na 583-na 584-na 585-na 586-na 587-na 588-na 589-na 590-na 591-na 592-na 593-na 594-na 595-na 596-na 597-na 598-na 599-na 600-na 601-na 602-na 603-na 604-na 605-na 606-na 607-na 608-na 609-na 610-na 611-na 612-na 613-na 614-na 615-na 616-na 617-na 618-na 619-na 620-na 621-na 622-na 623-na 624-na 625-na 626-na 627-na 628-na 629-na 630-na 631-na 632-na 633-na 634-na 635-na 636-na 637-na 638-na 639-na 640-na 641-na 642-na 643-na 644-na 645-na 646-na 647-na 648-na 649-na 650-na 651-na 652-na 653-na 654-na 655-na 656-na 657-na 658-na 659-na 660-na 661-na 662-na 663-na 664-na 665-na 666-na 667-na 668-na 669-na 670-na 671-na 672-na 673-na 674-na 675-na 676-na 677-na 678-na 679-na 680-na 681-na 682-na 683-na 684-na 685-na 686-na 687-na 688-na 689-na 690-na 691-na 692-na 693-na 694-na 695-na 696-na 697-na 698-na 699-na 700-na 701-na 702-na 703-na 704-na 705-na 706-na 707-na 708-na 709-na 710-na 711-na 712-na 713-na 714-na 715-na 716-na 717-na 718-na 719-na 720-na 721-na 722-na 723-na 724-na 725-na 726-na 727-na 728-na 729-na 730-na 731-na 732-na 733-na 734-na 735-na 736-na 737-na 738-na 739-na 740-na 741-na 742-na 743-na 744-na 745-na 746-na 747-na 748-na 749-na 750-na 751-na 752-na 753-na 754-na 755-na 756-na 757-na 758-na 759-na 760-na 761-na 762-na 763-na 764-na 765-na 766-na 767-na 768-na 769-na 770-na 771-na 772-na 773-na 774-na 775-na 776-na 777-na 778-na 779-na 780-na 781-na 782-na 783-na 784-na 785-na 786-na 787-na 788-na 789-na 790-na 791-na 792-na 793-na 794-na 795-na 796-na 797-na 798-na 799-na 800-na 801-na 802-na 803-na 804-na 805-na 806-na 807-na 808-na 809-na 810-na 811-na 812-na 813-na 814-na 815-na 816-na 817-na 818-na 819-na 820-na 821-na 822-na 823-na 824-na 825-na 826-na 827-na 828-na 829-na 830-na 831-na 832-na 833-na 834-na 835-na 836-na 837-na 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981-na 982-na 983-na 984-na 985-na 986-na 987-na 988-na 989-na 990-na 991-na 992-na 993-na 994-na 995-na 996-na 997-na 998-na 999-na 1000-na 1001-na 1002-na 1003-na 1004-na 1005-na 1006-na 1007-na 1008-na 1009-na 1010-na 1011-na 1012-na 1013-na 1014-na 1015-na 1016-na 1017-na 1018-na 1019-na 1020-na 1021-na 1022-na 1023-na 1024-na 1025-na 1026-na 1027-na 1028-na 1029-na 1030-na 1031-na 1032-na 1033-na 1034-na 1035-na 1036-na 1037-na 1038-na 1039-na 1040-na 1041-na 1042-na 1043-na 1044-na 1045-na 1046-na 1047-na 1048-na 1049-na 1050-na 1051-na 1052-na 1053-na 1054-na 1055-na 1056-na 1057-na 1058-na 1059-na 1060-na 1061-na 1062-na 1063-na 1064-na 1065-na 1066-na 1067-na 1068-na 1069-na 1070-na 1071-na 1072-na 1073-na 1074-na 1075-na 1076-na 1077-na 1078-na 1079-na 1080-na 1081-na 1082-na 1083-na 1084-na 1085-na 1086-na 1087-na 1088-na 1089-na 1090-na 1091-na 1092-na 1093-na 1094-na 1095-na 1096-na 1097-na 1098-na 1099-na 1100-na 1101-na 1102-na 1103-na 1104-na 1105-na 1106-na 1107-na 1108-na 1109-na 1110-na 1111-na 1112-na 1113-na 1114-na 1115-na 1116-na 1117-na 1118-na 1119-na 1120-na 1121-na 1122-na 1123-na 1124-na 1125-na 1126-na 1127-na 1128-na 1129-na 1130-na 1131-na 1132-na 1133-na 1134-na 1135-na 1136-na 1137-na 1138-na 1139-na 1140-na 1141-na 1142-na 1143-na 1144-na 1145-na 1146-na 1147-na 1148-na 1149-na 1150-na 1151-na 1152-na 1153-na 1154-na 1155-na 1156-na 1157-na 1158-na 1159-na 1160-na 1161-na 1162-na 1163-na 1164-na 1165-na 1166-na 1167-na 1168-na 1169-na 1170-na 1171-na 1172-na 1173-na 1174-na 1175-na 1176-na 1177-na 1178-na 1179-na 1180-na 1181-na 1182-na 1183-na 1184-na 1185-na 1186-na 1187-na 1188-na 1189-na 1190-na 1191-na 1192-na 1193-na 1194-na 1195-na 1196-na 1197-na 1198-na 1199-na 1200-na 1201-na 1202-na 1203-na 1204-na 1205-na 1206-na 1207-na 1208-na 1209-na 1210-na 1211-na 1212-na 1213-na 1214-na 1215-na 1216-na 1217-na 1218-na 1219-na 1220-na 1221-na 1222-na 1223-na 1224-na 1225-na 1226-na 1227-na 1228-na 1229-na 1230-na 1231-na 1232-na 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1358-na 1359-na 1360-na 1361-na 1362-na 1363-na 1364-na 1365-na 1366-na 1367-na 1368-na 1369-na 1370-na 1371-na 1372-na 1373-na 1374-na 1375-na 1376-na 1377-na 1378-na 1379-na 1380-na 1381-na 1382-na 1383-na 1384-na 1385-na 1386-na 1387-na 1388-na 1389-na 1390-na 1391-na 1392-na 1393-na 1394-na 1395-na 1396-na 1397-na 1398-na 1399-na 1400-na 1401-na 1402-na 1403-na 1404-na 1405-na 1406-na 1407-na 1408-na 1409-na 1410-na 1411-na 1412-na 1413-na 1414-na 1415-na 1416-na 1417-na 1418-na 1419-na 1420-na 1421-na 1422-na 1423-na 1424-na 1425-na 1426-na 1427-na 1428-na 1429-na 1430-na 1431-na 1432-na 1433-na 1434-na 1435-na 1436-na 1437-na 1438-na 1439-na 1440-na 1441-na 1442-na 1443-na 1444-na 1445-na 1446-na 1447-na 1448-na 1449-na 1450-na 1451-na 1452-na 1453-na 1454-na 1455-na 1456-na 1457-na 1458-na 1459-na 1460-na 1461-na 1462-na 1463-na 1464-na 1465-na 1466-na 1467-na 1468-na 1469-na 1470-na 1471-na 1472-na 1473-na 1474-na 1475-na 1476-na 1477-na 1478-na 1479-na 1480-na 1481-na 1482-na 1483-na 1484-na 1485-na 1486-na 1487-na 1488-na 1489-na 1490-na 1491-na 1492-na 1493-na 1494-na 1495-na 1496-na 1497-na 1498-na 1499-na 1500-na 1501-na 1502-na 1503-na 1504-na 1505-na 1506-na 1507-na 1508-na 1509-na 1510-na 1511-na 1512-na 1513-na 1514-na 1515-na 1516-na 1517-na 1518-na 1519-na 1520-na 1521-na 1522-na 1523-na 1524-na 1525-na 1526-na 1527-na 1528-na 1529-na 1530-na 1531-na 1532-na 1533-na 1534-na 1535-na 1536-na 1537-na 1538-na 1539-na 1540-na 1541-na 1542-na 1543-na 1544-na 1545-na 1546-na 1547-na 1548-na 1549-na 1550-na 1551-na 1552-na 1553-na 1554-na 1555-na 1556-na 1557-na 1558-na 1559-na 1560-na 1561-na 1562-na 1563-na 1564-na 1565-na 1566-na 1567-na 1568-na 1569-na 1570-na 1571-na 1572-na 1573-na 1574-na 1575-na 1576-na 1577-na 1578-na 1579-na 1580-na 1581-na 1582-na 1583-na 1584-na 1585-na 1586-na 1587-na 1588-na 1589-na 1590-na 1591-na 1592-na 1593-na 1594-na 1595-na 1596-na 1597-na 1598-na 1599-na 1600-na 1601-na 1602-na 1603-na 1604-na 1605-na 1606-na 1607-na 1608-na 1609-na 1610-na 1611-na 1612-na 1613-na 1614-na 1615-na 1616-na 1617-na 1618-na 1619-na 1620-na 1621-na 1622-na 1623-na 1624-na 1625-na 1626-na 1627-na 1628-na 1629-na 1630-na 1631-na 1632-na 1633-na 1634-na 1635-na 1636-na 1637-na 1638-na 1639-na 1640-na 1641-na 1642-na 1643-na 1644-na 1645-na 1646-na 1647-na 1648-na 1649-na 1650-na 1651-na 1652-na 1653-na 1654-na 1655-na 1656-na 1657-na 1658-na 1659-na 1660-na 1661-na 1662-na 1663-na 1664-na 1665-na 1666-na 1667-na 1668-na 1669-na 1670-na 1671-na 1672-na 1673-na 1674-na 1675-na 1676-na 1677-na 1678-na 1679-na 1680-na 1681-na 1682-na 1683-na 1684-na 1685-na 1686-na 1687-na 1688-na 1689-na 1690-na 1691-na 1692-na 1693-na 1694-na 1695-na 1696-na 1697-na 1698-na 1699-na 1700-na 1701-na 1702-na 1703-na 1704-na 1705-na 1706-na 1707-na 1708-na 1709-na 1710-na 1711-na 1712-na 1713-na 1714-na 1715-na 1716-na 1717-na 1718-na 1719-na 1720-na 1721-na 1722-na 1723-na 1724-na 1725-na 1726-na 1727-na 1728-na 1729-na 1730-na 1731-na 1732-na 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1858-na 1859-na 1860-na 1861-na 1862-na 1863-na 1864-na 1865-na 1866-na 1867-na 1868-na 1869-na 1870-na 1871-na 1872-na 1873-na 1874-na 1875-na 1876-na 1877-na 1878-na 1879-na 1880-na 1881-na 1882-na 1883-na 1884-na 1885-na 1886-na 1887-na 1888-na 1889-na 1890-na 1891-na 1892-na 1893-na 1894-na 1895-na 1896-na 1897-na 1898-na 1899-na 1900-na 1901-na 1902-na 1903-na 1904-na 1905-na 1906-na 1907-na 1908-na 1909-na 1910-na 1911-na 1912-na 1913-na 1914-na 1915-na 1916-na 1917-na 1918-na 1919-na 1920-na 1921-na 1922-na 1923-na 1924-na 1925-na 1926-na 1927-na 1928-na 1929-na 1930-na 1931-na 1932-na 1933-na 1934-na 1935-na 1936-na 1937-na 1938-na 1939-na 1940-na 1941-na 1942-na 1943-na 1944-na 1945-na 1946-na 1947-na 1948-na 1949-na 1950-na 1951-na 1952-na 1953-na 1954-na 1955-na 1956-na 1957-na 1958-na 1959-na 1960-na 1961-na 1962-na 1963-na 1964-na 1965-na 1966-na 1967-na 1968-na 1969-na 1970-na 1971-na 1972-na 1973-na 1974-na 1975-na 1976-na 1977-na 1978-na 1979-na 1980-na 1981-na 1982-na 1983-na 1984-na 1985-na 1986-na 1987-na 1988-na 1989-na 1990-na 1991-na 1992-na 1993-na 1994-na 1995-na 1996-na 1997-na 1998-na 1999-na 2000-na 2001-na 2002-na 2003-na 2004-na 2005-na 2006-na 2007-na 2008-na 2009-na 2010-na 2011-na 2012-na 2013-na 2014-na 2015-na 2016-na 2017-na 2018-na 2019-na 2020-na 2021-na 2022-na 2023-na 2024-na 2025-na 2026-na 2027-na 2028-na 2029-na 2030-na 2031-na 2032-na 2033-na 2034-na 2035-na 2036-na 2037-na 2038-na 2039-na 2040-na 2041-na 2042-na 2043-na 2044-na 2045-na 2046-na 2047-na 2048-na 2049-na 2050-na 2051-na 2052-na 2053-na 2054-na 2055-na 2056-na 2057-na 2058-na 2059-na 2060-na 2061-na 2062-na 2063-na 2064-na 2065-na 2066-na 2067-na 2068-na 2069-na 2070-na 2071-na 2072-na 2073-na 2074-na 2075-na 2076-na 2077-na 2078-na 2079-na 2080-na 2081-na 2082-na 2083-na 2084-na 2085-na 2086-na 2087-na 2088-na 2089-na 2090-na 2091-na 2

that it was of no consequence which of the two administrations received this tax. Such cooperation of "palace" or "government" and *kārum* is not as surprising as it might seem. We learned already from the letter discussed above, pp. 17 ff. that, when informed of the readiness of the prince of Wašhania to swear an oath of allegiance, the *kārum* Waššūšana not only made a report to its "superior", the *kārum* Kaniš, but even was in a position to tell that prince at once which action the government (*mātum*) in Kaniš would take in this political matter. When turning to the sources relating to the later periods of Assyrian history, we see, on the other hand, that a somewhat damaged letter addressed to king Aššur-bān-apli¹⁰⁸ deals with a certain Nabû-kudurri-ušur, characterized by the letter as viceroy of the "Sealand"¹⁰⁹, as well as with a *rāb ka-a-ri ša Māt-Tam-tim* (rev., l. 20); it would seem that this *kūru*-official, who, no doubt, represented another governmental department, was expected to collaborate with Nabû-kudurri-ušur. Judging from the fact that a letter sent to king Esar-haddon¹¹⁰ mentions both a *bēl pāpate* of "Isana and a *rāb kāri šarri* "Dajjān-Adad "Isana", it seems even probable that both the viceroy Nabû-kudurri-ušur and the *rāb kāri ša māt Tam-tim* were stationed in one and the same city; this conclusion is all the more justified since, according to ll. 19 ff. of the same letter, K. 122, colleagues of the *rāb kāri*, Dajjān-Adad, performed their duties in the district capitals of "Ud-si-Ad-bar, "Arzušina, "Arba-ila, "Guzana, "UD-nu-na and "Rimusu, each of which is known to have been the residence of a provincial governor.¹¹¹ A well-known stone inscription of

u-na ša ra-tar ša bēl ka-a-ri ša māt tam-tim ana a-ta-na ša i-na-dī-nu kaspaš uš-ta-tin
ša-ka-ša-na ša "ka-ša-na ša i-na-gu-ra-bē See also *BIN* VI 15, 4 ff.

¹⁰⁸ 82 5 22, 131, published by Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, XI, Chicago 1911, No. 1196 and transliterated and translated by Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, II, Ann Arbor 1930, pp. 268 ff.

¹⁰⁹ See rev., l. 13 *šarri Māt-Tam-tim* and "Nabû-kudurri-ušur <api>-ša šarri (iddinu) and cf. Schawe in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I, 191, 477 f.

¹¹⁰ K. 122, published by Harper, *op. cit.*, I, Chicago 1892, No. 43; latest transliteration and translations by Waterman, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 30 ff. and by Pfeiffer, *State Letters of Assyria*, New Haven 1932, pp. 240 f.

¹¹¹ Thus with Waterman in view of the obvious uncertainty of the reading *uš-ta-tin*, first suggested by van Gelderen, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* IV, 1902, pp. 313 ff. and endorsed by Forrer, *Die Provinzialverwaltung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1920, p. 104, who even accepted van Gelderen's rendering "Ruinenmeister". From the occurrence in l. 23 of PAP *ka-a-ri* it follows, on the other hand, that van Gelderen (and Pfeiffer, who, however, ventured no translation of Dajjān-Adad's title) were right in assuming that, after mentioning "Dajjān-Adad "Isana, the text goes on to enumerate colleagues of his who resided in other cities.

¹¹² For references see Forrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 94, 116, 109 and 115, respectively.

Esarhaddon, *Assur* 3916¹⁴¹, points likewise in this direction because *anā-rab-kārē*^{MES}, i. e. "revenue-officers" or "treasury-officials"¹⁴², figure here with kings and provincial governors as the officers charged by the Assyrian monarch with the administration of the countries which he had just conquered and made tributary.¹⁴³

As was just intimated in proposing and justifying the rendering "revenue-officers" or "treasury-officials", we conclude from the context of Esarhaddon's reference to his *anā-rab-kārē*^{MES} that the duties of these high-ranking functionaries comprised the task of collecting taxes for the king of Assyria. Since the authorities in the city of Assur are known to have raised money by imposing (*emādum*) payments of silver upon the *kārum Kanīš*¹⁴⁴, and since, as was mentioned before, the latter collected various tolls and taxes¹⁴⁵, a comparison of the earliest

or Ungnad in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, pp. 451 ff. sub Šulmu-šarri, Šamaš-bēla-ušur, Nabū-le'i, Mutakkil-Aššur, Nabū-dāra-ušur and Šulmu-bēl. As for the town of Šurūš which figures in K. 122 between the provincial capitals of Guzana and UD-nu-na, see below, p. 42, note 155.

¹⁴¹ Published by Messerschmidt, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, I, Leipzig 1911, No. 75.

¹⁴² Thus with Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, I, Heidelberg 1920, p. 385, who characterized the *rab kāri* of the Neo-Babylonian sources as a "Steuerdirektor". Cf. also Delitzsch, *Handel und Wandel in Altbabylonien*, Stuttgart 1910, p. 33, who saw in this official the administrator of the "Schatzkammer", i. e. of the privy purse of a prince or king. This definition of the tasks of the *rab kāri*, which seems to have been suggested to Delitzsch by the comparatively numerous references to a *rab kāri šurri* (see, in addition to l. 18 of the above-cited letter, K. 122, the contracts quoted by Mus. Arnold, *Dictionary*, p. 429, sub verbo *kāre* 2), is supported by the occurrence of a *rab kāri šā usqat šurri* in col. III, l. 25 of K. 8123 (Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, II, Cambridge 1901, No. 860); the title of this officer, as well as that of the above-mentioned *rab kāri šā Māt-Tadmān*, makes it particularly clear that the definition of the *rab kāri* as a "Hafeninspektor" (thus Salonen, *op. cit.*, p. 6) or as a "Kaisorsteher" (thus Ebeling, *Glossar*, p. 113) and the like is more or less inadequate. Delitzsch's interpretation of the functions of the *rab kāri* is also in line with a statement in the above-cited Neo-Babylonian document, VAT 11, according to which the *mašru*, i. e. the toll payable at the *bīt kāri*, was to be given to the *bīt šurri* (cf. Ungnad, *Glossar*, p. 89). Since, accordingly, the import duties and transit tolls collected at the river ports accrued directly to the royal household, it is understandable that the term *rab kāri* came to denote a high-ranking revenue-officer. As for the eligibility of the *rab kāri* to the *ihnum* office, which leaves no doubt about his rank, see presently, p. 42.

¹⁴³ See obv., ll. 13 ff.: *anā-rab-kārē* *šā-lu-la a-na anā-kār šarrān*^{MES} *anā-pāpāte*^{MES} *anā-kārē*^{MES} *anā-rab-kārē*^{MES} *ina šī mātāti-šū-a* [u] *šā-kun-ma* *lānu ma-a-at-tū bēlātī*¹⁴⁴ *ia* *šat-ti-šam-ma lu na* [par ha] *a e* *and su nu ti i-šū-tu ap-šū-a-ā*.

¹⁴⁴ This is learnt from the letter TC 1; cf. below, pp. 65 ff.

¹⁴⁵ It is pertinent to recall in this connection those letters of the kings of Babylon

Assyrian sources with those of the seventh century suggests that the administrative officers of the *kārum Kanīš* corresponded to the *rab-kārē*¹²² of the Neo-Assyrian epoch. In other words, it appears that the functions performed by the *limu*-officers who, according to documents such as *EL* 225 and 298, acted for the *kārum Kanīš* in financial and other matters were much the same as those of, say, the *rab-kārē* *ša Māt-Tāmtim* at the time of Aššur-bāni-apli. However, since, according to the above-cited memorandum *BIV* IV 156 and cognate passages in some letters¹²³, the *bēl-kārum* had also the task of paying for purchases of the *škallum* of Kanīš, it is established that the *kārum Kanīš* served also as a kind of treasurer of the government of Halys Assyria. Hence it is logical to go a step further and to draw a parallel not only between the *limu*-officers of the *kārum* of Kanīš and the *rab-kārē* *ša Māt-Tāmtim* but also between the *išši'akkum* Šelūlu, son of Dakiki, and Nabû-kudurri-ušur, the viceroy of the Sealand. When concluding on this basis that, just as Nabû-kudurri-ušur and his successor, Bēl-iḫni¹²⁴, were appointees of Aššur-bāni-apli, Šelūlu was a vassal of Irišum I or Ikūnum of Assyria¹²⁵, we are obviously supported by the letters from Māri since these invaluable sources revealed that, less than a century after Irišum's death, Šamši-Adad I entrusted the administration of two vital regions of his vast empire to his sons Išme-Dagan and Iasmah-Adad who, to quote Thureau-Dangin¹²⁶, exerted the functions of a sort of vice-king. In view of the many centuries which separate the officers of the *kārum Kanīš* from the *rab-kārē* of Esarhaddon and Aššur-bāni-apli it seems advisable, on the other hand, to present additional evidence and to show, above all, that the administrative organization alluded to by Esarhaddon in *Assur* 3916 was in line with much older precedent. We turn therefore to the administrative record *FAT* 9405¹²⁷ thanks to which the office of the *rab-kārē* *kur-ru*¹²⁸ can be traced back to the Middle Assyrian epoch. In relating

which clearly imply that the collecting of certain taxes in kind was one of the various tasks of the *bēl Šippar*; see especially ll. 8 E. of king Abi ešul's letter, *B. M. No.* 27249 (King, *op. cit.*, II, No. 90; latest transliteration and translation by Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, Leipzig 1914, No. 72).

¹²² See above, p. 38 with note 132.

¹²³ On Bēl-iḫni, who was perhaps a son of Nabû-kudurri-ušur and the father of Nabû-apla-ušur, see most recently Schawe, *loc. cit.*

¹²⁴ That Šelūlu was a vassal of Irišum or Ikūnum rather than of Šarrum-kēn is likely because the namesake, who possessed his seal, was a contemporary of Šarrum-kēn; cf. above, pp. 29 f. and below, pp. 72 ff.

¹²⁵ *Mélanges Syriens offerts à R. Dussaud*, I, Paris 1939, pp. 158 f.

¹²⁶ Published in transliteration and translation by Ebeling, *Mitteilungen der Orientalischen Gesellschaft*, VII, 1/2, 1933, pp. 50 f.

¹²⁷ As for the indiscriminate use of *kāru* and *kurru*, see especially col. III, ll.

tax + set trade are
indistinguishable.

that the king's court received from a holder of this office a certain number of sheep. VAT 9405 shows him in virtually the same rôle as the provincial governors (*bēl pāhāte*) who, according to several contemporary records discussed by Weidner¹⁸, used to make similar contributions to the royal household. To attribute this fact to a mere coincidence would be difficult since some pieces of evidence permit us to define the *rab-kārē* and the governors of the provinces as administrative officers in similar positions and of more or less equal standing. There are, in the first place, the statements in the above-cited letter, K. 122, according to which Esarhaddon expected certain deliveries of grain for the Aššur temple in the ancient capital city of Assyria from the *rab-kārē* of the "land" of Rašappa and (his colleagues of) the towns of Kakzi, Isana, Tille etc. as well as from Dajjān-Adad, the *rab-kārē* of the town of Isana, (and his colleagues of) the "land" of Hal-zi-Ad-bar, the towns of Birtum, Arzušina, Arha-ilu, Guzana, Šariš etc. Moreover, a Ninevite text from the middle of the seventh century¹⁹ gives the eponym *La-bu-si* the title *rab ka-a-ri*²⁰, thus showing that, like the governors of the provinces, the *rab-kārē* belonged to the small circle of functionaries eligible to the *limu* office.²¹ Further evidence of the existence of links between the *rab-kārē* and hence the *kārē*, on the one hand, and the *bēl pāhāte* and hence the

x+10 ff. of the Sargon Tablet of the Series *ana ālānu*, where KAR.GU.LA = *kar-ra* is preceded by KAR.BI = *ka-ar-su*, KAR.GU.LA = *kar-ra-su*; on the significance of these terms, which was elucidated by some Larsa texts discussed by Ch. F. Jean, *Revue d'Assyriologie* 24, 1927, pp. 51 ff., see for the present Deimel, *Sumeroisches Lexikon*, III, Roma 1932, p. 719 sub 8 and Landsberger, *Materialien zum Sumeroischen Lexikon*, I, Roma 1937, p. 124.

¹⁸ *Archiv für Orientforschung*, X, 1935-36, p. 14.

¹⁹ To all appearances, this town recurs as *Šeri-kā* in l. x+2 of a fragmentary "Nimrod Tablet," briefly described by Wiseman, *Iraq* XV, 1953, p. 148 sub ND. 3481. For reasons which will soon become manifest, it is important to take cognizance of the fact that, in distinction from the other towns mentioned in ll. 19 ff. of K. 122, Šariš was certainly not the capital of a province.

²⁰ 83-1-18, 287 published by Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*, London 1900, No. 264.

²¹ Cf. Johns, *op. cit.*, II, p. 97; Talcott, *Assyrian Personal Names*, Helsingfors 1914, pp. 119 f.; Weidner, *Archiv für Orientforschung* XIII, 1939-41, p. 315.

²² Hence we are not perplexed when learning from a unique inscription (FBC 7038, published by Stephens, *Votive and Historical Texts from Babylonia and Assyria*, New Haven 1937, No. 73 and transliterated and translated by Michel, *Die Welt des Orients*, I, 4, 1949, pp. 262 f.) that Iahūlu, who served as eponym in 833, 824 and 821, saw to it that the lot (*pāre*) he cast before becoming *limu* for the first or second time was inscribed with a prayer to Aššur and Adad in which he figured not only as *abarakku rabā* of king Ša'manaser III and governor of the town of Kibānu, of several "countries" and of the "Cedar Mountain(s)" but also as *rab ka-a-ri*.

deserves our fullest attention can be seen from the warranty clause of a Middle Assyrian contract¹⁰⁰ in which the obligation of Teiauri, the seller of a slave-girl, to protect the latter's buyer "throughout Assyria" from the claims of third parties is stated in the following terms: *pa-ḫa-at pu-gur <ra> na-e* ¹⁷*ša sinniṣti-ḫu ka-ra a-na ka-ri* ¹⁸*ḫa-ḫu-ma a-na ta-ḫu-me* ¹⁹*ša-ku-e* [²⁰*Te-i*]*a-ri-ma* ²¹*na a šē*.²² Because, as was mentioned before, the functionaries of a *kāru* were "revenue officers" concerned, inter alia, with taxes and tolls, and because the "boundary" was always and still is a place where tolls are collected, we obviously need not comment upon the association of *kāru* and "boundary" (*taḫūmu*) with which we meet in the phrase *kāru ana kāri taḫūma*²³ *ana taḫūme*. But it is pertinent to emphasize that this phrase supplements the information already obtained from K. 122 in as much as its use in the sense of "throughout Assyria" points to an ancient division of Assyria into contiguous districts in each of which a *radi kāri* is likely to have discharged the duties of a collector of taxes and tolls.

Evidence that the division of a sizable territory into districts or provinces each of which included a *kārum* was actually something familiar to the Assyrians and accounts for their use of the idiom *kāru ana kāri taḫūma ana taḫūme* in the sense of "all over Assyria" is, in

(K. 2852 + K. 9662; latest publication, transliteration and translation by Th. Bauer, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 40, 1931, pp. 234 ff.): *nīl ḫubut qāṣṣū . . . ina ḫbḫi nio(ḫbi) nīlū ḫbḫi ana rīḫirīḫi ana šintū ašāma 2* ²⁴*māšāṣirēšu wa pāpāte cīṣu-ur aḫḫu*.

¹⁰⁰ VAT 9038, published by Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts*, Leipzig 1927, No. 169 and transliterated and translated by him *loc. cit.* (see above, p. 41, note 152), pp. 81 f. In distinction from VAT 9038, the date of which is lost, an analogous contract which included a virtually identical warranty clause, VAT 8996 (Ebeling, *op. cit.*, No. 171) can be dated to the reign of Šulmānu-ašarid I or his famous son and successor; see Fine, *Hebrew Union College Annual* XXIV, 1952-53, pp. 233 ff.

²² Koschaker, *Neue keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden*, Leipzig 1926, p. 30, note 2 felt that this clause protects the buyer "überall", but he did not doubt that *kāru ana kāri taḫūma ana taḫūme* means "das Freimachen von Hafen zu Häfen, von Grenz zu Grenz". The inadequacy of this rendering of *kāru ana kāri* becomes obvious if it is taken into consideration that Assyria, particularly as constituted when VAT 9038 and VAT 8996 (see the preceding footnote) were written, was by far not as rich in river-ports and canal-ports as was Babylonia at all times. (See also below, p. 46, note 176.) The translation adopted by Ebeling, *loc. cit.*, p. 82 — he renders *kāru ana kāri* by "Tribunal für Tribunal" — is likewise incongruous, all the more so since it disregards the implications of the parallel *taḫūma ana taḫūme*.

²³ It would seem that *kāru* and *taḫūma* are old accusatives to be compared with the adverbial accusatives discussed by von Soden, *Grammatische der Akkadischen Grammatik*, Rome 1952, p. 162 sub c and pp. 172 f. sub i and j.

fact, provided by the Kültepe texts. Besides acquainting us with the *kārum* of Kaniš, Waḫšušana and Buruḫhaddum which, as we have seen, were governmental institutions entrusted, inter alia, with the task of collecting tolls and import duties from the caravans, these texts mention a "country of Kaniš"¹⁶³, a "country of Waḫšušana"¹⁶⁴ and "a country of Buruḫhaddum".¹⁶⁵ Moreover, as was likewise observed before¹⁶⁶, two most valuable itineraries which must be analyzed in conjunction with the letters *KTHahn* 1 and *BIN* IV 35 prove (1) that a road which bifurcated at Waḫḫania¹⁶⁷ linked Kaniš with Waḫšušana, on the one hand, and Buruḫhaddum, on the other, and (2) that the caravans carrying goods from Aššur to Kaniš and beyond covered the distances between the three places in journeys of a few days. These facts leave no doubt that the three "countries" just enumerated were contiguous. From the combination of the geographical evidence with the data pertaining to the tolls and, particularly, to the road tax (*ka-lum ša ḫarrānim*¹⁶⁸) levied from the caravans it thus follows that the part of Halys Assyria about which we happen to be well-informed was divided into adjoining administrative districts each of which comprised a *kārum* established, of course, at the locality most suitable, namely in the traditional capital of the district. Since, furthermore, each of the towns of Tawinia, Ḫattuš/Boğazköy and Zalpa, which lay not particularly far apart from each other¹⁶⁹, was the seat of a *kārum*¹⁷⁰, it is logical to infer that the same administrative organization was operative throughout a territory much larger than the region circumscribed by the three names Kaniš, Waḫšušana and Buruḫhaddum.

Before trying to integrate these data with other pieces of information relating to the administrative and political organization of Halys Assyria, we attempt to arrive at a fuller understanding of the implications of the term *kārum* on the basis of the Neo-Assyrian phrase *āš-šū*

¹⁶³ *TC* 18, 42; cf. *Orientalia* 21, 1952, pp. 288 f.

¹⁶⁴ *KTP* 10, 23; cf. *KTHahn*, p. 2 and *Symbolae Hierogl.* IV, pp. 367 f.

¹⁶⁵ *KTHahn* 1, 3; cf. *OLZ* 29, 1926, col. 965; *Symbolae Hierogl.* IV, p. 367, note 4.

¹⁶⁶ See pp. 13 ff. of the article quoted above, p. 18, note 76.

¹⁶⁷ I. e. to the southwest of Kaniš; cf. above, p. 20, note 86.

¹⁶⁸ The sources referring to this tax will be quoted below, p. 68, note 289; as for the "rithe" (*širdlāni*) and the "5% duty" (*šūlāni ḫarrāni*), see above, p. 38.

¹⁶⁹ See Götz, *Revue Hittite et Assyriologique* I, 1930-32, pp. 18 ff.

¹⁷⁰ A reference to the *kārum* *Tu-ūš-ša-a* occurs in l. 11 of *L* — 29 — 562. (I am greatly obliged to S. N. Kramer for having permitted me an examination of this valuable document as well as of the other unpublished Kültepe texts in the University Museum at Philadelphia.) The *kārum* *Ḫattuš* figures in a tablet cited by Gelb apud Hardy, *American Journal of Semitic Languages* LVIII, 1941, p. 179, note 6. As for the *kārum* *Zalpa*, see above, p. 20, note 85 and p. 37, note 130 and cf. below, p. 60.

kur-šud¹²² kar-ri kun-ni palē-in which occurs in l. 36 of the so-called Charter of the City of Aššur.¹²³ In view of the parallelism obtaining here between *kāru* and *palē*, and because *kuršudu* recurs elsewhere in connection with *palē*¹²⁴, the phrase attests the use of *kārum* in the sense of "government".¹²⁵ Since, furthermore, a newly constructed city destined to serve as residence of its builder, king Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207 B.C.), was given the name *Ḫâr-Ḫukultî* = *Nimrîta*, it appears that our term conveyed also the notion "seat of the government".¹²⁶ This means, however, that, on principle, every town or town-quarter serving as center of an administrative district and, accordingly, provided or linked with a "palace" and/or other government buildings and offices could be designated as a *kārum*.¹²⁷ As such it could, of course, be given a name of the type *Ḫâr-ḪX* or *Ḫâr-ḪY* even if it was not located on a navigable river or on the sea and did not therefore serve as a port.¹²⁸

The correctness of these deductions becomes evident if we turn

¹²² K. 1349, published by Winkler, *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, II, Leipzig 1894, p. 1. Cf. further Zeser 1783 (*Moserscheide, op. cit.*, No. 31), col. II (sic), ll. 17 ff.: *a gir-ri-a* [*ša kur-ku-di kar-ri*] [*pal-ku*] *palē-in*.

¹²³ See Aššur-nāṣir-apl II, "Annals", vol. I, ll. 11 ff.: *šā ta-ḫar-šī-du palē šī*.

¹²⁴ The same rendering makes good sense in the section of the Epic of Creation (col. Lahir I, 147 ff.) which relates how Ummu Hubur entrusted Kingu with the *rab-šaklūša* and *šaklūša ina kar-ri*. Some Old Assyrian texts referring to the *rab šaklūša* favor this interpretation: To judge by BIN VI 23, the *rab šaklūša* acted in certain matters for the *šaklūša* and its princely inhabitants. Moreover, visitors of the *rab šaklūša* had "to go up" (see Göl. 14, 24 f.: [*ša-na*] *raši* [*šā-ki*] *šī-na a-lī-na* *ḫam-ma a-na-ku-mi*), as had people who had business with "the palace" (see, for instance, Tula I, 19, 4b ff.: *a-na ḫallūšim ḫa-lī-ma um-ma* [*be-l a-lim*]) or were received by a prince (see, e.g., TC III 75, 4b ff.: *i-na ḫa-du-ūh-tur wa-šī-ba ku* [*a-di 10 a-na ru-ba-in*] *šī šī-na-ḫī-ti-in* *ni-lī-ma* [*uac ma a-na ku-ma*]).

¹²⁵ If, following Landsberger, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 35, 1924, p. 223, note 2, one would assume that the first element of the name *Karduniaš* is the Akkadian term here under discussion, it would thus give at the conclusion that the Kassites defined Babylonia as the residence of their god Dunaš. The rendering of *Karduniaš* resulting from this conclusion, viz. "Realm of Dunaš", would certainly be more plausible than a translation of the name on the basis of any of the significations "Stapelplatz", "Faktorei", "Kolonie", "Handelskommune" attributed to *kārum* by Landsberger.

¹²⁶ It seems à propos to recall in this connection the American habit of giving the name "Government Square" to squares in provincial towns on which a "federal building" with offices of the United States Government is located.

¹²⁷ The contention of Unger, *Babylon* (Berlin and Leipzig 1931), p. 96 and EI-Amin, *Sumer* IX, 1953, p. 50 that names of this class were given only to towns situated on a navigable river and provided with a "Hafenkaai" is not borne out by the sources. The royal inscriptions relating the freighting of *Ḫâr-ḪNabû*, *Ḫâr-ḪSin*, *Ḫâr-ḪAdad*, *Ḫâr-ḪIštar* and *Ḫâr-ḪŠin-ubšē-erība* lack only one of these

pertinent to recall another feature of the Neo-Assyrian sources here under examination. They repeatedly report that when a major town was captured and given a name characterizing it as a *kāru*, the Assyrian conquerors established there a cult¹⁷⁵, thus symbolizing its incorporation into Assyria and placing it under the protection of the victor's national deities. Since, significantly enough, the same measure was taken upon the annexation of towns which were neither renamed nor made a provincial capital¹⁷⁶, it is certainly not surprising that the usual reference to one of Aššur's weapons appears even in the records of disputes submitted by the litigants not to a *kārum* but to the one or the other among those numerous smaller communities which figure in the Kültepe texts as *wabūrum*.¹⁷⁷

Of much greater importance for the fundamental question as to the origin and character of the Assyrian settlements in Halys Assyria are, however, those laconic passages of the reports on Til-Barsip/Kār-Šulmānu-ašarid¹⁷⁸, Harhar/Kār-Sarru-kēn¹⁷⁹, Elenzaš/Kār-Sin-ahhē-eriba¹⁸⁰, Kār-Aššur and Kār-Aššur-ah-iddina¹⁸¹ which state that care was taken to populate these towns either with Assyrians or with people deported from regions newly subjugated.¹⁸² The earliest of these passages, Shalmaneser's statement on the annexation and Assyriani-

¹⁷⁵ For the evidence see (1) Tiglath-Pileser III, "Annals", I, 10; *ḫakki Aššur bēlāia ina libbi* (i. e. in *Kār-Aššur*) *arame*; (2) Sargon, "Annals", II, 97 ff. (ed. Lie - II, 71 ff. of Winckler's edition): *niššū mātātī ḫikittī qātūia ina libbi* (i. e. in Harhar/Kār-Sarru-kēn) *uštērib* *ḫakki Aššur bēlāia nūrū libbānia aškur* (cf. I, 63 of the "Display Inscription": *Kār-Sarru-kēn šomēn arkur ḫakki Aššur bēlāia ina libbi uštērib qulum šarrūiaia ina qiribū ušāia*); (3) Sargon, "Annals", II, 94 f. (68 f.); *ilāni alibāt mahriia ina qiribū* (i. e. in Kišesim/Kiū-Neugal) *uštērib*.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. the concluding statement of Sennacherib's report on the Cilician campaign in col. IV of the King Prism (B. M. No. 103000; latest transliteration and translation by Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, Chicago 1924, pp. 61 f.): *šilubru ana aššūle ešbet niššū mātātī ḫikittī qātūia ina libbi uštērib ḫakki Aššur bēlāia qiribū ušarime narū ša parāti uštēribūia maharū ušāia*.

¹⁷⁷ On these communities see below, pp. 59 ff.

¹⁷⁸ See above, p. 47, note 178.

¹⁷⁹ See above, p. 43, note 159 *sub* 2.

¹⁸⁰ See above, p. 47, note 180.

¹⁸¹ See above, p. 43, note 159 *sub* 3.

¹⁸² From the viewpoint of the present investigation, it is insignificant that the people sent to Kār-Aššur, Kār-Sarru-kēn and Kār-Aššur-ah-iddina were not Assyrians. When Sargon transformed the countries of Hamāt and Tabal into provinces administered by a *bēl pāḫati*, he settled there Assyrians (Srela from Cynus, col. I, II, 61 ff.; "Display Inscr.", I, 32), as he did at Karkemīš ("Annals", I, 76 ed. Lie). Similarly, it follows from Aššur-bāni-apli's inscriptions that, upon establishing Assyrian authority in Egypt, Esarhaddon settled Assyrians in and around Memphis; see H. Lewy, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 11, 1952, p. 280, note 83.

zation of Til-Barsip, Aligu and a third town the name of which is but incompletely preserved¹⁹³, is followed by a somewhat fuller account of the occupation of a town on the western bank of the Euphrates, Pitru/Ana-Aššur-utir-ašbat, and of Mutkinu¹⁹⁴; significantly enough, Shalmaneser tells us here that in settling Assyrian people (LÚ^{MEŠ} *¹⁹⁵ *Āš-su-ra-a-a*) in these re-annexed places he followed the example of Tiglath-Pileser I. (As was repeatedly noted, this information about the colonization of a border province by a Middle Assyrian ruler is supplemented by some similar statements in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser's father, Aššur-nāṣir-apli II, which mention (the descendants of) Assyrians [LÚ^{MEŠ} *¹⁹⁶ *Āš-su-ra-a-a*] settled by "Šulmānu-ašarid, the king of Assyria, a prince who preceded me"¹⁹⁷, in the fortresses of Sinabu and Tidu¹⁹⁸, in the country of Nairi¹⁹⁹ and in Halzi-Luha.²⁰⁰ Besides showing that the efforts of Tiglath-Pileser I

¹⁹³ See above, p. 47, note 178.

¹⁹⁴ See Shalmaneser's "Monolith from Kurkh", col. II, ll. 36 E.

¹⁹⁵ That is Shalmaneser I; see Winckler, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Leipzig 1892, p. 180; Meissner, *Könige Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Leipzig 1926, pp. 104 and 134.

¹⁹⁶ See Aššur-nāṣir-apli, "Monolith from Kurkh", rev., ll. 43 f.: *āš-su-ra-a-a bi-ti-ti-du bi-ra-a-te ša mē-šul-ma-nu-ašarid karu mē-āš-su-ru-utir-ašbat a-bik pāni-ia ana mē-na-ir-ri ā-šā-aš-bi-ti-ni*. As for the capture of Tidu/Taidu by Shalmaneser I, see col. III, ll. 1 ff. of *Assur 839* (*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, I, No. 13 and dupl.; latest transliteration and translation by Weidner in *Altorientalische Bibliothek*, I, Leipzig 1926, pp. 110 ff.). According to the contract VAT 9016 (Ebeling, *op. cit.*, No. 121), which Fine, *loc. cit.*, p. 233 dates to the time of Shalmaneser I, the victorious Assyrian stationed a *bēl pānīte* in Taidu. In doing so, he may well have followed the example of the first Assyrian conqueror of Taidu, Adad-narāri I. For the latter not only describes Taidu as the "big residence" of the defeated king of Hanigalbat but also reports having rebuilt the "palace" of the city of Taidu"; see obv., ll. 29 f. of *Assur 10357* (published by Weidner, *Archiv für Orientforschung* V, 1928-29, pp. 90 and 97 f.) and rev., ll. 37 ff. of *Assur 5764+9309* (Weidner, *ibidem*, pp. 92 f. and 100), respectively.

¹⁹⁷ See Aššur-nāṣir-apli, "Monolith from Kurkh", rev., ll. 45 ff.: *mē-āš-su-ra-a-a ša mē-na-ir-ri bi-ra-a-te ša āš-su-ru-utir-ašbat a-bik pāni-ia ana mē-na-ir-ri ā-šā-aš-bi-ti-ni*. A *mē-āš-su-ra-a-a* (l. 45) *ā-šā-aš-bi-ti-ni* (rhms according to obv., ll. 23 f. of the "Annals of Tukulti-Ninurta II" and col. II, l. 10 of Aššur-nāṣir-apli's "Annals", *šub-tu ni-ih-tu ā-še-ti ih-šā-uu*.

¹⁹⁸ See Aššur-nāṣir-apli's "Annals", col. I, ll. 101 ff.: "They reported as follows: 'The Assyrian people — their city ruler is Hulāia — whom Shalmaneser . . . settled in the land (variant: "in the town") of Hal-zi-Lu-ha revolted. They marched against Damcamusa, my royal city'. As I intimated in *Orientalia* 21, 1952, p. 394, note 1, the toponym *Hal-zi-Lu-ha* defines the territory so named as a fortified area near the town of Luha which, in turn, gave its name to the "country of Luha". (See also below, p. 57.) Shalmaneser reports the capture of that land in col. I, l. 34 of *Assur 839* (see *supra*, note 196).

to colonize a newly occupied territory were by no means unprecedented. Aššur-nāṣir-apli's statements [to which we shall revert below, pp. 54 ff.] acquaint us with a significant detail: they show that Assyrian settlements in foreign lands were capable of surviving for centuries during which Assyria, having suffered reverses and heavy territorial losses, was prevented from exerting its authority in the countries previously subdued and compelled to pay tribute.¹⁹⁹ It goes almost without saying that such power of resistance explains the afore-mentioned fact that *'Assupia* denotes in some Greek sources the Anatolian regions for which we proposed, for the reasons expounded above, pp. 16 f., the convenient designation Halys Assyria.)

When now summarizing the results of our examination of the circumstances in which first Tukulti-Ninurta-I and subsequently the great conquerors of the ninth, eighth and seventh century gave certain towns names characterizing them as *kāru*, we are obviously in a position to dismiss as unproven and unprovable assertions to the effect that those towns were trade-centers founded abroad by merchants not protected by their native country. In fact, we saw that in many cases those names were coined as designations for major towns which, in connection with the incorporation into the Assyrian empire of the territories surrounding them, were populated or repopulated and became the seats of governors who, to all appearances, resided in "palaces".²⁰⁰ But it must also be emphasized that, according to the above-cited statement of the "Taylor Prism"²⁰¹, Sennacherib placed the newly annexed "royal city" and "stronghold" of Kār-Sîn-ahhē-eriba under the jurisdiction of the governor of Uarḫar/Kār-Šarru-kēn. This fact makes it clear that the definition of a town as a *kāru* or "seat of the government" depended not on its status as capital of a province but on the presence within its walls of one of those high-ranking functionaries of the royal treasury who figure in the afore-cited Middle and Neo-Assyrian sources as *raḫ-kārē*. In other words, *kāru* in which only offices of the treasury were located must be distinguished from *kāru* which were also provincial capitals. It goes almost without saying that treasury officials stationed in a provincial capital

¹⁹⁹ Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, I, Heidelberg 1920, p. 106 has correctly observed that the Assyrian colonists referred to in the inscriptions just quoted were veterans whom the kings provided with a livelihood in settling them in the newly annexed territories. But since the sources speak of LÚ^{MEŠ} and not merely of KRIN^{MEŠ}, it is appropriate to characterize them as Assyrian veterans and their families. See also below, p. 57.

²⁰⁰ Cf. above, p. 47.

²⁰¹ See above, p. 47, note 181.

are likely to have been the superiors of the *rabi kâré* charged with the collection of tolls and taxes in the other *kôrû* within the same province.

* * *

Having become acquainted with the implications of the administrative term *kâru* as used in legal documents, in official records and letters and in royal inscriptions of the later periods as a designation of major towns, we are prepared to examine the conditions obtaining in the nineteenth pre-Christian century in the capital city of Halys Assyria with a view to determining whether with respect to its administrative institutions Kaniš compares with, say, Kâr-Sîn-ahhê-eiḫa or rather with provincial capitals such as Kâr-Tukulti-Ninurta, Kâr-Šulmānu-ašarid or Kâr-Šarru-kēu. Now there are, as will be recalled, among the official documents found at Kültepe, messages by which the *kârum* Kaniš transmitted orders to other *kôrû*²² as well as reports of various *kôrû* to the *kârum* Kaniš²³; one of the latter documents ends with the well-known phrase *ahhâ'ûni bēlîni attunu*²⁴, by which men in a lower position used to express their devotion to their masters. Since, accordingly, the functionaries of the other *kôrû* recognized those of the *kârum* Kaniš as their superiors, it is manifest that the position of the officers of the *kârum* Kaniš was virtually the same as that of a *rabi kâri* of the later periods who served his king in a provincial capital. Hence Kaniš presents itself as the capital of an Assyrian province — yet a province much larger than the provinces of the Neo-Assyrian Empire —, whereas the other Anatolian towns which were seats of a *kârum* compare with those district capitals within a Neo-Assyrian province in which a *rabi kâri* but no *bēl pēhate* was stationed.

In arriving thus at the conclusion that Kaniš was the capital of a vast Assyrian province we are certainly borne out by the data already

²² The individual *kôrû* named in the addresses of such letters are those of Burešhaddum (Col. 19; Diichmid (TU 35), Hurrama (BIN VI 32) and Wabūšana (TC 60). Cf. further the letter BIN VI 101, the damaged address of which reads: *wa-ma kâ-ru-nu* [*Kâ-ni-š[ma a-na] kâ-ri-im* [.....] *qî-bi-ma*, and the above-mentioned message BIN VI 8, which is addressed to *kâ er kâ-m-ma*, i. e., as was first observed by Stephens, to "each and every *kârum*".

²³ This group of official letters comprises so far communications from the *kârum* Uru (SUP 7; cf. above, p. 18, note 74), *kârum* Durbanud (Oxford 685) and *kârum* Wabūšana (O 82; cf. Zimmern, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 33, 1918-19, p. 51. I am obliged to M. Louis Spieckers for having permitted me in 1938 to inspect this unpublished document.).

²⁴ See above, p. 18, note 74 and cf. p. 19, note 70.

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discussed. As regards especially the essential question whether Kaniš was the seat of an official as high ranking as a *bēl pāhātē* and residing in a "palace", we need not repeat that the *bēl kārīm* of Kaniš functioned as treasurer of the "palace"¹⁹⁵ and that both the "palace"¹⁹⁶ and an *išši'akkum* or "viceroys" of Assyrian nationality, usually designated as "prince" (*rubū'um*), played a rôle in the affairs of the Assyrians of Kaniš.¹⁹⁷ But since it is logical to assume that not only Assyrians had dealings with the administration headed by the viceroy, it is not superfluous to quote here the contract *EL* 209; for this unique document mentions the "palace" in connection with an agreement which, to judge by the names of the contracting parties and the witnesses, concerned exclusively persons belonging to the so-called native element within the population of Kaniš.¹⁹⁸

That the viceroy of Halys Assyria actually acted in much the same way as, for instance, Aššur-bāni-apli's *bēl pāhātē* when their provinces were invaded by marauders¹⁹⁹ is established by *CCT* III 44^b; as stated before²⁰⁰, this letter attests the prince's readiness to protect with his armed forces travelling Assyrian merchants and their goods against dangers menacing them on the highways. The fact, revealed by the above-discussed letter, *KTP* 14, that two representatives of the "government" (*mātum*) of Kaniš were expected to administer an oath of allegiance to be sworn by the head of a small state in the neighborhood of Kaniš²⁰¹ proves likewise that the status of the ruler of Halys Assyria corresponded to that of a governor or viceroy of the Neo-Assyrian epoch. This becomes particularly clear if one turns to the letter 83-1-18, 4²² in which Bēl-ihni, the afore-mentioned viceroy of the "Sealand", told king Aššur-bāni-apli that he and his staff "caused many Sealanders, servants of the king, my lord, to take the oath" and that all of them "set their faces unto the vassalage of the king, my lord".²⁰² It goes almost without saying that the "Sealanders", to

¹⁹⁵ Cf. above, p. 38.

¹⁹⁶ See, inter alia, p. 24, note 103, and p. 27.

¹⁹⁷ As for the habit of designating the same princely persons of Assyrian nationality as *rubū'um* and as *išši'akkum*, see above, p. 30 with note 111d.

¹⁹⁸ The prince and princess who figure in the much-discussed document *RI* 188 do not seem to have resided at Kaniš.

¹⁹⁹ See especially col. B of the fragmentary prism *VAB* 1931-32, published by Thompson, *Iraq* VII, 1940, p. 101 and fig. 12.

²⁰⁰ See pp. 21 ff.

²⁰¹ Cf. above, pp. 17 ff.

²⁰² Published by Harper, *op. cit.*, V, Chicago 1900, No. 521; cf. Waterman, *ibid.*, I, pp. 366 ff.

²⁰³ Additional evidence to the effect that the viceroys and provincial governors had the task of controlling the vassals of their kings is furnished, inter alia, by

whom the viceroy administered the oath of allegiance and whom he describes as eager to serve the Assyrian overlord, compare not only with the prince of Waššania but also with the princes of other small states such as Kuššara whose non-Assyrian names appear occasionally in the tablets from Kültepe and Ališar. Since, as was recently shown by Hildegard Lewy²², Šamši-Adad I entrusted the son who represented him at Māri as a sort of viceroy²³ with the supervision of king Išar-Lim of Uana, we may even go a step further and conclude that it belonged to the duties of the *išši'akku* at Kaniš to see to it that the *rubā'um* *rubū'um* of Burnšhaddum²⁴ and the ruler of Uahhum, who may have been a king²⁵, lived up to their obligations of faithful vassals of the common overlord, the *rubā'um* of Aššur.

* * *

In our opinion, the evidence gathered in the preceding pages should fully suffice to make it manifest that the political and administrative conditions obtaining in Halys Assyria during the period covered by the bulk of the Kültepe texts at present available are due to the annexation of Cappadocia by an empire builder who made his conquest safe by settling Assyrians in the numerous towns of Asia Minor which figure in the Old Assyrian texts in part as *kāru* and in part as *rubā'um*. But as such an interpretation of the sources has so far not been given adequate consideration by those who, in spite of all indications

Sennacherib's report on his eighth campaign. In order to make it perfectly clear that Šūzulu, the Chaldean, was a rebel without any legitimate claim to the Babylonian throne, Sennacherib characterizes him as a "servant" (i. e. a "vassal") "subject to the governor of Lahiri"; see col. V, ll. 21 f. of the Chicago Prism (*im'kardu dāgūl pān an'bi'bi pāpate ḫi'lahiri*) and cf. the observations of H. Lewy, *loc. cit.*, pp. 274 f.

²² In *Mémoires Irakiens* Lévy, Bruxelles 1955, pp. 249 f.

²³ Cf. above, p. 41.

²⁴ See *Cont.* 27, 6 ll. *la-na Bu-ru-ū-ḫa-dim 'a ḫe er ra-la-ša rubū'im* (?) *ḫa-pār la-na* . . . and cf. *Revue Hittite et Assyriologique* III, 1934-36, p. 5.

²⁵ That Uahhum was the capital of a kingdom can, as was intimated by Landsberger, *Babylon* 10, 1939, pp. 216 and 223, be inferred from the letter CCT IV 30^a; cf. also Bilgic, *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* VI, 5, 1948, p. 502. The writer of that letter reports about the unsatisfactory discussion which he, the *šarṭum* of Uahhum and a certain Iri-Kubum and his travelling companions had in the palace with the princes, i. e., perhaps, the prince and his consort. Requesting his correspondent, Iri-na (cf. above, p. 26, note 100), to bring the matter to the attention of the *kārum*, he characterizes the ruler of Uahhum as a blood-guilty king whose throne is unstable (see ll. 13 f.: LUGAL *da-me e-ta-pā-āš-ma ka-ut-tu lā ta aq na-at*).

to the contrary²⁸, have taken it for granted that the commercial penetration of Anatolia by Assyrian merchants was brought about by powerless but enterprising founders of trading posts or "Handelskolonien"; it seems not superfluous to adduce additional arguments in favor of our view. Hence we proceed now to the question whether the methods applied by the conquering Assyrian kings of the later periods when trying to achieve the permanent possession and economic exploitation of regions far beyond the original boundaries of the old city state of Aššur are discernible in the Old Assyrian records.

As was recalled above, pp. 49 f., valuable data about the transfer of "Assyrian people" (*qisē^{MR} = āš-šu-ra-a-a*) to foreign lands are found in the royal inscriptions of the ninth century. There is, for instance, the account on the settling of Assyrian colonists in Aribua, the "strong city of Lubarna of Hattin", of which Aššur-nāṣir-apli "took possession for himself".²⁹ Since he did so without the use of force, Lubarna having surrendered as early as the Assyrian army appeared before Kunulua³⁰, and since his report does not say that the inhabitants of Aribua were ousted³¹, it is obvious that Lubarna's former subjects and the Assyrians were to live together in Aribua.³² The living together of "natives" and Assyrians as attested by the documents from Kaniš³³ and confirmed by the recent excavations at Kültepe is therefore not unparalleled. Hence we see no reason for

²⁸ Cf. my remarks in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 29, 1926, col. 739.

²⁹ See Aššur-nāṣir-apli, "Annals", col. III, ll. 81 ff.: *a-na āA-ri-bu-a āl daw-ru-ti-šā šā mī a-bar-no māt^{MR} ḥet ti-na-a ḥarabūn* "āla a-na ra-mi-ni-ia oš bat *qisē^{MR} = māt āš-šu-ra-a-a* "ma ḥb-bi ḥe-ḥib. As for evidence permitting the identification of Aribua with the present town of Rüb'a or Rb'a in the Ġebel Rīfā, see J. Lewy, *Orientalia* 21, 1952, pp. 401 f.

³⁰ See "Annals", col. III, ll. 72 ff.; on the location of Kunulua see Elliger in *Festschrift Otto Rissfeldt*, Halle 1947, p. 71 and cf. J. Lewy, *loc. cit.*, pp. 398 ff.

³¹ This is all the more significant since references to the deportation of conquered populations are not lacking in Aššur-nāṣir-apli's "Annals"; cf. II, 31 ff.; III, 43 f.

³² Similarly, there is hardly any reason for assuming that the settling of Assyrians at Pitru/Ana-Aššur-utir-ašbat and Mutkinu (see above, p. 49) led to the displacement of the Aramaean population of these towns. While Shalmaneser tells us that he deported in his fourth year 22000 of Ahuni's warriors (see, for instance, *IM* 54669, col. II, ll. 3 ff.), his statements concerning the re-annexation of Pitru and Mutkinu in his third year make no mention of such measures. As the pertinent passage of the "Monolith from Karkh" is introduced by *son āmāšūma* (see II, 35), it seems, in fact, that the Assyrian settlers arrived in the two towns after the end of the campaign which resulted in the capture of Ti-Barsip and its transformation into the provincial capital of Kār-Šulmānu-aškid. In other words, it seems possible that the settling of Assyrians in the towns which Aššur-rabi II had lost to the Aramaeans was achieved without use of force.

³³ Cf. above, p. 15, note 65.

fortresses free from "native" inhabitants was, in fact, not difficult. For as shown by toponyms of the type represented by ¹⁴⁰*Bir-tu ša Sa-ar-ra-gi-ti*¹⁴⁰ and ¹⁴¹*Bir-tu ša Ia-ab-ba-na-at*¹⁴¹ and by letters drawing a distinction between a town as such (*šūm*), and its *bīrtum*, the native towns actually consisted of two parts, viz. the quarter or quarters of the "civilian" population and a fortress. Much evidence to this effect comes now from as early a source material as the correspondence of king Šamši-Adad I and his sons. I mention especially the letter of the later king Išme-Dagan I which deals with *Ia-ab-bi-ia*¹⁴² as well as with the "fortress" (*bīrtum*) of *Ia-ab-bi-ia*¹⁴³ and a letter of Šamši-Adad in which the king reports the occupation of *Hi-ba-ra-a*¹⁴⁴, adding that he captured 3 hundred soldiers of his defeated enemy "in the fortress"¹⁴⁵ and "one son of his"¹⁴⁶ in that town".¹⁴⁷

On the other hand, it must be emphasized that the colonists sent by the Assyrian kings to the subjected countries were not regular soldiers under orders to live within the walls of fortified towns such as Taidu or Tušša but were veterans settled as feudal tenants on crown-land.¹⁴⁸ An important piece of evidence to this effect comes from the concluding words of Aššur-nāṣir-apli's reference to "the Assyrian people who hold Aššur's fortresses in the country of Nairi and whom the Aramæans had oppressed".¹⁴⁹ For in telling us that "he caused" (these people) "to (re)take possession of their ready villages and houses (and) to dwell in peaceful habitations", the king characterizes them as peasants living quietly in hamlets and farm-

¹⁴⁰ See above, I, 8 of Tiglath-Pileser's "Clay Tablet from Nimrud" (*JR* 67; Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileser's III.*, II, Leipzig 1893, pl. 22 f.).

¹⁴¹ See *ibidem*. As intimated by Rost, *op. cit.*, I, p. 138, it is a legitimate assumption that the locality called "Fortress of Sarragitu" was virtually identical with *Sa-ar-ra-gi-ti*, a town which figures in L. 137 of the "Annals" of Tiglath-Pileser III. With respect to *Bir-tu ša Labbanāt* and *Ia-ab-ba-na-at* (*K.* 527 [Harper, *op. cit.*, I, No. 32, II, 8 ff.; cf. 82-5 22, 116 Harper, *op. cit.*, XI, No. 1102], rev., l. 5) the same opinion was duly advanced by Streck, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 20, 1907, pp. 458 f.

¹⁴² A transliteration for and translation of the text was published by Dossin, *Archives royales de Mari*, IV, Paris 1951, No. 81.

¹⁴³ I see in *bī-ir-tum* an accusative loci.

¹⁴⁴ Instead of following the transliteration offered by Dossin (*op. cit.*, I, 1950, No. 92), which disagrees with his autography of l. 14, I read *hi-ba-ra-a*.

¹⁴⁵ No less significant are lines 5-8 of the letter of an officer in the service of Zimri-Lim (Journ. *Archives royales de Mari*, II, Paris 1950, No. 135) which read as follows: *a-ba-ti-ia-at ša ra-a*¹⁴⁶ *harraṁ ḫu-ū-ša-š-ū-ū ḫi-ša-ba-na ša a-na bi-ir-tum(!) le-ū-ir-ru-tum in-šim*. (Cf. Oppenheim, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XI, 1952, p. 137.)

¹⁴⁶ Cf. above, p. 50, note 119.

¹⁴⁷ See above, p. 49, note 197.

steads protected by fortifications.²² It is also significant that the above-cited passage of Aššur-nāṣir-apli's "Annals" defines the revolting descendants of Assyrians settled by Shalmaneser I as farmers living "in the land (variant: "in the town") of Hal-zi-Lu-ḫa".²³ For, as intimated some years ago by Hildegard Lewy²⁴, an examination of the circumstances in which *ḫalṣu* occurs in the Nuzi texts shows that *ḫalṣu* (> *ḫalzu*) designates especially settlements consisting of farms and hamlets provided with defenses such as towers and fortified houses. Consequently, a *ḫalṣu* occupied by farming veterans presents itself as a sort of permanent camp or cantonment well prepared to repel assaults of hostile neighbors. As can be seen from the frequent references to a *ḫalṣi* ²⁵ or a *ḫalzi* ²⁶, many of these camp-like settlements lay in the vicinity of urban centers.²⁷ Since, as is indi-

²² Aššur-nāṣir-apli's laconic statement is elucidated, inter alia, by Sargon's report on the annexation of "the wide Kanmamu" (*amē Eagg-ma-ma rap-ṣu*; "Annals", ll. 205 and 214 fl. ed. Lie - L. 179 and 188 fl. of Winckler's edition): "The land of Kanmamu I let occupy in its entirety . . . ḫupul-zer-ḫa and coryé I imposed upon them; a round of I founded in mighty fortresses (*ḫi-ra-a li-dur-ne-iti*) and caused its people (*ḫaṣṣu*) to dwell in peaceful habitations." We learn here that "dwelling in peaceful habitations" signifies "living under the protection of forts".

²³ Cf. above, p. 49, note 198. There is no doubt that the revolt of Uulāia and "the (descendants of the) Assyrian people whom Shalmaneser . . . settled in Hal-zi-Lu-ḫa" was a rising of discontented peasants; the fact that Aššur-nāṣir-apli put thousands of the insurgents to death (see "Annals", col. I, ll. 106 fl.) makes it likely that in the course of the centuries these colonists had so much increased in numbers that the area originally allotted to them was no longer sufficient to support them.

²⁴ *Orientalia* II, 1942, pp. 5 fl. and 11 l.

²⁵ The letters of Šamši-Adad I and his officers mention, inter alia, the grain (*ḫiṣsu*) of *ḫa-la-as* *Ṭo-at-tu-ut-ki* (*Archives royales de Mari*, I, No. 73, l. 7) and a plot of arable land *i-na ḫa-la-as* *Ma-ri-ki* (*ibidem*, V, No. 46, l. 5). An impost in kind (*ikuduru*; cf. H. Lewy, *Mélanges Isidore Lévy*, Bruxelles 1955, p. 250 with note 31) of the men (*ḫilṣu*) of the *ḫa-la-as* *Ṭo-at-tu-ut-ki* is mentioned in ll. 6 f. of the Gager Pazar tablet, A. 926, published by Cadd, *Iraq* VII, 1940, pl. I.

²⁶ Cf., for instance, *Assur* 859 (see supra, p. 49, note 196), col. III, l. 3: *ḫal-ṣi* *Ṭo-at-tu-ut-ki* (var.: *ḫal-zi* *Ṭo-at-tu-ut-ki*; see also *Assur* 10557, obv. l. 43: *ḫal-ṣi* *Ṭo-at-tu-ut-ki*). The town of *Ṭuḫaṣu*, after which the *ḫal-zi* *Ṭuḫaṣu* was named, reappears — as *Ṭuḫaṣu* — in col. I (l. 1, x + 15) of the list K. 4384 (*IR* 53, No. 1; for a consideration see Forrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 f.), whence it follows that it was the capital of a district; cf. Forrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 f. who, however, failed to distinguish between *Ṭuḫaṣu*/*Ṭuḫaṣu* and *ḫal-zi* *Ṭuḫaṣu*, even though the lines 42-45 of the obv. of the treaty between Mattiwaza and Šulbailuḫma left no doubt that *ḫal-zi* *Ṭuḫaṣu* and *ḫal-zi* *Ṭuḫaṣu* were not identical. As for the earliest sources relating to *Ṭuḫaṣu* (var.: *Ṭuḫaṣu*) and the kingdom who ruled over it in the time of Šamši-Adad I, see Rottéro et Fincet, *Archives royales de Mari*, XV, Paris 1954, pp. 135 and 134.

²⁷ Kupper, *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, XL, 1954, pp. 577 f. attributes therefore to *ḫalṣu* "le sens général de 'circonscription' ". In my opinion, this rendering is not quite adequate because, as noted by Kupper,

in discerning certain features from which it appears that these *wubārūtum* or "colonies"²² were founded in accordance with the principles subsequently observed by Shalmaneser I and Aššur-nāṣir-apli in securing their possessions in the country of Nairi. In the first place, it cannot remain unnoticed that the sources mention an *ubārūtum ša Zalpa* which, as indicated by its name, lay in the neighborhood of the important town of Zalpa.²³ Since, as was shown before²⁴, Zalpa was the seat of a *kōrum* and hence a district capital comparable to, say, **Šu-u-du**, the interrelation between Zalpa and the *ubārūtum ša Zalpa* obviously corresponds to that between **Šadu* and the aforementioned *palzi* **Šadi*. Once this is realized, it does not require much consideration to see that, for instance, the *wubārūtum ša Amkuwa* must be distinguished from the "native" town of Amkuwa after which it was named.²⁵ Hence it is not surprising that the Old Assyrian tablets found in situ at the so-called Aligar Höyük comprised two different classes of legal documents, namely, on the one hand, texts from the

16, 22; cf. *KTP* 10, 3 f.), Samuḫa (*VAT* 6209, 3 f.; see below, p. 70, note 301), Tuhpiā (*EL* 271, 12 f.), Ullura (*BL* 282 A, 1; D, 1 f.), Wašhanu (*JL* 9 f. of an unpublished letter acquired many years ago by O. Kriekmann; see also *Gol.* 21, 2 f. and cf. below, p. 70, note 299), Zalpa (*EL* 267, A 13). Whether, with Hilgig, *loc. cit.*, p. 30, l. 2 of an unpublished letter from Boğazköy can be restored to *[ša šar] [šar ša Ku-ša-ra]* seems most uncertain. Whereas I formerly proposed the reading *[u-ru ša vi un] [u-ru-ma] [šar wa-šar-šim ša Ku-ša-ra]*, I now consider it possible that this letter was addressed *[u-ru ra-ša-im ša] [ru-ša-im ša Ku-ša-ra]*; a publication of the fragment is most desirable.

²² Having abandoned my former reading *wa-ba-ar-tum*, I now see in *wubārūtum* *ubārūtum* a collective derived from *ubārū* "resident alien", "emigrant", "neighbor" (see above, p. 59, note 250). Accordingly, I compare *wubārūtum* with *šēḫā* (plural *šēḫā*), "group of travellers", "caravan", *gōḫ*, *šēḫet* (Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*²⁰, Leipzig 1909, pp. 411 f.), *šūḫūtān* "travellers", *soyyārātum* "a company of persons journeying together" (Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, I, Cambridge 1931, p. 233) and those other West-Semitic collectives which, being derived from participles or adjectives by means of the feminine ending, denote homogeneous groups of persons and the like. The view of von Soden, *Grundriss der arabischen Grammatik*, p. 58, that our term is a noun of the type *parastum* meaning "Herdelsamt" is obviously incompatible with the basic meaning of the root *w-b-r*, in consideration of which M. David attributed to *wa-ba-ar-tum* the signification "Fremdenniederlassung" as early as 1933 (see *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 36, col. 214, note 8).

²³ On the eminent place accorded to Zalpa in the Hittite tradition see J. Lewy, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 26, 1923, col. 542; Hrozný, *Archiv Orientalní* I, 1920, p. 299; Sommer, *Hebräer und Hethäer*, Stuttgart 1917, pp. 51.

²⁴ See above, p. 20, note 85 and p. 37, note 130.

²⁵ On this town and its history see above, p. 57, note 242.

²⁶ Note that all the *wubārūtum* so far known were named after towns the names of which are not Assyrian.

southern part of the hill which mention the *wehârtum ša Amkuwa*²⁵⁷ and, on the other hand, the text No. 49²⁵⁸ from the northern part which, being concerned only with "natives", refers to the town of Amkuwa (*šum Amkuwa*) as well as to a "native" ruler, "Anitta, the grand prince".

If one compares the contents of the thousands of Kültepe texts so far published with those of the fifty legal documents and letters from

²⁵⁷ I refer to the texts *Geb* Nos. 17 and 18. As I stated in *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental* II, 1938, p. 128, note 1, ll. 26 f. of No. 18 are possibly to be read *wu-ba-jar-tam* "[et] ša [1-aw]-ku(h)-wa. As regards the text No. 17, we conclude from the following data that its first two lines mentioned the same *wehârtum*: (1) As will be seen below, p. 71, note 304, a considerable part of the tablets found in situ on the southern terrace of the Aligar Hüyük represents the archive of a certain *Idi-Kubum* *adê Ugar-ša Aššur*. (2) The text No. 17, one of the documents of this archive, can be defined as a typical record of a dispute or proceedings in court which concerned *Idi-Kubum*. This results, on the one hand, from the characteristic wording of ll. 3 ff. (*um-ma ni-ua-ma ni-nam a šá eš-ka-ba-ša Šu-ká-ti-a* "[et] ša [1-aw]-ku(h)-wa *um-ma ni-ua-ma*) and, on the other hand, from ll. 2 + 3 II, which run as follows: *šurâšum a-na ša-še-er-ši* *+1 *šurâ-ma I-dî-ku-bu-ma* *+2 *šá a-bi-ša-ni-um-ma* *+3 *ni-ua-ma* *+4 *ni-ua-ma* *+5 *ni-ua-ma* *+6 *ni-ua-ma* *+7 *ni-ua-ma* *+8 *ni-ua-ma* *+9 *ni-ua-ma* *+10 *ni-ua-ma* *+11 *ni-ua-ma* *+12 *ni-ua-ma* *+13 *ni-ua-ma* *+14 *ni-ua-ma* *+15 *ni-ua-ma* *+16 *ni-ua-ma* *+17 *ni-ua-ma* *+18 *ni-ua-ma* *+19 *ni-ua-ma* *+20 *ni-ua-ma* *+21 *ni-ua-ma* *+22 *ni-ua-ma* *+23 *ni-ua-ma* *+24 *ni-ua-ma* *+25 *ni-ua-ma* *+26 *ni-ua-ma* *+27 *ni-ua-ma* *+28 *ni-ua-ma* *+29 *ni-ua-ma* *+30 *ni-ua-ma* *+31 *ni-ua-ma* *+32 *ni-ua-ma* *+33 *ni-ua-ma* *+34 *ni-ua-ma* *+35 *ni-ua-ma* *+36 *ni-ua-ma* *+37 *ni-ua-ma* *+38 *ni-ua-ma* *+39 *ni-ua-ma* *+40 *ni-ua-ma* *+41 *ni-ua-ma* *+42 *ni-ua-ma* *+43 *ni-ua-ma* *+44 *ni-ua-ma* *+45 *ni-ua-ma* *+46 *ni-ua-ma* *+47 *ni-ua-ma* *+48 *ni-ua-ma* *+49 *ni-ua-ma* *+50 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the Old Assyrian settlement on the southern foot of the Alişar Höyük which we identified with the *wabārūm ša Amkuwa*²⁹, he cannot fail to note that, comparatively speaking, the latter refer much more frequently to big and small cattle than the former. There is, in the first place, the afore-mentioned record of proceedings in court, No. 18, according to which two oxen and one lamb were the object of negotiations between Amur-Aššur, the son of Šū-Ištar³⁰, and one Tazkul. Moreover, according to the letters 5 and 6, Nabī-Enlil, a businessman residing in the *wabārūm ša Amkuwa*³¹, was asked by an Euna-Aššur,

²⁹ The correctness of the identification of the Alişar Höyük with Amkuwa, first suggested by me in *Revue Hittite et Assyriologique* III, 1934-36, p. 7, leaps to the eye if due cognizance is taken of the fact, just mentioned, that the text No. 49, which deals exclusively with "natives" and refers to *šimū Amkuwa* and *Anitta rabū'um rabū'um*, was found on the northern fringe of the mound, viz. in the plot SO of the plan published by Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 9, whereas the fifty texts which concern Assyrians and include references to the *wabārūm* come from its southern terrace. It is hardly possible to attribute this to a mere coincidence. For the fragment No. 1, that much-discussed text from Alişar which mentions together with "Anitta, the prince," only natives and thus exhibits much the same features as No. 49, emerged likewise at some distance from the archives of the Assyrians, namely in the plot III 9, where it was found not in situ but in refuse layers; see von der Osten, *Discoveries in Anatolia 1930-31*, Chicago 1933, p. 5.

³⁰ An Amur-Aššur mēr Šū-Ištar is also mentioned in ll. 15 f. of the Kültepe text TC 26; although Amur-Aššur and Šū-Ištar were very common names, I expect to show elsewhere that the two texts concern the same person.

³¹ That Nabī-Enlil used to live at Amkuwa/Alişar follows with certainty from the fact that one and the same place, the plot M 33 of the afore-mentioned plan, yielded, in addition to three letters addressed to him, the letter Gals No. 15 which begins as follows: "To Daāa and Šil-i-ša, to Daāa say: Thus (spoke) [N]abī-Enlil." As the latter text mentions a trip of Nabī-Enlil to Hattuš where he saw Daāa (see ll. 20b ff.: *u-šū 21*), *[-šu(?) a-a2] [ša-] [šu-uš a'-šū-kam ma 2] [u-uc] [ša-šu-uš a-na-bu a a-bu šū-bu me-er-ma . . .]*, and as a bearer of the rare name *Da a-a* is the addressee of an Old Assyrian letter unearthed in 1938 at Boğazköy and published in *Archiv für Orientforschung* XII, 1937-1939, p. 397 and in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 77, 1939, p. 23, it seems not impossible that the few Old Assyrian texts from Hattuš so far known and those from Amkuwa cover much the same years. It is worthwhile stating in this connection (1) that two texts listed by Forrer (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 76, 1922, p. 186, note 4) among eight Old Assyrian tablets from Boğazköy, namely VAT 6180 (see above, p. 15, note 63) and VAT 7676-EL 34, likewise mention a *Da a-a*, and (2) that the two eponyms referred to in these tablets do not so far occur in any Kültepe text. (Note that also the Boğazköy tablet Inv. No. 249/c, which was communicated by Güterbuck, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 74, 1936, pp. 64 f., refers to two eponyms so far not known from other sources! [The assumption of Otten, *ibidem*, No. 87, 1955, p. 24 that the name *Da a-a* does not occur in the Kültepe texts is contrary to the facts; see CCT 17^a = EL 181, line 24 and cf. TC III 78, 21: 28; VAT 13533, 23.] Unfortunately, Forrer's information on those eight tablets - VAT 6180, 6188, 6209, 6211, 6691, 6695, 7674, 7676 - was unreliable; VAT 6695 is not

whose domicile and profession are unknown²⁶², to purchase for him, or to assist his messengers and agents in purchasing for him, onions²⁶³ and the product of a tree designated as *allānum*²⁶⁴, as well as

Old Assyrian, and at least one other text, viz. VAT 6209 (see below, p. 70, note 301), can hardly have been unearthed at Boğazköy. On the other hand, it appears from some of the personal names found in VAT 6180, VAT 7676 and VAT 7674 that Weidner may have gone too far in his statements in *Bogazköi Studien* 6, Leipzig 1922, p. 99, note 2, and J. Lewy in *Rechtswörter des Vordiasyrischen* VI, Berlin 1926, p. 213 and in *Archiv für Orientforschung* X, 1935-36, p. 180, note 1, in which he categorically declared that none of the tablets enumerated by Forrer came from Boğazköy. For to say nothing of the fact that these statements are somewhat contradictory, they are not borne out by Winckler's laconic report on his inspection of the Kültepe to which Weidner refers. The confusion is all the worse since a text not listed by Forrer, namely VAT 6203, figures in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientalischen Gesellschaft*, No. 70, 1933, p. 28 as a "Tafel vom Kültepe-Typ, angeblich von H. Winckler in Boğazköy gefunden" and as a specimen of a Kültepe tablet selected "aufs Geratewohl". (For reasons unknown to me, this latter tablet was not shown to me in 1926 when I studied the Kültepe texts of the Berlin Museum including most of the disputed texts contained in Forrer's list.) Incidentally, the doubts expressed by Ebeloff (*ibidem*, p. 28) as to the Old Assyrian character of the fragment found in Boğazköy in 1931 (*ib. 30; loc. cit.*, p. 28, fig. 13) were unjustified. The piece exhibits much the same features as a fragment of similar size a photo of which was transmitted to me by the late Professor E. Chiera together with the photos of the Aligar tablets subsequently published by Gell. This Aligar fragment (photo 19961, negative 11163 of the Oriental Institute of Chicago), which I fail to find in Gell's publication, is unquestionably Old Assyrian.

²⁶² According to No. 5, ll. 2b f. ("In 5 days I shall go to Zalpa") and No. 6, ll. 2b f. ("I am well; I am back from Zalpa"), his activities included trips to Zalpa. Lines 9-25^a of No. 5, for which I refer to my annotated transliteration and translation in *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental* II, 1938, pp. 128 ff., indicate that he had contacts with the *halīm* of Salabēnuwa.

²⁶³ See No. 6, ll. 13 f.: *lu-am-ki ú lu-hu-[t]i-ai* "[*lu-hu*]-*lu-am*. For *lu-hu*, which we identify with Syriac *šankā* "onion" (Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, p. 786), see KTS 524, 30 (*lu-hu-lu-a-na-*lu*-ki ú *lu-hu-lu* "x shekels for onions and bread") and TC III 237, 7 ff. (*lu-na lu-tin i-na lu-ar-pi* "1/2 manšam I karpat karpat *lu-na-gu lu ú lu-ar-pi-at* "lu-am-ki i-du-*lu*). Note that BIN IV 162, 13 f. has 2 *karpat ar-bi-*lu* lu-am-ki* "2 jars of dried vegetables(?), (namely) onions" in a passage in which the parallel memoranda Geß No. 55 (l. 9) and Huzný, *Věsti páternišce* (Praha 1927), p. 70 (l. 10) have 2 *karpat lu-am-ka* and cf. the occurrence of 10 *karpat* (l.) *ar-bi-*lu* lu-na-a* (l.) in l. 14 of the unpublished text Giessen 3-5.*

²⁶⁴ See No. 5, ll. 2b f.: *a-ma-kam a-lu-ai lu . . . lu 10 qa lu 5 qa lu 3 qa a-kar i-lu-*lu*-ú *lu-ai-ma lu-bi-lu* "There 'buy and send me *allānum*, either . . . 'or 10 qa, or 5 qa or 3 qa, wherever they are obtainable!'. As I noted in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 58, 1938, pp. 454 f., references to this product of the *allānu* tree are also found in the Kültepe texts BIN IV 160, TC 97, TC II 62 and TC III 204 as well as in one of the Old Assyrian texts from Nuzi. I then attributed to *allānu* the signification "orelānthine", "turpentine". But in the light of the observations of Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany*, London 1949, pp. 270 f. it seems possible*

"sheep"²⁶⁶ and "fat rams", which he needed because he "had no meat".²⁶⁶ Hence it is logical to assume that Nabi-Enlil lived among a farming population which, in addition to producing vegetables, reared the small cattle ordered by Enna-Aššur. There is, in fact, evidence that Nabi-Enlil bought small cattle from bearers of Assyrian names.²⁶⁷ The Aligar tablets leave therefore little doubt that the *wabārtum* *ka Ankuwa* was, above all, a settlement of Assyrian farmers.

It is further significant that, whenever it is possible to determine the approximate location of a "native" town after which a *wabārtum* was named, the "native" town turns out to have been situated on one of the much-frequented highways linking the district capitals which were seats of a *kārum* with each other or with Kaniš. Thus Mana is known to have been a place on the caravan road from Uršu to Kaniš.²⁶⁸ Whereas Ullama and Wašhania were stations on the highway from Burušhaddum to Kaniš²⁶⁹, Šalatuwar lay on the main-road from Waššušana to Burušhaddum.²⁷⁰ Tuhpia, in turn, seems to have been a station on an important road which linked Zalpa and Durhumid with Kaniš.²⁷¹ Ankuwa, finally, can be placed with

that the term denotes that sort of manna which comes from the dwarf oak. (If so, the words *al(?)-lā-af* *ir šā* (Gelt. No. 6, l. 5) may mean "my (provisions of) manna increased", and not "E(?) *lā šā* is grown up", as assumed in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 57, 1937, p. 437.) That *allānā* means "acorns" is, in my opinion, less likely.

²⁶⁶ See the closing lines of No. 6, in which one *Za-ra-a*, to all appearances an employee of Enna-Aššur's, is given the following instructions: *ša-na a-na šā-mi-im <ša> "e-mu-ri i-šā-ši-ā na-ku "e-mu-ri bi-i 10i2-a-at "šā-bi-lam* "11 "they are going to oppose thee "in respect to the price <of> "the sheep, "and me "only) as few as ten sheep."

²⁶⁷ See No. 5, ll. 7b1. (*2 e-tū-di "kū-ū-ru-ū šā-bi-lam šā-ra-am lā i-šū*) and cf. No. 6, ll. 9ff.: [*2 e-tū-di-e dān-gā-ti-awim "šā-bi-lam bi-šā-bi-lam "lā e-tū-di*] *2 e-tū-di "dān-gā-ti-awim li-qi-ma "šā-bi-lam* "11 "[Let him buy 12] nice rams "and let him send (them) to me; "12 "[yo]u, [son], "buy "2 "[12] nice rams "and "send (them) to me."

²⁶⁸ I refer especially to ll. 4-6^a of the memorandum, *Gelt.* No. 34, according to which an Ala blum or Ala[h]um received 40 shekels as "price of the lambs". Cf. further the payments to Kikkulāmm and Adad-nāšir which figure in No. 31.

²⁶⁹ See *Orientalia* 21, 1952, pp. 288 f.

²⁷⁰ As for the details see pp. 13 f. of the article quoted above, p. 18, note 76.

²⁷¹ See *ibidem*, p. 14.

²⁷² According to an unpublished letter (PAT 13525), a man en route to Kaniš met at Tuhpia messengers who came from Kaniš. From CCF III 1, a letter addressed by Amur-Ištar, a resident of Durhumid (see *ICK* 187, 47 and cf. CCF III 1, 5), to Indu-lum, who used to live at Kaniš, it is learned that the latter was to receive at Tuhpia a shipment of copper dispatched by the former from Durhumid. On the

some confidence on a highway which connected Hattuš with Durhumid.²⁷²

In defining the *wubêrdum* and *kârû* of Asia Minor as settlements organized by an empire builder who transferred subjects of his to Anatolia and set up an Assyrian viceroy in Halys Assyria²⁷³, we are supported by a number of official letters which make it very clear that the magistrates at the capital of Halys Assyria received their orders from the Assyrian metropolis on the Tigris and were supervised by officers from the city of Aššur. Perhaps the most instructive of these documents is the letter TC I referred to above, p. 40²⁷⁴. As was first observed by Landsberger²⁷⁵, this unique letter is a report which the *kârum* Kaniš received from its representatives at Aššur.²⁷⁶ It opens (in ll. 4-6) with the statement that, in order to cover expenditures

other hand, it follows from the Hittite texts discussed by Güter, *Revue Hittite et Assyriologique* I, 1930-32, pp. 18 ff. that the Hittite kings came through Tuḫpia/Tuḫupia when traveling from Zalpa/Zalpuwa to Maṭila.

²⁷² Thus if we combine the data furnished by VAT 13005 (*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, IV, No. 13) and Bo 2626 (*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, XXV, No. 28). Whereas the former text mentions the gods of UR¹ *An-ku-ur* immediately before those of UR¹ *Ur-is-it-ta* and UR¹ *Tu-ḫu-pi-ia* (obv., col. I, ll. x + 22 f.; cf. Güter, *loc. cit.*, p. 21), the latter defines Ankuwa as the third station on a road which began at Hattušai; cf. Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Hilgig, *loc. cit.* (see supra, p. 20, note 85), p. 30. (The identity of Turmitta and Durhumid, tentatively assumed by Landsberger, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 35, 1924, p. 224, note 4, becomes manifest when comparing the above-cited letter CCT III 1, which mentions Tuḫpia and Durhumid, with col. I, x + 22 of VAT 13005 or with col. II, ll. 10 f. of Bo 2626, as restored by Güter, *Hethitisch*, Leipzig 1925, p. 14.)

²⁷³ As was intimated above, p. 53, the Assyrian penetration of Anatolia must have begun prior to the period covered by the bulk of the Kültepe texts so far available. This follows, above all, from the fact that, during this period, the Assyrian population of Kaniš saw in Halys Assyria "the land par excellence" (see above, p. 13). The religious syncretism which manifests itself in the participation of the Assyrians in the worship of Anna (see above, p. 11 with note 47) and the numerous cases of intermarriage between "natives" and their fellow-citizens of Assyrian extraction (see above, p. 15, note 65) point, of course, in the same direction. It involves therefore a misleading *anachronism* if some savants call the upper strata of the unearthed part of Kaniš "the city of the colonists" and define without discrimination as "colonists" all Assyrians whose records have been found at Kültepe, Alişar and Beğazköy.

²⁷⁴ On the basis of a collation which, thanks to J. Nougayrol's kindness, I could, at long last, do in June 1955, it is possible to state that lines 28-32^a of TC I read as follows: ²⁷*ḫu-pi-am* ²⁸*ru-ba-im* ²⁹*bā-ar* ³⁰*kā-ar-ma* ³¹*[a]-d3-me-a-ma* ³²*[kaspum]* ³³*li-iš-gá-lu*.

²⁷⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 222.

²⁷⁶ A free translation of lines 1-27 and 32^b-34 of TC I was published by Landsberger in *Der Alte Orient*, 24, 4 (Leipzig 1925), p. 10. For ll. 28-32^a see presently and cf. above, note 274.

silver! ²⁰(C)ause ²¹each *kārum* ²²to read ²³the tablet of the prince²⁴ in order that ²⁵they pay ²⁶[the silver]!" In addition to making it clear beyond doubt that the capital city of *Halysa Aseyria* was tributary to the king of *Assur*, *TC I* reveals therefore that decrees issued at *Assur* concerned the levying of taxes in those other major towns of Asia Minor which, likewise being settled with Assyrians, had become flourishing centers of trade hardly less important than *Kaniš*. This being so, we are not, of course, surprised to learn from the instructions transmitted to the *šāqil la'tim*²⁷ u *bīruthum* *ša* *Šalatuur*²⁸ in the official

from the *kārum* *Kaniš* and through the latter from the city of *Assur*, it would appear that each *kārum* was ordered to contribute one mina of silver to the "expenses for the *dārum*"²⁹. (The assertion of Landsberger, *Bulleten* 10, 1939, p. 214 that *Nesā* was "Sitz eines karam" is not borne out by any of the texts so far published.)

²⁰ Lit., "to hear".

²¹ This *tuppum* *ša* *rušā'im* was certainly identical with the *tuppum* *ša* *šim* mentioned in l. 25 of our letter. Evidence to this effect comes, above all, from the case tablet *EL 327* already referred to above, p. 26, note 109 (see also below, p. 78). As will be recalled, the subject of this much-discussed document is a decision of the magistrates in the city of *Assur* (*šim šim*) which authorized a certain *Kukkušum* to send an attorney (*rābiqum*) to Cappadocia and directed the *kārum* to cooperate with this *rābiqum* (see *EL II*, p. 101, note b and cf. further *ibidem*, p. 89, note d, where it is shown that — if not always, at least in certain instances — the *rābiqum* carried with him to *Kaniš* the decree authorizing him to go to Cappadocia and to act there in accordance with his instructions). As *EL 327* was sealed with the seal of *Šarum-kēn*, the *šāš'akku* of *Assur* (thus see below, p. 78, note 332), it can be inferred that decisions of the magistrates in *Assur* which contained instructions for the *kārum* were rendered in the name of the *rušā'im* of *Assur* and are therefore likely to have been called *tuppum* *ša* *rušā'im*. (For the occurrence of the fuller expression *tuppum* *ša* *šim* u *rušā'im* see *EL II*, p. 89, note d in fine.) That this was actually so follows, *inter alia*, from *TC III 1*; for the writers of this letter inform its addressee that, in case he did not comply with their requests, they would dispatch a "tablet of the prince and a *rābiqum*" (see ll. 30 ff.: *šum-ma* *ša* *ki-a-aci* "sup-pa-am *ša* *ru-ba-im* u *rābiqum* "u-ša-pa-ma i ša-ri-im nu-ba-āš-kā). See also *EL II*, p. 76, note d.

²² Since it is hardly too daring to attribute to *šawā're* "to weigh", "to weigh out", the meaning "to weigh once more", "to verify by weighing again", I see in the *šāqil la'tim* the revenue officer who examined the weight of the cash payments received from persons liable to pay taxes.

²³ As the Kültepe texts use *bīruthum* in the sense of "to choose", "to select" (see *EL II*, p. 40, note d), it seems possible that the *bīruthum* (<*bīruthum*) were "elected" magistrates representing the *wabārtum* in which they lived in certain dealings with its superiors, i. e. with the *kārum* under which the *wabārtum* was placed. That, to judge by the texts to be quoted presently, the *wabārtum* *ša* *Šalatuur* (see above, p. 59, note 251) was under the jurisdiction of the *kārum* *Wahšūana* is in perfect agreement with the geographic data discussed in pp. 13 ff. of the *Hail Edhem Memorial Volume*. (See also above, p. 20, note 26.)

Nesā

implications of *Gelb* No. 40, a small fragment from Aligar which conveyed to "every *kārum* and all the *wabārātum*" a directive issued in common by the *šiprū ša ālim u kārīm Kanīš*¹⁰; we learn here, in fact, that, like "the envoys of the *kārum Kanīš*" who, *inter alia*, are known to have gone on special missions to Hurrama and Timilkia¹¹, the envoys of the city of Aššur came sometimes in person to small Assyrian settlements such as the *wabārātum ša Amkurea*. In view of such evidence we are obviously entitled to compare the *šiprū ša ālim* with the

accede to his request (ll. 10b-13). In the partly destroyed lines 14-23, Dadša then goes on to inform his correspondent of the outcome of a second interview with the prince, who finally declared "I shall <not> let free the three of you — Aššur-nimri, Aššur-mut ubi and Ilee —, until an order from [Ka]niš arrives" (see ll. 24 ff.: *un-ma ru-ba a-ma* 23 *ku-m-i A-šur-ni-im-ri A-šur-mu-ub-bi-ū, ū ku u-ū* 24 <ā> ū-ša ar u-di ū-er-tum 25 [š] A-šur-ni-ū ū-ā-ha-ū).¹²

¹⁰ We restore this fragment as follows: [*un-ma šip-rū ša ā lim* 1] [š] *kā-ri-im Kā-ni-š* 2 [*u n'a bū-er šā-ur-ma*] 3 [*un-ba-ru*] 4 [*šur*] 5 [*šur*] 6 [*šur*] 7 [*šur*] 8 [*šur*] 9 [*šur*] 10 [*šur*] 11 [*šur*] 12 [*šur*] 13 [*šur*] 14 [*šur*] 15 [*šur*] 16 [*šur*] 17 [*šur*] 18 [*šur*] 19 [*šur*] 20 [*šur*] 21 [*šur*] 22 [*šur*] 23 [*šur*] 24 [*šur*] 25 [*šur*] 26 [*šur*] 27 [*šur*] 28 [*šur*] 29 [*šur*] 30 [*šur*] 31 [*šur*] 32 [*šur*] 33 [*šur*] 34 [*šur*] 35 [*šur*] 36 [*šur*] 37 [*šur*] 38 [*šur*] 39 [*šur*] 40 [*šur*] 41 [*šur*] 42 [*šur*] 43 [*šur*] 44 [*šur*] 45 [*šur*] 46 [*šur*] 47 [*šur*] 48 [*šur*] 49 [*šur*] 50 [*šur*] 51 [*šur*] 52 [*šur*] 53 [*šur*] 54 [*šur*] 55 [*šur*] 56 [*šur*] 57 [*šur*] 58 [*šur*] 59 [*šur*] 60 [*šur*] 61 [*šur*] 62 [*šur*] 63 [*šur*] 64 [*šur*] 65 [*šur*] 66 [*šur*] 67 [*šur*] 68 [*šur*] 69 [*šur*] 70 [*šur*] 71 [*šur*] 72 [*šur*] 73 [*šur*] 74 [*šur*] 75 [*šur*] 76 [*šur*] 77 [*šur*] 78 [*šur*] 79 [*šur*] 80 [*šur*] 81 [*šur*] 82 [*šur*] 83 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[*šur*] 833 [*šur*] 834 [*šur*] 835 [*šur*] 836 [*šur*] 837 [*šur*] 838 [*šur*] 839 [*šur*] 840 [*šur*] 841 [*šur*] 842 [*šur*] 843 [*šur*] 844 [*šur*] 845 [*šur*] 846 [*šur*] 847 [*šur*] 848 [*šur*] 849 [*šur*] 850 [*šur*] 851 [*šur*] 852 [*šur*] 853 [*šur*] 854 [*šur*] 855 [*šur*] 856 [*šur*] 857 [*šur*] 858 [*šur*] 859 [*šur*] 860 [*šur*] 861 [*šur*] 862 [*šur*] 863 [*šur*] 864 [*šur*] 865 [*šur*] 866 [*šur*] 867 [*šur*] 868 [*šur*] 869 [*šur*] 870 [*šur*] 871 [*šur*] 872 [*šur*] 873 [*šur*] 874 [*šur*] 875 [*šur*] 876 [*šur*] 877 [*šur*] 878 [*šur*] 879 [*šur*] 880 [*šur*] 881 [*šur*] 882 [*šur*] 883 [*šur*] 884 [*šur*] 885 [*šur*] 886 [*šur*] 887 [*šur*] 888 [*šur*] 889 [*šur*] 890 [*šur*] 891 [*šur*] 892 [*šur*] 893 [*šur*] 894 [*šur*] 895 [*šur*] 896 [*šur*] 897 [*šur*] 898 [*šur*] 899 [*šur*] 900 [*šur*] 901 [*šur*] 902 [*šur*] 903 [*šur*] 904 [*šur*] 905 [*šur*] 906 [*šur*] 907 [*šur*] 908 [*šur*] 909 [*šur*] 910 [*šur*] 911 [*šur*] 912 [*šur*] 913 [*šur*] 914 [*šur*] 915 [*šur*] 916 [*šur*] 917 [*šur*] 918 [*šur*] 919 [*šur*] 920 [*šur*] 921 [*šur*] 922 [*šur*] 923 [*šur*] 924 [*šur*] 925 [*šur*] 926 [*šur*] 927 [*šur*] 928 [*šur*] 929 [*šur*] 930 [*šur*] 931 [*šur*] 932 [*šur*] 933 [*šur*] 934 [*šur*] 935 [*šur*] 936 [*šur*] 937 [*šur*] 938 [*šur*] 939 [*šur*] 940 [*šur*] 941 [*šur*] 942 [*šur*] 943 [*šur*] 944 [*šur*] 945 [*šur*] 946 [*šur*] 947 [*šur*] 948 [*šur*] 949 [*šur*] 950 [*šur*] 951 [*šur*] 952 [*šur*] 953 [*šur*] 954 [*šur*] 955 [*šur*] 956 [*šur*] 957 [*šur*] 958 [*šur*] 959 [*šur*] 960 [*šur*] 961 [*šur*] 962 [*šur*] 963 [*šur*] 964 [*šur*] 965 [*šur*] 966 [*šur*] 967 [*šur*] 968 [*šur*] 969 [*šur*] 970 [*šur*] 971 [*šur*] 972 [*šur*] 973 [*šur*] 974 [*šur*] 975 [*šur*] 976 [*šur*] 977 [*šur*] 978 [*šur*] 979 [*šur*] 980 [*šur*] 981 [*šur*] 982 [*šur*] 983 [*šur*] 984 [<

missi discurrentes of the Merovingians or still better with the *missi dominici* of Charles the Great who, according to G. Seeliger¹⁰⁰, not only brought the king's will into the provinces of the Carolingian Empire but also possessed the full powers enabling them to perform the tasks resulting from their "quite general function *ad justitias faciendas*, i. e. to preserve the right in every direction." In addition to drawing this parallel between the Old Assyrian "envoys of the city" and "the king's envoys" of the Frankish Empire, we may, of course, characterize the *šiprā ša šlim* and their functions by referring to that class of Neo-Assyrian officials whom their designation as *qurrubātū*¹⁰¹ or *qurbātū* defines as men of the king's entourage¹⁰²; for the data gathered by Klauber¹⁰³ leave no doubt that Sargon and his successors were wont to dispatch these high-ranking officers on special missions into all parts of their empire.

* * *

It goes without saying that the preceding survey of the principal data pertaining to the organization of the Old Assyrian Empire calls for an

¹⁰⁰ *The Cambridge Medieval History*, II, New York 1913, p. 682.

¹⁰¹ Since *qurrubātū* is to *qurrubā* as, e. g., *šābātū* (Dellitzsch, *HFB*, p. 66-) is to *šābā*, we see — with Ungnad, *Glossar*, p. 128 — in *qurrubātū* a collective derived from the periphrasis of the D-stem of *qurrubā*, and not a by-form of *qurbātū*. That such collectives served also as designations of single individuals was duly noted by Landsberger, *ZA* 39, 1936, p. 292.

¹⁰² Much as some documents listed by Strick, *Assyrienspiegel*, I, Leipzig 1916, p. CXLIII, no. 1 and Klauber, *Assyrisches Beamtenwesen nach Briefen aus der Sargonidenzeit*, Leipzig 1910, p. 105 s. v. *mušre pātū* mention officers designated as *mušre-ša-ša* (var. *mušre-šā-šā*) in *ša-ša* *šarri*, K. 912 (Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, VII, Chicago 1902, No. 721) refers in ll. 14 f. to a *mušre-šā-šā qur-ru-ba-ti ša šarri*; cf. Klauber, *op. cit.*, p. 168. Th. Bauer, *ZA* 40, 1931, p. 253 was therefore certainly right in intimating that *qurbātū* means as much as "(officers) close to the king". In other words, we need not hesitate to concur with Klauber, *op. cit.*, p. 166, who characterized the *mušre pātū* as an aide-de-camp. Hence it is difficult to see why Ungnad (see the preceding footnote and cf. p. 193 of his *Grammatik der Akkadischen* [München 1949]) continued to describe the *qurbātū* and *qurrubātū* as "Gardisten", thus suggesting that they were soldiers of a comparatively low rank. Neither the occurrence in K. 443 (Köler and Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden*, Leipzig 1913, No. 185) of a *mušre-šā-šā* in *šā-šā* nor Sennacherib's well-known statement that he ascended the mountains *u-ru mušre-šā-šā šāpāl* in *u-ru-šā-šā* a *mušre-šā-šā* in *šā-šā* in *ga-me-šā-šā* (Taylor, *Priam*, III 72 f.) can be adduced in support of Ungnad's translation, which, incidentally, seems to have been influenced by his former interpretation of *mušre pātū* "(From-wander =) Gardesoldat". For since the Old Assyrian idiom *laqūm ša šp X* denotes "merchandise transported under the supervision of X", it is logical to ascribe to the title *qurbātū ša šp* (scil. *ša šarri*) the meaning "aide(s)-de-camp accompanying the king", "aide(s)-de-camp on duty".

¹⁰³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 106 ff.

attempt to determine the relative chronology of that *Šelūlu mēr Ū-ku* who, for the reasons adduced before²², is likely to have been a grandson of the *išši'akkum* Šelūlu. As was likewise noted²³, the "younger Šelūlu" sealed, inter alia, the case-tablet of *ICK 29*²⁴, a document stating that a certain Amur-Šamaš bought Mannum-ki-ahia and Wēr-bāni from one Ugarānum and that, having received the purchase price of those two slaves, the latter would not raise claims upon their new owner.²⁵ We also mentioned that the seal impression of *ICK 29* identifies the seller of the slaves as the son of a Kutāa, and that this detail enables us to gather information about Ugarānum's business activities, the persons with whom he associated and the place of his permanent residence.²⁶ The first source to be adduced in this connection is *VAT 9300*, an unpublished text very similar to the business record *KT Hahn 36*. Its well-preserved sections (ll. 1-12²⁷ and x+5 to x+16) run as follows: ¹10 *manā'u kaspum iš-ti 'Adad-gū-lu-lī* ²1/3 *manā'em kaspum iš-ti Pī-lā-ah-Ištar mēr A-šūr-rē'im* ³5 1/3 *manā'u iš-ti I-a-šar* ⁴4 *manā'e kaspum* ⁵3 ⁶ku-to-ni ⁷iš-ti Ii-na-da mēr A-šūr-na-da ⁸1/2 *manā'em* ⁹5 *kiqlā kaspum iš-ti Šu-Ištar mēr Šu-A-nim* ¹⁰2/3 *manā'u* ¹¹1 *kiqlā kaspum iš-ti 'I-ku-pi-A-šūr* ¹²2 *manā'u kaspum* ¹³iš-ti Im-li-kā-a ¹⁴2 *nū-at gubāt* ¹⁵ša qā-tim I-dā-Ku-bu-um ¹⁶i-lā-šā-ma ¹⁷2 *mēr Da-da* ¹⁸1/3 *manā'em* ¹⁹6 *iš-ti E-li* ²⁰2 *manā'e* ²¹7 *iš-ti Wu-wa-li* ²²1/3 *manā'em* ²³1 *iš-ti 'Adad-ba-ni* ²⁴2 *mēr Du-du* ²⁵2 *manā'u* ²⁶15 *kiqlā* ²⁷10 *iš-ti Ku-ra mēr* ²⁸1 *šē hi im* ²⁹1/3 *manā'em* ³⁰iš-ti Ū-gū-ra-nim ³¹2 *mēr Ku-tā-a* ³²1/2 *bilātun erīnun iš-ti* ³³1 *A-šūr-tak-lā-ku mēr Puzur-Šin* ³⁴1/3 *manā'em* ³⁵iš-ti ³⁶1 *iš-ti-šā-ra-ni*. As was already intimated, *Ugarānum mēr Kutāa* figures in this text alongside of several businessmen whose relative chronology and place of permanent residence can be established. To begin with *Adad-gulili* (l. 1) and *Ea-šar* (l. 4), a passage of a letter which they and a certain *Ašur-mālik* dispatched to *Pūšu-kēn* informs us that, being absent from *Kaniš*, they asked this well-known resident of *Kaniš* to forward to them a communication which they expected to receive from *Puzur-Aššur*.²⁸ Thus it appears not only that they travelled in *Pūšu-kēn*'s interest as employees of his but also that their correspondents were wont to write

²² See above, p. 29.

²³ See above, p. 31.

²⁴ As stated before, the envelope of *ICK 29* is the only of the case-tablets sealed by *Šelūlu mēr Ū-ku* which was published in toto.

²⁵ The Assyrian text of *ICK 29 A* and *B* is found above, p. 24, note 103.

²⁶ This point is important because it is a legitimate assumption that the witnesses to *ICK 29* lived in the same town as *Ugarānum* and *Amur-Šamaš*.

²⁷ See *TC II 18*: ¹ku-ku pap-pu-ku ²ša Puzur-A-šūr a qā-ti ni ³iš-ti kam li-ta-ne-šā-ma ⁴a-ni-ku-um li-bi-lā-ša.

to them to Kaniš "care of Pūšu-kēn". So far as Ea-šar is concerned, the conclusion as to his association with Pūšu-kēn is borne out by several letters, among which we cite especially *Contenau* 5, a message in which he calls Pūšu-kēn his father and master, i. e. his principal; in connection with a remark to the effect that he would soon set out in order to join Pūšu-kēn, he mentions here his intention of leaving behind Wawali (see *VAT* 9300, x+7 and cf. *KTHahn* 36, 38), whence it follows that the latter, too, was — directly or indirectly — in the employ of Pūšu-kēn and his associates.⁸¹ As regards Imlikāa (*VAT* 9300, 10), it is likewise indicated to see in Kaniš the trade center where he was established, even though, according to *EL* 82, his activities included trips to Burošhaddum. For this assumption accounts best for the appearance among the Kültepe texts of the two almost identical promissory notes *EL* 39 and *TC* III 225, in which he figures as witness, as well as of the contract *EL* 82, which obligates him to repay an amount of a hundred and six shekels of silver by "sending here half a mina of silver upon his arrival at Burošhaddum" and "weighing out", i. e. paying personally, the balance after seven months. Turning to *Hi-na'dā mēr Aššur-na'dā* (*VAT* 9300, 6), we have no difficulty in showing that he was living at Kaniš; for *EL* 226 and *TC* III 213, i. e. two *Sammeleerkunden* consisting of copies of promissory notes in favor of Enlil-bāni, who is known to have been a prominent merchant of Kaniš⁸², mention him, on the one hand, as a witness of a contract in which Pūšu-kēn's son Buzāzu acknowledged a loan granted him by Enlil-bāni⁸³ and, on the other, as representative of the *hārum* in a transaction by which Enlil-bāni became a creditor of the *bū hārum*.⁸⁴

Although the data just gathered suggest that *VAT* 9300 deals exclusively with residents of Kaniš, it must, of course, be admitted that the occurrence of the name *Ušurānum mēr Kutāa* in ll. x+11 f. of the same tablet does not in itself prove that *ICK* 29 records a transaction which took place at Kaniš. Hence it is necessary to

⁸¹ This inference is confirmed by the fact that letters such as *TC* III 3 and *KTS* 7^a include references to Wawali; for Puzur-Aššur, to whom these letters are addressed, was a trader closely associated with Pūšu-kēn and his sons.

⁸² Cf. *Symbolae Uro-ug.* IV, 1950, p. 373.

⁸³ See *l.c.* 226, 31-44^a.

⁸⁴ See *TC* III 213, 27^b-44. It is interesting to see that, according to ll. 42^b-44, *Hi-na'dā mēr Aššur-na'dā* (l. 31) sealed the case-tablet of the original record of this transaction not as a witness but as one of three men who accepted Enlil-bāni's loan in the name of the *bū hārum*. (Cf. the analogous business recorded in *EL* 225, 23-38^a.) Note that this activity of *Hi-na'dā* did not fall in the same year as his witnessing the contract just cited, in which Pūšu-kēn's son acknowledged his indebtedness to Enlil-bāni.

a clear (report) about ²⁶either the long-term claim(s) of mine ²⁶or the (sums received as) cash upon delivery or the (sums credited to) my account!" Of even greater significance in regard to the subject of our investigation is, however, the fact that Ušurānum continues as follows: ²⁷*āš-pu-rc-ku-nu-iš um-ma o-na-ku-ma* ²⁸*urdu²⁷-a²⁸ ki-ma e-ru-bu-ni-ni* ²⁹*ur₂-da-nim o-tū-nu Ma-si-be-ki* ³⁰*ū I-šar-bu-ba-la-a-ti [ū]-āh-[i]a-li-gā* ³¹*šu-ma a-pu-ā-a o-ti-nu* ³²*Šamaš-tap-pā-i Ma-nu-ki-a-bi-a ū A-dā-a* ³³*pā-nim-ma ur₂-da-nim* ³⁴"I had sent you a message; thus I (said therein): ³⁵"Dispatch to me ³⁶my slaves as soon as they arrive." (But instead of doing so) ³⁷you ³⁸actually ruined ³⁹*Ma-si-bēli* ⁴⁰and *Išar-lū-balaš*. ⁴¹"If you (are truly) my colleagues, ⁴²dispatch to me ⁴³*Šamaš-tappā'i*, Mannu(m)-ki-abia and Addāa ⁴⁴at the first opportunity!" Quite obviously, this passage proves that the slave Mannu-m-ki-abia was known at Kaniš and worked there for his master Ušurānum before the latter sold him to Amur-Šamaš in the presence of Šelūfu and Puzur-Šadū'e.

On the other hand, it follows from VAT 9244 that, like so many of his colleagues, Ušurānum sometimes attended to business in places other than Kaniš; moreover, according to the lines just quoted, he was more or less wont to make sure that his slaves would follow him to the towns where his affairs required his presence.⁴⁵ Hence there arises the question as to whether or not the transaction by which Amur-Šamaš acquired Ušurānum's slave Mannu-m-ki-abia can safely be supposed to have taken place at Kaniš. The answer to this question comes from the afore-mentioned fact that, according to ICK 29 (A 9; B 2), a certain Puzur-Šadū'e witnessed the closing of this deal. To be sure, neither the text of ICK 29 nor the seal impressions on its case-tablet say anything about the identity of this witness, even

²⁷ ARAD²⁷ n. On the various writings of the term *wardum/urdu* and on its by-forms see EL I, p. 75, note c and *Orientalia* 15, 1946 p. 384, note 3, respectively. Cf. further BIV VI 20, 21 f.: *ū-ti Wa-ar-di-in mēr I-bu-nim*; from a comparison of this passage, of EL 94, 22 *puhar IR mēr Lā-gi-šip*; cf. EL II, p. 176), of TC III 26p, 2 *(a-ru Lā-gi-šip mēr IR*; cf. the variant writing in EL 144, 18: *puhar Lā-gi-šip mēr IR*⁴⁶) and of ICK 37 A. 9; B 3 (ARAD mēr Ku-to-ma-ti) it follows that the signs IR and ARAD served also as a means of writing the personal name *Wardum* which, in turn, must be compared with the Akkadianized Old West Semitic name *Wa-ub-ān-um*.

⁴⁵ In using the term *palloqum* "to ruin", Ušurānum probably refers to harm done to his slaves by overworking them.

⁴⁶ Perhaps it should be mentioned that the dispatching of slaves from one town to another was nothing unusual. Cf., e. g., passages such as Col. 18, 18 f. 11 1/2 *Kipim kaspan Du-na* "wardum to A-pu-qar" *no-ā-a-ki-na-tē* and COT III 1, to 1, (*the-ki-i* "wardum, bē wardum ir-ā-a-na").

though he bore a rather common name.¹²⁸ But since, as is well known, the Assyrians chose as witnesses preferably persons close to the parties concerned, this very fact suggests that Puzur-Šadû'e was related to Amur-Šamaš. An examination of those Kültepe texts which mention either an Amur-Šamaš or a Puzur-Šadû'e actually shows that the two men were brothers. This is learned, on the one hand, from the occurrence in *TC* II 55, 7 f. and *CCT* 26^a, 7 of an *A-mur-Šamaš mēr Zu-li-dî* (var. *Zu-li-dî*)¹²⁹ and, on the other, from a somewhat damaged *Semmelmemorandum*, shown to me in 1928 by a dealer in antiques, which includes the following passage: *¹²⁸*kaspam za-ru-pá-am i šê-er* [.] *¹²⁹*Pu-šu-ki-in i-šu iš-tû ha-muš-[lîm ša.]* *¹³⁰*šarab^{KAM} li- <i>-na-tim li-mu-um* [.] *¹³¹*i-ša-qi mahar Puzur-SA TŪ mēr Zu-li-dî mahar* [.] *¹³²*mahar I-ku-pt-a mēr Lu-na-Sîn¹³³*.¹³⁴ Aside from revealing the fraternal tie which linked Puzur-Šadû'e and Amur-Šamaš, these texts make it obvious that Zâ-lidî's sons were living at Kaniš. For to say nothing about the fact that the commercial notes *TC* II 55 and *CCT* 26^a, as well as the unpublished memorandum which mentions *Puzur-Šadû'e mēr Zâ-lidî* as witness, come from Kültepe, it is obvious that, as long as there is no evidence to the contrary, a witness to a promissory note made out in favor of Pûšu-kên must be supposed to have been a resident of Kaniš. It is also manifest that the data just discussed compel us to define *Šelûlu mēr Ū-ku* as a contemporary of Pûšu-kên.

A comparative analysis of documents such as *ICK* 20, *KTBI* 11, *EL* 41, *EL* 329 and *EL* 327 enables us to go a step further and to establish a chronological link between *Šelûlu mēr Ū-ku* and a ruler of Aššur: From *KTBI* 11, 5 ff. it is learned that Pûšu-kên and a certain Puzur-Aššur served as *šamuktum* eponyms in the course of the eponymate of *Elû-(i)š mēr Ikûnim*, who recurs in *EL* 41, 17 ff. together with *Puzur-Aššur mēr Šâ Anim*, i. e. with a man figuring in

¹²⁸ The seal he used when sealing the case-tablet of *ICK* 29 has no legend. Moreover, *ICK* 29 B so far being the only tablet with an impression of this seal, it is at present impossible to secure further information about Puzur-Šadû'e by consulting a case-tablet which, in distinction from *ICK* 29, might have mentioned his father's name or the like.

¹²⁹ The theophoric element of the name *Zu-li-dî* figures also in the name *li-na-Za* (*EL* 261, 20; *IC* III 187, x-1 21. Since the latter name recurs in *ICK* 106, 16, it ought to have been listed by Matouš on p. 19 of his name index.

¹³⁰ [The contemporaneity of Zâ-lidî's sons and Pûšu-kên is corroborated by the document *MAH* 16563 in which *Amur-Šamaš mēr Zâ-lidî* agreed to pay a debt owed by *Šâ Ikûnim mēr Šalûš-Aššur*, who figures in *TC* III 28 in connection with Pûšu-kên. Note that Zulu, one of the witnesses of the agreement recorded in *MAH* 16569, appears also in the above-cited business note *CCT* 26^a.]

ICK 20 (case-tablet, ll. 4 ff.) in the company of *Agussa mēr Šā-Anim*. Pūšu-kēn and the eponym *Elā-(i)li* thus turn out to have been contemporaries of that *Agussa mēr Šā-Anim* who played an important rôle in the legal case dealt with in the interrelated documents *EL* 327, 328 and 329.¹² As was recalled above, p. 67, note 282, one of these three documents, the case-tablet *EL* 327, was sealed with a seal bearing the legend *Šarrum-kēn išši'ak 'A-šār mēr I-ku-nim išši'ak 'A-šār*.¹³ When adding to these data the above-discussed evidence pertaining to

¹² Note that *EL* 329 was written in the eponymate of *Elā-(i)li*, i. e., as was just stated, in a year in the course of which Pūšu-kēn served as *hauwatum*-eponym.

¹³ The contention of Landsberger, *JCS* VIII, 1954, pp. 108 f., note 200 that l. 1 of this seal legend reads not *Šarrum-kēn* but *AN.LUGAL-Ilum-šar* and the far-reaching conclusions he is inclined to draw from this "richtige Lesung" can and must be dismissed. A careful examination of the original print of the photo of a second impression of the same seal which I published in 1927 (*Nachrichten der Giesener Hochschulgemeinschaft* VI, pl. V, fig. 4) confirms the presence after *LUGAL* of a poorly preserved third sign. Its relative smallness explains why Balkan did not distinguish it on the unpublished duplicate referred to by Landsberger. On the other hand, it is idle to debate the question whether the impossibility to determine it as *GI* (cf. the well-known early spellings of the name of *Šarrum-kēn* of Akkad I) or as *DU* (as proposed by Sayce in his discussion of the impression on *EL* 327) is due to damage of the seal-cylinder or rather to imperfect engraving of its legend, the imperfection possibly being caused by lack of space. For the above-cited inscription of *Aššur-rim-nišešu* 1408, I, pp. 34 ff.) and the Assyrian king list preclude any doubt that Ikūnum's successor on the throne was his son *Šarrum-kēn*.

[The existence of the third sign at the end of the first line of the legend of the "Šarrum-kēn seal" is now admitted by Balkan, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 f. But the emphasis with which he argues that "the reading *Šarrum-kēn* would be the only example from the Old Assyrian period of a king's name having been written with the determinative of god" is hardly justified because, for instance, *Narām-Sin* of Eannura placed *DINGIR* before his name. As regards Balkan's opinion that *Šamši-Adad*'s name appears sometimes with the determinative *DINGIR* because "it begins with the name of the god *Šamaš*" (*op. cit.*, p. 53), I may be permitted to refer him to my remarks in *Revue des études sémitiques* 1938, p. 58, note 6, which are now borne out by the occurrence in the Mari texts of the names *Ša-am-si-Adad-gin* (see Bottéro et Finet, *op. cit.*, p. 134) and *Ša-am-si-E-ra-ab* (*Syria* XX, 1939, p. 197). Moreover, the appearance at Mari (see Bottéro et Finet, *op. cit.*, p. 152) and Çagar Pazar (see Gadd, *Iraq* VII, 1940, p. 41) of the personal names *Ša-am-si-Adad-ta-kūt-ti* and *Ša-am-si-Adad-ī-ī* compels us to postulate at least an "official" dedication of *Šamši-Adad I*; cf. the analogous Old Babylonian personal name *Ša-am-si-ra-pi-ī-ī/AN* and the observations of Falkenstein, *Synthesen Huzar*, I, 1949, pp. 212 ff. and see further Hildegard Lewy, *ibidem*, II, 1949, pp. 83 ff. *Mélanges Isidore Lévy*, Bruxelles 1953, pp. 270 ff. Additional proof that, contrary to the views of Balkan, the dedication of the kings is a characteristic of the epoch of *Šamši-Adad I* comes from the inscription on the duck weight, *Assur* 5925 (Schroeder, *op. cit.*, No. 3). Amuly noted by Jacobsen, *Oriental Institute Publications*, XLIII, Chicago 1940, pp. 117, note 5. ll. 1-3 of this inscription read *Ša-du-[ša] mēr 'I-ī-īq 'Adad šār ša-am-sa-ki*. Incidentally, had Balkan taken cognizance of the "Building Inscription No. 13" (*ibidem*, p. 138) and the pertinent remarks of

the sons of Zâ-lidi, to Pôšu-kên and to Šelôfu, the son of Ū-ku, we arrive, of course, at the conclusion that the latter and Šarrum-kên of Aššur were contemporaries.¹¹

The same chronological result is obtained if due attention is paid to the fact that, according to *EL* 172, a certain *Šu-Ištar mēr Šu-a-a* was active in the eponymate of Elâ-(i)li, i. e., as already noted, in the year to which *EL* 329 is dated and during which Pôšu-kên held the office of a *hamušum*-eponym. For from a document which was written while Pôšu-kên was still alive, namely from *EL* 330^a = *TC* III 273, it is learned that *Šu-Ištar mēr Šuûa* was a contemporary of Pôšu-kên's second son, Sînêa.

Jacobsen, *Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 13, Chicago 1932, p. 48, he certainly would have refrained from telling his readers with respect to our seal legend "Šarrum kên PA.TE.SI 1-šir mēr I-ku-nim PA.TE.SI 2A-kêr that it "would be an unheard of act of impiety that Sargon claimed to be a god himself, but deprived his father of this privilege."

¹¹ Among the numerous documents which shed light on Pôšu-kên mēr Šuûa and his descendants, the most informative are *EL* 310 and 311 and *EL* 11, which latter is now supplemented by the letter *TC* III 99. From *EL* 11 it results that Pôšu-kên's estate was divided among five children, viz. his sons Aššur-muttâbil, Sînêa, Buzâzu, Ikû(n)-pâša and a daughter, the priestess (NIN.DINGIR) Abahâ. (On NIN.DINGIR / *gubâdum* / *ugubâdum* see Neugeyrol, *JNES* IX, 1950, pp. 51 f. and *RA* XLIV, 1950, pp. 27 f.; J. Lewy, *Symbolae Hierosol.* IV, 1950, p. 372, note 37 and cf. further *EL* 9, A 5; D, x+2; *CCT* III 122, 12; *BIN* IV 5, 23 and *ICK* 12, 10 ff.) From *TC* III 210, 24 f. it is learned that Pôšu-kên had also another daughter; a certain *Wa/a-qêr-tum* (variants *Wa/a-qêr-tum* and *U-qêr-tum*; *BIN* IV 96, 3 and *Cent.* 9, 8), of whom we hear also in *TC* 21, *BIN* IV 21 and *CCT* III 41^b+42^b. To all appearances, the information found in *EL* 310 and 311 tallies with the contents of an unpublished letter mentioned by Landsberger, *Türk Tarih, Arkeologiya ve Etnografya Dergisi* IV, 1940, p. 15, note 1. Unfortunately, it is impossible to rely on Landsberger's summary of the purport of this text in the Ankara Museum. For his contention that Ikû(n)-pâša figures there as a sister of Aššur-muttâbil and Sînêa is incompatible with the data concerning Pôšu-kên's sons which can be gathered, e. g., from *EL* 321, 41-43 and *EL* 11, ll. 6 ff. and 15 ff. (see, besides *EL* I, p. 254 and *EL* 11, pp. 31 and 61, note a, *KTHa*, p. 12). Nor can we believe that the terminology of the text quoted by Landsberger differs so much from that of other Old Assyrian letters from Kanîš that it makes use of an idiom "u-u râgim eadênu "and lange Frist leihen" in circumstances in which, for instance, *CCT* IV 24^a, 46 f. and *CCT* IV 49^b, 15 ff. employ the well-known expression *a-ua na-ru-qi-tac nodênum*. In addition, it is difficult to see why Landsberger made no effort to determine whether or not the transactions known from *EL* 310 and 311 are the subject of that letter in the Ankara Museum, as we must suspect when learning from Landsberger's remarks that this text not only deals with four minas of gold owed to Pôšu-kên by Aššur-mûšik mēr Enna-Šêa but also refers to a document in which Sînêa declared having transferred to Aššur-muttâbil his claims upon Aššur-mûšik mēr Enna-Šêa and upon Ennam-Aššur mēr Enna-Šêa. If the unpublished text should actually deal with the transactions recorded in *EL* 310 and 311, it would follow that the latter documents must be dated to the time after Pôšu-kên's death as must *EL* 11 and *EL* 244.

p. 29/KYP 14

p 24 (+103)

p 52 (+206)
EL 247

p 15 (f 65)

p 15 (f 65)

p 15 (f 65)
VAT 6180

p 5 ICR 32

p 38 f(132)
p 41 136
p 42 137

p 38 f. 1

do the bank of the Kallum
for purchase of the Kallum
kind of Kallum, etc.

p 38 f(132)

p 39 lop

Make me trace the oath!

"right of preemption"

frequently avoided itself of the

shelling in "palace"

"preliminary report" of Turkish expert
of archeology L. V. 1951 p 9

"large quantities within the Anatolian city"

"Orientalia" XX, 1951 p 28

H. Gamberl

die materielle Kultur der
asymmetrischen Handelskolonie

also
to following conclusion
also durchaus anatolisch

discussed J. Lewy "Orientalia"

XLIX 1950 p. 32

redemption of the slaves --

"Swore by Assur, Ansa + the prince"

native wife + her family

"not to sue Pilek-Isak + his
family for anything"

penalty 10 mimes of silver

ISRAJUM.

band to Kallum

bit Kârim

bit Kârim (also as an agency
of the Kallum)

BIN IV 156

paid for cloth pur-
chased by the police

20 mimes of per
piece

Copper

that it was of no consequence that of the
two administrations received the tax

Ass.
p 51 K "capital of a v. st. province"
p 48 "origin" + character of the
Ass. settlements in the
Argon

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Some Aspects of Commercial Life in Assyria and Asia
Minor in the Nineteenth Pre-Christian Century

BY
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SOME ASPECTS OF COMMERCIAL LIFE IN ASSYRIA AND ASIA MINOR IN THE NINETEENTH PRE-CHRISTIAN CENTURY*

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Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen!

WHEN SURVEYING, in a monograph published some forty years ago, the data then known about the Hittites of Asia Minor, their state and their civilization, Eduard Meyer, the well-known historian of the ancient Near East, felt impelled to characterize the excavations in the ancient capital city of Aššur as somewhat disappointing.¹ His disappointment sprang from the fact that the finds made in the lowest strata of the old metropolis of Assyria were anepigraphic and failed to elucidate the presumably very early period in which, according to a few Middle and Late Assyrian inscriptions, Ušpia erected the first temple of the god Aššur and Kikkia surrounded the city with a wall. With the same regret he noted that the epoch around 2000 B. C. was hardly illuminated by the small number of inscriptions of some Old Assyrian kings which, after all, had been unearthed during eleven years of extensive digging at Aššur. But he ventured to assert that there was still a good chance to obtain insight into the early history of the Assyrians by excavations to be undertaken elsewhere and, especially, at Kültepe, a site located four hundred and seventy miles north-west of Aššur in the heart of that part of Asia Minor which became subsequently the Hellenistic kingdom of Cappadocia.

This optimistic view, as well as Meyer's strong advocacy of systematic excavations at Kültepe,² was the result of an ingenious combination of the following data: Firstly, thanks to Ernest Chantre's explorations in 1893 and 1894, there was virtually no doubt that Kültepe was the place of origin of the so-called Cappadocian tablets, the first two specimens of which had been published by Pinches in 1881.³ Secondly, even before Chantre's

futile attempts to locate the exact spot or spots where this particular class of cuneiform texts was unearthed in increasing numbers by the inhabitants of the near-by village of Kara Hüyük or Kara Ew,⁴ the painstaking investigations of the Egyptologist Golénischeff and the Assyriologists Delitzsch and Jensen into some thirty tablets of the same type had made it most likely that the ancient population which had left these records consisted mainly of Assyrians. Thirdly, the names of two kings who, according to the Middle Assyrian royal inscriptions found at Aššur, ruled at Aššur presumably soon after 2000 B. C. figured on the seal impressions of one of the altogether ninety-two Kültepe tablets and fragments of tablets published prior to Meyer's writing, those seal impressions being provided with the significant legend "Šarrum-kên, priestly prince of the god Aššur, son of Ikûnum, priestly prince of the god Aššur."⁵

Whereas other savants, notably Jensen, who studied the then available Cappadocian tablets in 1893, rejected the idea that large numbers of Assyrians could ever have been permanently established in the heart of Anatolia not far from the River Halys, Meyer saw no difficulty in the assumption that, prior to the rise of the Hittite Empire, that region had been colonized with the

which appeared before 1924 see J. Lewy, *Rekonstruktion der Vorgeschichte*, VI (Berlin 1926), pp. 213 f. Lists of the more recent editions of such texts (as well as of the abbreviations used hereafter when referring to single documents from Kültepe) are found in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, CX (1934), 29, note 1 and in *Orientalia*, 15 (1946), 382, note 1; B. Hrozný's *Inscriptions cunéiformes du Kültepe* (Praha 1932) will hereafter be cited as ICK.

* Cf. J. Lewy, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 29 (1926), col. 964, note 1; T. Özgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe* (Ankara, 1950), p. 113.

² As for recent attempts to attribute this seal to another son of king Ikûnum, see *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXVII (1956), 78, note 332. For a case-tablet in the University Museum at Philadelphia (I. 29.573 B) which bears impressions of the same seal (as do fragments published in 1927 and 1955) see below, p. 100 and note 73.

* Presidential address delivered at the Society's annual meeting, Princeton, April 25, 1957.

¹ See R. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* (Berlin 1914), pp. 120 f.

² See *op. cit.*, pp. 127 and 153.

³ For Pinches' article and for most of the papers and monographs on Kültepe and/or "Cappadocian texts"

Assyrian merchants whose business contracts and commercial notes were found at Kültepe, as well as with Assyrians who settled there as farmers. Such Assyrian colonization, he stated repeatedly,⁶ explains the fact that the early Greek geographers designated the coastal region of Asia Minor between the mouth of the Thermodon and Sinope as *Assyria* and that, according to a historian from Asia Minor such as Arrian, the Cappadocians had once been called Assyrians.

As already intimated, Meyer expected from systematic excavations at Kültepe that increase of the source material which would throw a vivid light on the early history of the city of Assur and the Assyrian colonization of Cappadocia and the adjacent regions of Asia Minor. Curiously enough, this prediction was correct and was not correct. It proved to have been correct when, in 1925, Bedřich Hrozný, having located the place where the Kültepe tablets had been dug up by the villagers, uncovered in a short time several hundred texts in situ. And it proved once more to have been correct when Professor Tahsin Özgüç of Ankara initiated new excavations in 1948 and unearthed within a few years many thousands of additional tablets and most remarkable archaeological remains acquainting us with the spacious houses and workshops of the Assyrian merchants and the Anatolian natives who had to live at the foot of the Kültepe mound within the town quarter which we are now wont to designate by the Assyrian term *kārum Kanis*, Kanis being the ancient name of the important town which once occupied both the hill now known as Kültepe and its less elevated surroundings partly uncovered by Hrozný and Özgüç.⁷ But, as

I have just stated, Meyer's belief that the chance of gaining some insight into the early history of the Assyrian metropolis on the Tigris and its distant Anatolian possessions depended on future excavations at Kültepe/Kanis was, nonetheless, erroneous. For virtually the whole source material from Cappadocia which enables me to speak tonight on Commercial Life in Assyria and Asia Minor in the 19th pre-Christian Century did not come from the systematic excavations undertaken by Hrozný and Özgüç; it rather consists almost exclusively of tablets already near at hand at the time of Meyer's writing in 1914. This paradoxical situation is due to the following facts: On the one hand, the public and private collections of cuneiform texts in Europe and in this country turned out to comprise, in addition to the afore-mentioned less than hundred specimens, some two thousand five hundred of those Kültepe texts which, during the fifty years preceding Hrozný's excavations, were clandestinely unearthed and sold to dealers in antiquities by villagers who owned fields on the *kārum Kanis* of old; and thanks to the efforts of several Assyriologists, among whom we find Professor Stephens, the distinguished secretary of our Society, most of these precious documents were published in the course of the past four decades, whereas comparatively few of Hrozný's and Özgüç's texts have become generally accessible, namely less than two hundred of Hrozný's and less than ten of Özgüç's. On the other hand, it has also been established in the course of these past decades that the Kültepe texts are not the only records from

areas" where the *šawā*, or "salt tax," and other taxes were collected, *Ḫayyān* being "the fiscal district of Orchoi" which, to quote Rostovtzeff, loc. cit., p. 79, "may have coincided with the city of Orchoi and its territory or may have been wider." Equally important is the fact, likewise noted by Rostovtzeff, that the Aramaic version of the Palmyrenean *šūm* *teḫawīkās* defines the tax law of Palmyra as

שומן די תבואה די לנחל די חורבן חורבן

(= *šūm* *teḫawīkās* *ḫayyān* *Ḫayyān* *Ḫayyān* *Ḫayyān*).

although the *ḫayyān* (> Aramaic *ḫayyān*) of Palmyra was not a harbor. (Cf. also the remarks of Reckendorf, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 42 (1888), 402, who, in view of Latin *portus*, attributed to *ḫayyān* the signification "Zollstation.") This bears on the much-debated question as to the connotations of the Old Assyrian term *kārum Kanis* because, as I emphasized (loc. cit., p. 46 with note 176), none of the various "administrative centers" or "fiscal areas" in Asia Minor which figure in the Old Assyrian sources as *kārum* lay on a navigable river or on the sea.

⁶ Op. cit., p. 52; *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, 2^a (Stuttgart und Berlin 1913), 511 ff.; *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1925, pp. 248 f.; *Geschichte des Altertums*, II, 1^a (Stuttgart und Berlin 1928), 14.

⁷ As I have stated in detail in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXVII (1956), 35 ff., the Assyrians used the term *kārum* "port" as a designation of cities or city-quarters characterized as important administrative centers, inter alia, by the presence of "revenue-officers" or "treasury officials" who collected taxes and tolls. I take this opportunity to add that *kārum* was not the only ancient word for "port" which became a term for "administrative center" and the like. For in their investigations into the so-called bullae from Warka and Tell-Umar, Rostovtzeff, *Fale Classical Studies*, III (1932), 74 ff. and McDowell, *ibidem*, p. 101 have pointed out that, in the administrative language of "Seleucid Babylonia," *ḫayyān* "port" denoted a "fiscal

Anatolia which yield precious pieces of information about the Old Assyrian epoch. As an important result of the excavations undertaken by the Oriental Institute of Chicago from 1927 to 1932 at Alişar, a small mound located about fifty-five miles north of Kültepe and about fifty miles south-east of Boğazköy and, in all probability, identical with the ancient town of Amkuwa,⁹ the Museum at Ankara possesses about seventy tablets and fragments of tablets, for the major part published in 1935 by Professor Gelb, which are characterized by the same features as the Kültepe tablets. As I have recently demonstrated,¹⁰ some of the numerous Assyrian merchants and officials mentioned in the thousands of texts from Kültepe/Kaniš figure also in the tablets from Alişar/Amkuwa. Consequently, both groups of texts contain strictly contemporary records and supplement each other. As was definitely proved by Professor Bittel's excavations in 1935 and 1938, still another group of Old Assyrian letters, business notes, contracts and juridical texts comes from the later capital of the Hittite Empire which figures in the Kültepe tablets as both Hattum and Hattuš. To all appearances, some of the tablets unearthed there by Bittel in 1938 and 1953 concern especially a merchant of whom we read in both the Kültepe and Alişar tablets;¹¹ hence it seems now likely that at least part of the increasing numbers of Old Assyrian tablets from Boğazköy/Hattuš belong in exactly the same period as almost all Kültepe texts so far generally accessible.

As already intimated, after the first publications, some thirty years ago, of larger numbers of well-preserved Kültepe texts, it could no longer be doubted that the ancient town of Kaniš was a flourishing center of a well-financed and highly organized import and export trade which was in the hands of Assyrian commercial firms. Numerous business correspondences, bills of carriage, contracts and memoranda concerning purchases and sales revealed that these firms maintained close trade relations not only with businessmen in the big and small towns of Central and Eastern Anatolia who bought from them or sold to them various goods but also with exporters in the city of Aššur to whom they sent year after year through relatives, business partners or trusted employees large

consignments of silver and gold. Sometimes the trustworthy men charged with the transport of these precious metals spent at Aššur only a short time because they were expected to make instantly arrangements enabling them to return without loss of time to Asia Minor as leaders or members of caravans which carried goods to Kaniš or other places. Was this the case, they purchased at once the commodities which were in demand at Kaniš or these other places, as well as the donkeys serving as beasts of burden, and hired as many ass-drivers and other auxiliary personnel as needed for their return trip. If informed that the demand for these commodities was particularly heavy, the merchants in Aššur who had them for sale helped their customers by assembling goods, donkeys and drivers in advance so that the next caravan could leave immediately.

Aside from very considerable quantities of various sorts of textiles, partly manufactured by the women of Aššur and partly imported from adjacent regions, the principal commodity thus exported year in and year out from Aššur to Kaniš was *annakum*, that is lead¹² or lead ore. That the

¹² Since this rendering of *annakum* was recently abandoned by several Assyriologists in favor of the unproved translation "tin," it is in order to recall here the following evidence: When uncovering the foundations of buildings of the thirteenth and ninth pre-Christian centuries, the excavators of the city of Aššur found large deposits of valuable materials consisting, on the one hand, of colored stones and beads and the like and, on the other hand, of sheets of gold and silver and small lumps of lead, copper and iron; see Andrae, *Das niederrassische Aššur* (Leipzig, 1938), pp. 114f.: 150 and, especially, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 54 (1914), 191: 22f.; 301. As was intimated by Weidner, *Altorientalische Bibliothek*, I (Leipzig, 1926), 123, note 14, these finds illustrate the statements in the royal inscriptions in which kings of the thirteenth and ninth century relate which minerals, metals, perfumes etc. were deposited in the foundations of temples and other buildings. Besides gold, silver, iron and copper, the Assyrian designations of which are known and beyond any doubt, these statements mention but one metal, namely *annaku*. In conjunction with the finds reported by Andrae, they imply, therefore, that the Assyrian vocable for "lead" was *annaku*. Other reasons for my disapproval of the contention that the Assyrians meant by this term *plumbum album*, or "tin," were adduced in *Orientalia*, 21 (1952), 422, note 1 and 26 (1957), 13, note 2. To them I can add now that I recently learned from Professor Oliver R. Gurney of the occurrence in a Sultantepe tablet of the expression *annaku pišā*. Since, as seen at once by Gurney, this Assyrian term is an exact counterpart of Latin *plumbum album*, it is obvious that, when referring to tin, the

⁹ See J. Lewy, *Revue Hittite et Asiatique*, III (1934-1935), 7 and, most recently, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXVII (1956), 61 f.

¹⁰ *Orientalia*, 26 (1957), 20 ff.

¹¹ See *ibidem*, pp. 17 ff.

pertinent correspondences and bills of carriage deal with various lead ores rather than with lead as such is likely in view of the habit of distinguishing between low and high priced *annakum*. The examination of the relevant statements shows that one shekel of silver bought sometimes fifteen or sixteen shekels of *annakum* but at other times not even six shekels.¹² The expensive lead six shekels of which cost about one shekel of silver seems to be identical with the so-called *annakum za-ku-um* or "pure lead."¹³ Shipments of which to Cappadocia are well attested.¹⁴

Since Anatolia was, and still is, rich in argenteriferous lead ores, it is difficult to assume that Asia Minor was in need of imports of such ores. But since we know that, in ancient days no less than in recent times, the conquest of distant lands led again and again to their colonization and commercial penetration by the conqueror, and since it can be shown that Central and Eastern Anatolia

Assyrians added to *annakum* a specification. In the period of the Kültepe texts, this specification was *amūtum*, as shown by the occurrence in ICK 39, A, II. 1 i. of (3 maš 1/4 šiqū) *an-na-kam a-mu-tam*. Instead of this expression, there appears, in II. 7 and 13 of the same document, the term *a-mu-tam*. Therefore, and because one of the texts using the latter term, namely the letter COT IV 48, makes it virtually certain that *amūtum* means "tin" (see below, p. 96), we must, on the other hand, admit that, as a rule, *annakum amūtum* was abridged to *amūtum*. Consequently, there remains no reasonable doubt that, unless provided with a specification such as *amūtum* or *pišum*, *annakum* denotes lead.

¹² This difference in the prices of the various ores finds its explanation in the process of washing as described, for instance, by Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity* (Leiden, 1930), p. 182. The washing, which is likely to have been done in Assyria proper prior to transporting the ore to Asia Minor, produces materials much richer in lead and silver ore than the minerals originally mined.

¹³ Some evidence to this effect is found in the inter-related letters TC III 20 and COT II 3 which state, on the one hand, that Šulim-šum was instructed to purchase *annakum za-ku-um* (see TC III 20, 7 f.) and, on the other hand, that the price of 6 2/3 minas of lead which he sent to Asia Minor amounted to 1 mina and 3 shekels of silver (see COT II 3, 14 f.). Note the reference in BIN VI 262 to *annakum za-ku-um mašir* [š] which implies that this sort of lead was marketable at Aššur.

¹⁴ See RL 93 and note that the writer of the damaged letter BIN VI 205 reckoned with the arrival in Asia Minor of a consignment of 2 talents and 10 minas of *annakum za-ku-um* and told his correspondent how he should act in case the caravan leader intended to ship "this lead" to Bursušaddum.

were an Assyrian province,¹⁵ those continual exports of lead from Aššur to Cappadocia are not as surprising as it might seem. On the other hand, our Old Assyrian texts, as well as the Middle Assyrian sources and the observations of the excavators, preclude any doubt that throughout the centuries the people of Aššur used as medium of exchange lumps of lead, thin sheets of lead, lead wire and the like, silver and gold being as much as feasible reserved for payments of large sums and for hoarding.¹⁶ Consequently, the extraction of the silver from the lead ores at their disposal must have been of considerable importance for the Assyrian economy. But while close to mountains with large deposits of lead ores, the homeland of the Assyrians is likely to have been short of the fuel necessary for the generation of temperatures high enough to separate the silver from the lead. The continuous exports to Asia Minor of lead ores of which we read in hundreds of Kültepe texts may therefore be attributed to the necessity of desilverizing the lead in a well-wooded country which, as did Anatolia, also possessed labor skilled in the smelting of ores and all kinds of mining and metal work. It will be noted that this hypothesis accounts for the afore-mentioned shipping from Kanīš to Aššur of very considerable amounts of purified silver. That these large shipments and the simultaneous shipments of gold represent exclusively the profits obtained from the sale in Asia Minor of the textiles usually sent there together with the lead seems hardly possible.

Significant information about the quantities involved in the export of lead ores is found in a detailed bill of carriage which names as exporter a certain Indī-ilum whom we know from many letters, contracts and proceedings in court as one of the most prominent merchants of both Aššur and Kanīš. According to this source, a single caravan, designated as Indī-ilum's caravan, carried no less than four hundred and ten talents or some twenty-seven thousand pounds of lead.¹⁷ This means that this particular caravan of Indī-ilum's comprised about two-hundred sumplers; for ac-

¹⁵ See most recently *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXVII (1956), 33 ff.

¹⁶ Cf. Andrae, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 34 (1923-24), 2 ff.; *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 26 (1923), col. 589 f.

¹⁷ See VAT 9210, 39 ff.: *išēnāš 4 mi al 10 bilātum* "12 manāšā (lul edge) 4 annakum a-wi-l šlat" *Im-di-lim*.

cording to numerous cognate texts, many of which likewise concern Irdi-ilum, each of the two containers usually carried by a donkey held one talent and five minas or about seventy-two pounds. The ability of Irdi-ilum and his contemporaries to obtain at Aššur and to export to Anatolia year after year such large amounts of lead is in harmony with the fact, revealed by the excavations at Aššur, that some five-hundred years later king Tukulti-Ninurta I could afford to place in the foundations of the Ištar temple many blocks of lead, in part inscribed, each of which is reported to have a weight of about eight-hundred pounds or more.¹⁸

As revelatory as the letters and documents concerned with the export of textiles and lead from Aššur to Kaniš and the other trade centers of Asia Minor are the Kültepe texts which acquaint us not only with the copper trade but also with the use of copper as a medium of exchange, Anatolia being one of the regions in which copper served as money. Repeated references to a *subuppum* or "accumulation"¹⁹ out of which individual merchants were to receive several hundred or even a few thousand pounds of copper show that it was usual to assemble large stocks of copper.²⁰ Such a *subuppum* or "accumulation" used to be kept in

the *bīt kārīm*,²¹ that is in the building which the Assyrian government erected and maintained as bank, warehouse and administrative center in each of the major towns and district capitals designated as *kārum*.

An idea of the large quantities of copper which passed at Kaniš, Bursuḫaddum, Wuhāḫana and other major towns so designated through the government-owned warehouses can be had from letters relating to a copper shipment of no less than ten thousand minas or eleven thousand pounds.²² Between some major towns, the copper was shipped in wagons,²³ a fact which attests the existence in Anatolia of real highways long before the rulers of the Hittite Empire traveled by chariot; but we also hear of copper transports by donkey.²⁴ In many instances the overland shipments of copper were carried out for and by individual merchants, in other cases for the *kārum* which, being charged, inter alia, with the business of collecting and administering the revenue accruing to the Assyrian treasury from Anatolia, partook in the copper trade.²⁵

The explanation of this participation of the *kārum* Kaniš in the copper trade as well as in other commercial activities involving the exchange of goods comes, above all, from various texts according to which the tolls levied on copper and other commodities arriving at Kaniš used to be paid in kind. When combining this evidence with the contents of an official letter²⁶ dealing with an amount of silver to be sent from Kaniš to Aššur by order of the king of Aššur as a contribution to the cost of a fortification, we realize that the administration in Kaniš had necessarily to partake in business transactions by which the imported commodities were converted into silver.

As indicated by a terminology which comprises the self-explanatory expressions *erūm ma-si-um* "washed copper," *erūm da-mu-qū-um* "improved

¹⁸ See Andrae, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 54 (1914), 22; 24; 26; 28; 36; *Das wiedererstandene Assur* (Leipzig, 1933), p. 114.

¹⁹ That the rendering of *subuppum* tentatively proposed in ET II, pp. 49 f. had to be abandoned became clear with the emergence in TC III 90, 5 of the words *1 5/16 mānā 7 1/2 šigil karpam ša šu-ḫu-pi*. As this passage, as well as the passages quoted in ET II, p. 50, note c and BIN IV 160, 2 f. (*35 šilātū erūm šu-kan bit kārīm 2-na šu-ḫu-pi-in a-lā-gi*), pointed to the possibility that *subuppum* was a loan word meaning "accumulation", I asked my colleague, Dr. William Hallo the question as to whether he knew of a Sumerian term to which this signification might be attributed. To him I owe the reference to the so-called "Erste Tafel des dreispaltigen Ur-na-nāqu" (Landsberger, *Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon*, II [Roma, 1951], 126 ff.) which equates *šū-bāḫ/p* with *šū-ḫu-pu-um*, *šū-ḫu-pa-tum* and *šū-ḫu-lam*. Since, as was shown by Greenberg, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 71 (1951), 172 ff., Akkadian *šūbūm* and Hebrew *šegūlā* can safely be rendered by "accumulation", it is manifest that this is exactly the meaning of *subuppum* and that Landsberger's rendering of Sumerian *šū-ḫu-p* and its Akkadian equivalents (op. cit., p. 132) must be rectified accordingly.

²⁰ Cf. especially BIN IV 160, 2 f. (see the preceding footnote); OCT II 315, 21-23a (see ET II, p. 49, note a); EL 320, 2-7a; VAT 9258, 14 f.

²¹ See VAT 9258, 14 f.; BIN IV 160, 2 f.; EL 320, 2-6a.

²² See KTHu 14, 4; OCT II 13, 6. For a reference to thirty thousand minas of copper see Col. 14, 35.

²³ See, e.g., TC III 3, 10 ff.; KTS 30, 15 ff.; OCT II 315, 13 ff.; BIN VI 94, 8 ff.

²⁴ OCT III 1, 12 ff.; TC II 33, 23 ff.; L 29-589, 15 ff.

²⁵ See EL 320, 2-6a; further evidence to the same effect comes from an official letter (addressed to the *kārum* Kaniš) the publication of which by Dr. Labor Matouš is to be expected in the near future.

²⁶ TC I. For a full discussion of this important document see *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXVII (1956), 65 ff.

copper," *erūm la-mu-nu-um* "bad copper," *erūm za-lā-mu-um* "black copper," and as confirmed by the prices quoted, one traded in Cappadocia with refined copper as well as copper ores. No less significant than these terms are expressions such as *erūm damqum Ti-iš-mu-ur-na-i-um* or *erūm ma-si-um ša Ti-iš-mu-ur-na* "washed copper from Tišmurna" and quite a few analogous designations likewise mentioning towns of Asia Minor and, possibly, Northern Syria.²⁷ There is evidence that some expressions of this type refer to Anatolian industrial centers in which copper ores were refined; others acquaint us with the names of Anatolian places in the vicinity of which copper ores were mined. The town of Haburat which furnished the highly priced *erūm damqum Haburataim* is most likely to have been such a place. This follows, on the one hand, from the obvious identity of its name with that of Gabira or *ῥα Κούβερα*,²⁸ a town in Pontus known from Latin and Greek sources and usually identified with the present Niksar,²⁹ and, on the other hand, from Strabo's description of this residence of Mithradates the Great, a description which ends with a reference to near-by *μέταλλα* or "mines."³⁰ The identification of Haburat with Gabira, we may observe, must be taken into consideration all the more since the town of Talaura which figures likewise in the reports on Mithradates' wars with the Romans³¹ may well be identical with the town known from the Hittite sources as Tiliuraš and from our Old Assyrian tablets apparently as both Tiliura and Tiliura.³²

While attesting a copper trade of a very re-

markable volume which, as we have seen, extended over vast regions of Anatolia, our sources say nothing about transactions in bronze.³³ In view of the results of the excavations and the documentary evidence this is somewhat unexpected. For much as the tombs of the Assyrians yielded bronze utensils and breast plates and other pieces of jewelry made of bronze,³⁴ letters and proceedings in court concerned with the property left by Assyrian residents of Kanis,³⁵ as well as other inventories,³⁶ mention

²⁷ Bilgiç, *Sumerooloji Araştırmaları* 1940-1941 (Istanbul 1941), p. 235 errs in contending that the term *šip-ru-tum*, found e.g., in OCT 21, 2; OCT IV 28, 22; TC II 54, x + 10; TC III 156, 6; TC III 159, 6; KIS 12, 20; BIN VI 121, 7; KTHahn 6, 5, ought to be linked with *šiparrum* "bronze." It obviously escaped his attention that the lines 382 and 392 of Bargon's report on his eighth campaign mention *šip-ru-ti kaspi* and *šip-ru-ti eri*, and that *šip-ru-ti kaspi* manifestly means much the same as Old Assyrian *šip-ru-tum ša kaspin*. Consequently, passages such as BIN IV 227, 10 ff. (*tu 1/3 manā'em kaspin* "šā šā šā lu-lu-ni" "ša 1 šiglin kaspin šip-ru-tim" "šā-bi-lam"), OCT IV 28, 22 f. (*šip-ru-tim* "šā 2 šiglin kaspin ša-ma-ma...") and L 29-566, 24 f. (*šip-ru-tim ša kaspin* "šā šiglin šā-bi-lam") corroborate the view advanced in EL II, p. 187, viz. that in speaking of *šiparrum* the Kültepe texts refer to a sort of currency comparable with the *ἀσκαί* of the Greeks and, like the latter, constituting "Metallgerätgeld." When comparing the *šiparrum* with the *ἀσκαί* and describing the latter as "Spieschen" or "little pikes", I implied, of course, that both Old Assyrian *šiparrum* and Neo-Assyrian *šiparru* belong to *šiparru* "to be pointed", *šipru* "finger nail", "claw" etc.; cf. also Hebrew *šipporen* "finger nail", stile for writing.

²⁸ See most recently Tahsin and Nimet Nigüç, *Kültepe Kazısı Raporu* (Ausgrabungen in Kültepe) 1949 (Ankara, 1953), pp. 67 ff. (= pp. 191 ff. of the German version).

²⁹ See, e.g., TC III 96, 3rd ff.: *a* [lu]-mi "ša hū a-bi-ku-um" "ša lu-lu-pu-ra-ni" "un-ma a-ta-ma" "nu-ka-ti i-na mu-na-ti-iz" "mu-lā tē-zi-ba-ri" "ša-up-ra-ma i-zi-ni" "pi-ti zi-na kaspin" "šā erūm i-na" "šā-lu-lu-ni šā-lā" "tē-zi-ib lu šiparrum" "tu ba-pi-ri-iz" "šā 1 lē-m 5" "ni-at šā-ma-ma tē-zi-ib" "Concerning the (matter) 'of your father's house, 'with regard to which you wrote me" "Write me and 'inform me 'how much 'my elder sister (I) 'left 'when she died'. (I report the following:) "She left "10 silver "and copper in "your house: "She left "bronze, "as well as cakes of dried mash, "and one thousand (and) 5 "hundred (sacks of) wheat". Cf. further EL 242, 8th-15: "Upon the death 'of our mother and our sister, (there was) "silver, her "silver "cup (thus against my former tentative rendering in EL I, p. 252) "and "much "bronze, "and (this) "got lost "in "our father's house."

³⁰ TC III 113. Whereas the inventory included in the letter TC III 113 mentions in L 20 fifty shekels of bronze, an unpublished inventory tablet (shown to me

²⁷ For some of the relevant passages see J. Lowy, *Die Kültepetexte der Sammlung Rudolf Blancherts* (Berlin, 1929), p. 24 and EL I, p. 134, note a; Bilgiç, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 15 (1943-44), 33 ff.

²⁸ It might be well to recall at this point that quite a few of the non-Semitic proper names in *t* (or *ta*) which figure in the Kültepe texts or in younger sources likewise relating to Asia Minor and the adjacent regions are known to alternate with *t*-less variants. See *Orientalia*, 21 (1952), 395 ff.

²⁹ Cf. Anderson, *Studia Pontica*, I, 86; Cumont, *ibidem*, II, 201.

³⁰ See Strabo VII 3 § 30.

³¹ See Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, III^o (Berlin, 1909), 63 and 77, who locates Talaura on the boundary of Lesser Armenia.

³² For the references and for the personal name *Tē-lu-ru-ma-um* which attests the existence of Tiliuraš for the Old Assyrian period, see Götz, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 40 (1931), 261.

large amounts of bronze or bronze dishes³⁷ and the like. However, this seeming anomaly can be accounted for by noting that two of our texts refer to an officer designated as *rabi kaktê* or "administrator of the weapons"³⁸ and that another tablet mentions a *rabi siparrim* or "administrator of bronze."³⁹ From the title "administrator of the weapons" it can be concluded that the weapons available in Cappadocia were under the supervision of the government; similarly, the title "administrator of bronze" suggests government control of the metal by the use of which for the manufacture of arms one obtained the best weapons known in the 19th pre-Christian century, bronze weapons being far superior to weapons made of unalloyed copper. In other words, it appears that, when conquering and colonizing parts of Asia Minor, the Assyrians took precautions to prevent the natives from acquiring new weapons. It goes without saying that such a policy was certainly accompanied by regulations which made it unlawful for Assyrian merchants established in the conquered lands to engage in the bronze trade. But it might be well to point out on the basis of a well-known biblical tradition that policies inspired by the desire to prevent conquered nations from manufacturing the newest and most effective weapons were to the ancients as familiar as they are to us. I refer to the story of Israel's deliverance from the Philistines who garrisoned the Holy Country in the beginning of the Iron Age. According to this story, no iron smith⁴⁰ was found throughout the

country of Israel because the Philistine conquerors were afraid lest the Israelites would manufacture swords or spears. Incidentally, if the continuation of the biblical story relates that king Saul and his son and heir apparent possessed sword and spear, thus implying that the princes of the conquered nation were privileged to carry arms as good as those of their overlords,⁴¹ this fact bears likewise upon our theme. It shows that our conclusions as to the reasons why the Kültepe texts say nothing about a trade in bronze are not invalidated by the recent find at Kanis of a bronze dagger inscribed with the name of a native prince.⁴²

Since the best bronze is an alloy of copper and tin, and since the acquaintance of our Assyrians with tin is attested by occasional references to *annupû ša annûlim*, or "rings made of tin,"⁴³ it obviously is necessary at this point to raise the question as to whether our explanation of the silence of the Kültepe texts with regard to business transactions in bronze is compatible with the contents of the comparatively few letters, business notes and juridical documents relating to tin, and, especially, to the purchase and sale of tin.⁴⁴ A first and very illuminating result of a survey of these sources is the observation that the turnover in tin was minimal in as much as most of the

From the
Samuel

From the Stone Age to Christianity (Baltimore, 1940), pp. 221 f.

³⁷ Cf. Auerbach, op. cit., p. 173.

³⁸ See Tahsin Özgüç, *Bulleten* No. 77 (January 1956), pp. 33 f. and cf. J. Lewy, *Orientalia*, 26 (1957), 15 with notes 4 and 5.

³⁹ See Göl. 13.1; TC III 209.7. Cf. further the GUBILLA(a)UDU ša a-mu-lim and the ša-la-am-ša-am ša KÜ. AN mentioned in CCT IV 36^b-37^a, 12 and Oxford 248, x + 8, respectively. As was first noted by Landsberger, *Symbolae Hrozný*, III (Prague, 1930), 331, note 14, certain texts substitute for *annûlim* (or its ideogram KÜ. AN) the term *zû'am* or use *annûlim* and *zû'am* alternately. Whereas I concurred for some years with Landsberger in the assumption that *annûlim* and *zû'am* are designations of (meteoric) iron, I now adhere again to the view that KÜ. AN denotes tin. Most of the data which compel me to do so will be found in the following pages. See also above, p. 91, note 11.

⁴⁰ References to shipments of, and business transactions in, tin (*awûlmu*) are found in Liv. 5; KTS 3^a; KTS 5^a; KTS 9^a; KTS 39^a; KTHah 10; BIN IV 45; BIN IV 60; BIN IV 233; BIN VI 28; CCT II 16^a + 17^a; CCT II 37^a; CCT III 17^b; CCT III 36^a + 37^a; CCT IV 4^a; CCT IV 22^a; CCT IV 34^a; CCT IV 38^a; KIP 27; TC II 9; BL 331 (and duplicate; cf. also EL 332); ICK 1; ICK 29 (cf. above, pp. 91 f., note 11 in fine); ICK 35; ICK 63 and in unpublished texts such as WAG 48/1463 and VAT 18534.

some twenty five years ago by Professor Böhl lists, inter alia, five talents of wool and four talents of bronze.

³⁷ *Itquratum ša siparrim*; see especially CCT IV 20^a, 7; CCT III 20, 7; 9 f. and cf. my remarks in *Orientalia*, II (1950), 17 f.

³⁸ See TC III 158, 8 f.; BIN IV 163, 4.

³⁹ The unpublished text (Giesseu 3-6) which refers to the *rabi siparrim* begins as follows: "22 manā'a kaspum išt-ti 'Da-da-a mēr išt-na-a' 25 manā'a kaspum išt-ti 'Ka-lu-ma-a mēr A-šer-i-ni-ti' 2 manā'a kaspum išt-ti amātim³⁹ 4 'a wardim 1 manā'a kaspum 'a-na qā-ti-ša e-ši-it' 4 bilātum 17 manā'a erīum 1 manā'um 19 šigla hurāqum 20⁴⁰ H. 9A 1 manā'um 17 šigla 'rabi siparrim ša kaspim' 21 1/3 manā'um kaspum ša rabi šitim (7). After a blank space, the same text continues as follows: "mi-na a-wi-a a-na (edge) 22⁴¹ Ta-ri-i-na-tim 22⁴² biltum erīum išt-ti 22⁴³ H. na-nim mēr Ba-bi-di (rev.) 22⁴⁴ biltum 50 manā'a erīum 22⁴⁵ H. išt-na-a mēr Da-da-a 'na kabiša 15 manā'a erīum E-la-na-na 22⁴⁶ i-di-nim 15 manā'a erīum 22⁴⁷ a-šer-i-ni-ti 11 manā'a erīum 22⁴⁸ išt-ti 2 emmer⁴⁹ A.

⁴⁰ See 1 Samuel 13.19 LXX and cf. Auerbach, *Wüste und Gelobtes Land* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 172 ff.; Albright,

consignments of tin amounted to less than one ounce and a half. It is true, a so far unique letter⁴⁵ mentions a shipment of one mina, or about one and one tenth pound of tin. But as the same letter terminates in a report to the effect that upon being smelted this large amount of one mina was reduced to two thirds of a shekel or less than one sixth of an ounce,⁴⁶ it is clear that that exceptionally large shipment consisted in tin ore which yielded about one per cent pure tin, a fact, incidentally, which shows that the tin ore in question was of much the same quality as the ores of the famous Cornish tin mines which are supposed to have been worked since about 500 B. C.⁴⁷ By describing small amounts of tin as a *sahartum*, i. e. as a (metalliferous) lump or nugget,⁴⁸ some of the pertinent texts⁴⁹ reveal, on the other hand, that our Assyrian merchants traded also with the so-called stream-tin which is much purer, and, accordingly, much more valuable than the tin ore mined in Cornwall.

The small volume of the tin trade does not, however, imply that the trade centers of Cappadocia offered no market for this commodity. On the contrary, since, according to the quotations found in a few letters, one obtained for one shekel of tin thirty-five to forty or even ninety-five shekels

of silver,⁵⁰ it is obvious that the demand for tin, and especially for stream-tin, was heavy. Another piece of evidence which points in the same direction comes from several letters and proceedings in court all of which concern the efforts of a businessman at Kaniš, a certain Innāa, to buy what these texts call *asīum ma'dum*, that is "much tin" and not "much iron," as was erroneously supposed first by Landsberger and subsequently by myself in previous attempts to understand the events alluded to in this group of documents.⁵¹ So far as our present investigation is concerned, two points mentioned in the law-suit which resulted from that purchase of tin are of particular interest. On the one hand, we see that Innāa was so eager to obtain the metal that he advanced no less than two and a half pounds of gold to the man who promised to buy it for him in Anatolia and to deliver it to him secretly at Kaniš. There is little doubt that the expectation to resell the tin with enormous profits was behind such action on the part of an older and experienced merchant whose sons, associates and agents were established in many an Anatolian town. On the other hand, we learn that, to cite the proceedings in court just referred to, Innāa "feared for his head"⁵² when, contrary to his promises and his instructions, the proponent of the transaction acted so that the "palace", that is the government at Kaniš, learned that he was in the possession of some fifteen shekels of tin which were to be delivered to Innāa. At first sight, the allusion to Innāa's "fear for his head" is somewhat obscure. But as one of the relevant letters relates that the government watched his house,⁵³ it is permissible to attribute Innāa's apprehensiveness to the fact that clandestine purchases of tin were forbidden and punishable. This

⁴⁵ OCT IV 40.

⁴⁶ In view of a passage of the important letter KTS 30, which will be analyzed below, p. 101, we note that the text here under discussion describes those $\frac{2}{3}$ of a shekel of tin as a *kisrum*, i. e. a compact piece; see II. 380 ff.: *a-mu-tám* ⁵⁰*iq ru up šī na 2/3 šiqām* ⁴⁸*ki-ig-ru-um e-šī-am*. This fact suggests that, in the technical language of the Old Assyrian merchants, *kisrum* denoted neither a lump of ore nor a native metal such as meteoric iron or stream-tin but rather a piece of metal extracted from the ore by smelting.

⁴⁷ On the tin ores of Cornwall see, e. g., Ost, *Lehrbuch der chemischen Technologie*⁴⁸ (Leipzig, 1932), p. 868.

⁴⁸ That this is the signification of the nomen unitatis *sahartum* in passages such as OCT IV 34f, 15 is strongly suggested by the occurrence of Sumerian *sahar* and its Akkadian equivalent *opru* in the sense of metalliferous soil; cf. also the use of Hebrew *šār* in the sense of "ore" (Job 28.2; 6).

⁴⁹ An unpublished memorandum shown to me at Kayseri in 1925 mentions (in a passage to be compared with OCT IV 34f, 16) *5 šiqā a-mu-tám šā-ša-ar-tám*. The unpublished letter VAT 13 534, which relates the division of a shipment of half a mina of tin (see II. 3 f.: *42 manācu a-mu-tám Pazur-štur ub-lam*), distinguishes in II. 13 ff. between a *sahartum* of $15\frac{1}{2}$ shekels, 24 grains (said to be worth 85 shekels of silver per shekel) and a *sahartum* of $2\frac{1}{2}$ shekels, 15 grains (said to be worth 40 shekels of silver per shekel).

⁵⁰ See the preceding footnote and cf. BIN VI 28, 21 f. and KTS 39f, 22 f., respectively.

⁵¹ See *Symbolae Hrosvy*, III, 331 ff. and *ibidem*, IV, 423 ff., respectively, and cf. above, p. 95, note 43.

⁵² See ICK 1, 67: *a-na qā-gī-dī-šu(!) ip-tā-ah-ma* That, as first suggested by Landsberger, *qaggidū* is a scribal error for *qaggidū* follows with fair certainty from BL 296, 14 f.

⁵³ Thus according to KTS 37f, 14 ff.; cf. *Symbolae Hrosvy*, IV (1950), p. 423, note 384. Note also that TC III 71, a letter addressed to Innāa, speaks in the following terms of an investigation (*biritum*) into Innāa's affairs: "Here we heard that the palace investigated you, and we did not believe it until we heard a clear statement. We asked Iši-Sin, the packer (!) of the firm of Enna-Sin, and he said 'They also detain the gentleman'".

conclusion is strongly supported by the implications of two letters which one of the most influential merchants of Kaniš received from friends of his in Aššur to whom he was wont to send his orders for goods to be shipped to Anatolia. In one of these letters the impossibility to fill an order for tin is attributed to the fact that a certain government office in the capital, the so-called *bīt kīmim*, would not supply this commodity.⁶⁴ In the other message the agent in Aššur reports that he and his associates were about to obtain from the *kīmum*-officer a pledge and would buy the tin provided it would become available.⁶⁵ Since the officer referred to is known to have held one of the highest administrative posts, the implications of these messages are obvious: they indicate that the tin trade was

controlled by the government so that without the consent and the cooperation of the responsible officers this commodity could legally neither be purchased nor be shipped over land. As Cappadocia was an Assyrian domain, it is therefore also clear that the authorities at Kaniš watched Innāša's house because he was under the suspicion of having violated the law.

In distinction from the source material so far quoted, the numerous texts relating to the trade in wool, hides, fleeces, rugs or mats and the like provide us with some direct evidence that the government in Aššur decided which commodities could be exported to Asia Minor. On the whole, these texts leave not the slightest doubt that, in addition to all sorts of cloths, raw wool, fleeces and similar goods were much in demand in Anatolia and that the Assyrian merchants established in the major and minor places of Cappadocia were eager to obtain and to sell all these commodities. Various texts concern shipments of some twelve to twenty-four talents of wool,⁶⁶ and one letter even mentions the efforts of a certain businessman to negotiate contracts for no less than sixty talents or about four thousand pounds of wool.⁶⁷ To be sure, large quantities of wool came from places such as Balihum in Western Mesopotamia,⁶⁸ Luhsuaddia in Cilicia⁶⁹ and Mamma,⁷⁰ which lay on the highway

⁶⁴ See TC II 2, 3 ff.: *a šu-mi a-mu-tim ā hu-sā-ri 'ka ta-dā-pu-ra-ni bīt kīmim 'ū-lā i-du-na*. As I stated repeatedly, *amūtum* appears here in the same close connection with *hušurum* (pl. *hušurū*) as in the aforementioned letter KTN 30. As we shall see below, p. 101, the tin and the *hušurū* mentioned in that letter were sent to Cappadocia by the Assyrian king (or, rather, *išši'ak Aššur*) Irkum I who, in the quality of highest priest of the god Aššur, gave orders to have a throne for this deity insaid with *hušurum* or, as his Kültepe inscription writes, *hušurum*. Therefore, and because *hušurum* was the name of a precious stone (probably haematite; see *Israel Exploration Journal*, V [1935], 155 ff.), the passage here under discussion invites a comparison with a statement in the so-called Gudea Cylinder A to the effect that there were, in the temple treasury of Lagaš, *sa ka-an-na* "(precious) stones (and) tin". (See XXVIII, 14. The usual rendering "precious stones, precious metals (and) lead", which is based on the supposition that *ka* and *an-na* denote here two different substances, is not convincing because Gudea is not likely to have boasted about the presence in the treasury of the cheapest of the metals then known.) The comparison of our Old Assyrian passage from TC II 2 with Gudea's statement suggests that the Assyrian establishment which supplied the precious metals and stones corresponded to the temple treasury at Lagaš: it thus tends to define the *bīt kīmim* at Aššur as the treasury of the Aššur temple and, consequently, to support to some extent the thesis of Probel, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 1 (1942), 280 that the "care for the sanctuary and the cult of Aššur" was "the basis for the *hamu* institution." That the *hamu* officials were actually concerned with financial matters is corroborated by documents such as EL 298 and EL 225 (II, 1-14; cf. EL I, p. 217). They show that *hamu* were stationed at Kaniš and acted on behalf of the *kārum* Kaniš which, in turn, fulfilled, as already mentioned above, p. 90, note 7, the tasks of a local "treasury" or "revenue office" of the Assyrian central government.

⁶⁵ See TC II 23, 31 ff.: *a šu-mi 'a-ki-im ka ta-dā-pu-ra-ni 'ū-lā-ma-am ni-kā-si-ma 'šū-ma i-tā-dā-šī a ma-lā 'tē-er-tā-kā ni-lā-gā*.

⁶⁶ See, e.g., ICK 171, 19b ff. (12 *bilātum* 50 *mandā*š *šapātum* *u* *a-na šu-ku-ti-im 'a-si-š*) and BIN IV 181, 1 ff. (24 *bilātum* 20 *mandā*š *'ka-āp-tum 'a [Lu]-ku-sā-dā*).

⁶⁷ See BIN VI 76, 13 ff. Cf. further the letter CCT IV 47^a where we hear of sixty talents of white and twenty talents of red wool.

⁶⁸ See BIN VI 176, 5 f. and cf. *Orientalia*, 15 (1946), 384 f.

⁶⁹ See, e.g., BIN VI 176, 6 ff., BIN IV 181, 1 ff. and CCT IV 6^a, 23; on the location of Luhsuaddia see *Orientalia*, 21 (1952), 291 f. As for fleecy hides (*maškū šapātum*) and woolen fabrics (*pī-ri-kā-ru*; see presently, note 64) which were acquired in Luhsuaddia, see BIN IV 162 and its quasi-duplicates. A consignment of 187 hides (*maškū*) which came likewise from Luhsuaddia is recorded in CCT 40^a, 1 ff. A reference to ten talents of wool to be obtained at *hu-ru-ma*, which lay not far from Luhsuaddia (see loc. cit., p. 292), occurs in EL 243 A, 13 ff.; cf. EL II, p. 186.

⁷⁰ See especially TC III 65, 18 ff. (*ša 2 šigla karpina ša-āp-tim 'ša Ma-a-ma na-ri-š-tim 'a-ra-ak-tim da-mi-ig-tim 'ū-lā ar-tim 'ša-ma-ma 'Ašad-ha-ni 'tu-ub-lam*) and cf. von Soden, *Orientalia*, 24 (1955), 390 f., who, however, failed to make the necessary distinction between *ša Ma-a-ma* (l. 18) and *ša-ma-ma* "purchase!" (l. 22). Like Luhsuaddia (see the preceding footnote), Mamma belonged to the places from where wool and woolen

from Uršū to Kaniš,⁶⁷ and we shall not err in assuming that many a caravan en route from Aššur to Cappadocia had instructions to pick up wool in those towns. But the highly valued sort of wool which was called *šapūm šarbuittum* and was used for the manufacture of "fine" *kušānu* cloth was exported from Aššur.⁶⁸ Hence it is most interesting to note that a certain Pūšu-kēn, who is known to us as one of the wealthiest and most prominent businessmen of Kaniš, received from his agents in the Assyrian capital a letter which begins as follows: "Here decisions have been made because of the fleecy cloths⁶⁹ and the covers,⁷⁰ the woolen

blankets,⁷¹ and many people have been punished. And as for you, they made you give ten minas of silver; you will pay one mina of silver per year!" After briefly turning to another matter, Pūšu-kēn's agents concluded their report with the following appeal and warning: "Please, do not put out your

fabrics were exported; see TC 43, 24 ff. (*pi-ri-kā-ni aš-mu-tim* ¹ša-na-ma šš-bi-lā-nim ²pi-ri-kā-ni ša ta-lā-qi-a-ni ³tu aš-mu-ū) and cf. *ibidem*, II, 3 f. and 12 f. (According to a collation done by me in 1932, II, 3 f. begin as follows: *la-ma pi-ri-kā-ni* ¹ša Ma-xi||-ma ša kaspim 5|| ²maš-ū ³šš-ti-kā|| ⁴š a-ta ta-bi-lā|| ⁵š-š||-ru-ni-ka-na-ti; II, 12 f. run as follows: ¹šš-ū a-nu-ti-ma ²pi-ri-kā-ni lu-ub-lā-nim ³a-pu-tam pi-ri-kā-ni ⁴š ta-lā-qi-a-ni ⁵tu damqū lu-ra-bū-ū.)

⁶⁷ See *Orientalia*, 21 (1952), 288 f.

⁶⁸ Thus according to the passages cited in KTHahn, pp. 2 f. from the letters TC II 7 and TC II 14; that these lengthy messages were written in Aššur and deal with purchases made and to be made in the Assyrian capital city follows with certainty from the details as well as from the names of several persons they mention.

⁶⁹ This tentative rendering of *(šabū)šā-pā-tim* is based, on the one hand, on the assumption that it belongs to Syriac *špūdā*, for which Frankel, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 17 (1903), 88 may be consulted, and, on the other hand, on the observation that it occurs here as well as in KTS 54b in connection with woolen fabrics. Note that KTS 30b, 3 ff. deal with the purchase of *šapūm* in the town of Ibbūm where, according to the Aššur text No. 7, wool was an article of trade.

⁷⁰ We propose this rendering of *pi-ri-kā-nu* and its variants *pā-ra-kā-nu* (L 23-584, 12) and *pi-ra-kā-nu* (e.g., Gelb, No. 55, 19; 24; 46) for the following reasons: In our passage the *pi-ri-kā-nu* appear in connection with a woolen material, viz. *epi-šu šā-pā-tim*. Therefore, and because it follows from EL 284, 19b f. (*pi-ri-kā-ni* ¹a-na lu-ba-ūš-tim) ²bilamū-tim ³ša-na-ma) and BIN IV 78, 8b ff. (see presently) that *pi-ri-kā-nu* were used for the manufacture of garments, the term seems to denote a woolen fabric. This is all the more likely since we learn from BIN IV 162, 31 ff. = Gelb, No. 55, 19 ff., on the one hand, and TC III 65, 13 ff. and TC 43 (see above, note 60), on the other, that *pi-ri-kā-nu* were for sale in the towns of Lulusuddia and Mama, from both of which wool used to be exported to Cappadocia in large quantities. When noting (1) that the addressees of the letter BIN VI 10 were asked to purchase wool (*šapūm*) or hides (*maš-ū*) or *pi-ri-kā-nu* and (2) that *pi-ri-kā-nu* figure in L 20 561, 28; 34 and VAT 9254, 4 ff. (see KTHahn, p. 51) in connection with *maš-ū* and in BIN

IV 162, 30 f. = Gelb, No. 55, 18 f. in connection with *maš-ū šapūm*, we arrive at much the same conclusion; for "thick hides" are probably woolen fleeces identical with, or similar to, the sheepskins used since very early times for the manufacture of the so-called kaurakes. (For a large shipment of *maš-ū* from Lulusuddia see above, note 59.) Additional evidence to the same effect comes from the passage BIN IV 78, 8b ff. (*pi-ri-kā-ni* ¹ša lu-ba-ūš pū-ša-ri ²ša mi-nu-ni-a-nu lu i-pi-šu ³ša pi-ri-kā-ni ša a-na ⁴tu-ba-ši-im da-nu-ni-ma) which links *pi-ri-kā-nu* with the so-called *mi-nu-ni-a-nu*; for the latter figure in KTHahn I, 17 ff. together with cloaks (*ku-si-a-tum*) from Mama and *maš-ki šā-pā-tim* "hides of wool" or "fleeces". If, finally, BIN IV 78, 8b ff. seems to imply that the *pi-ri-kā-nu* were more or less the same as *i-pi-šu* or "saddle-rugs" (see presently, note 65), this is not surprising since the same sorts of woolen fabrics obviously lent themselves to use as saddle-cloths and blankets as well as heavy garments. As for *emrū ša pi-ri-kā-ni* see, e.g., TC III 192, 7; 28.

⁷¹ Our proposal to attribute to *epi-šu šā-pā-tim* the signification "woolen blankets" is based, above all, on the letter Oxford 425 (*Anakeke Orientalia*, 6 [1933], pls. IV f.), which Pūšu-kēn addressed to the *šarum* of Nihria. From II, 4 f. (*1* pūšūm e||-pi-ša-am *2* emrūm ³[Amu]rrum-ba-ni ab-lam) and II, 17 f. (*1* šūlū ²šū||-im emrūm *3* šūlū ⁴šū-im) *1* pūšūm ²epi-šu-im) of his message it is learned that one Amurru bāni, who obviously journeyed from Aššur via Nihria to Kaniš, acquired at Nihria a *pūšūm epi-šu-am* together with a donkey. The rare term *epi-šu*, which recurs in TC III 91, 33 f. (*ša 7 šūlū kaspim* ¹epi-šu-am) and TC III 132, 1 (*1* ma-ku-ša lu epi-šu), may therefore be combined with *hōfēš* "saddle-cloth" (Ex. 27, 20) from which Delitzsch inferred the existence of a Hebrew verb *h-f-š* II "to spread out". Since, as already mentioned, woolen blankets can be used as saddle rugs as well as for the manufacture of heavy garments, our conclusions as to the etymology and meaning of the term are clearly compatible with the above-cited passage BIN IV 78, 8b ff. according to which *mi-nu-ni-a-nu*, *i-pi-šu* and *pi-ri-kā-nu* were materials from which clothes were made. Against Dilg, *Die einheimischen Appellative der kappadokischen Texte und ihre Bedeutung für die anatolischen Sprachen* (Ankara, 1954), p. 71, I see no reason for combining the appellative *epi-šu* here under discussion with the proper name appearing in BIN IV 162, 30. In view of TC III 65, 3 f., there is no doubt that *i-pi-ša* (var. *i-pi-šu*) is the name of a man and must be compared with the name *Tāb-pi-A-šar* (CCT II 9, 46; var. *Tāb-pi-A-šur*: COT II 8, 21) as well as with the Middle Assyrian name *tan-pi-A-šur-likim*, for which Kiehl, *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen*

hand for fleecy cloths and covers and do not purchase (thereof)! Your family and your personnel are well. The decisions of the city are firm!"⁶⁶ Unfortunately, this letter does not say why "the city", that is the ruling body of the capital city of Assyria, made those so-called decisions or firm orders. But since, besides Pūzu-kēn, many other people were punished, and since the fine imposed upon him was heavy—it corresponded to about one and one-third American pound of gold—it would appear that regulations which made the purchase and exportation of those woollen commodities unlawful had been disregarded by quite a few merchants.

This interpretation of the punitive action of the authorities at Aššur is in line with a few pieces of information which give us an idea of the economic policies of the governments in the epoch with which we are concerned. An Old Babylonian letter in the Louvre Museum⁶⁷ includes a remark to the effect that the free movement of a staple food, namely of *dates*, was established in a certain town, but was not established in the city of Babylon. Similarly, one of the early inscriptions from Aššur⁶⁸ states that king Irišum I, whose reign of forty years lasted from, approximately, 1941 to

1902 B. C., established the free movement of silver, gold, copper, lead, wheat, wool and two or three cheap commodities the last and certainly cheapest of which was chaff.⁶⁹

As Irišum I was the grandfather of that king Šarrum-kēn whose seal appears, as we have mentioned, on the envelopes of certain Kültepe texts, it is obviously indicated to compare the information contained in the earlier ruler's statement on his economic policies with the evidence so amply provided by the business records from Kanīš. So far as metals are concerned, we noted already that the Assyrians established in Cappadocia did no business at all in bronze, but traded in lead, silver, gold and copper; as regards the traffic in small amounts of tin, we found it to have been illegal unless this most expensive metal was obtained from a government office at Aššur. This being so, and since Irišum's statement speaks expressly of silver, gold, copper and lead but says nothing about bronze and tin, it is manifest that the metal trade in Assyria and Anatolia was actually so organized as to conform with the economic principles enunciated by Šarrum-kēn's grandfather. Since, as already stated, the Kültepe texts attest a flourishing trade in wool, and since they also deal with major transactions in wheat,⁷⁰ and mention occasionally payments for chaff,⁷¹ the same can be said in respect to the other commodities enumerated in king Irišum's statement. Therefore and because of the significant find at Kanīš of two copies of a detailed and in many respects unique inscription in which Irišum professes his belief in the god Aššur and describes his own solicitude for, and the glory of, Aššur's temple, it is imperative to raise at this point the question whether this king was the ruler who settled vast regions of Anatolia with Assyrians and enabled several generations of Assyrian merchants to trade in those distant lands.

The evidence to be considered when trying to answer this intriguing question comes mainly from an unpublished document in Philadelphia which I saw a few months ago when Professor Kramer graciously permitted me to study an unpublished collection of Kültepe texts bequeathed to the University Museum by Hermann V. Hilprecht. Lfke

Gesellschaft, XIII/1 (1939), 49 proposed the reading *ina-gibi-Aššur-ti-lin*.

⁶⁶ The Assyrian text of this letter (VAT 9290), parts of which I cited previously, runs as follows: "um-ma A-šur-ba-ni-ū 'Ša-ba-a-kur-ka a-na 'Pu-ku-ki-in qī-bi-ma 'a-na-ham a-wa-tum a Ša-mi 'nubliššū šā-āp-dī-ni-ū 'pī-ri-kā-ni e-pi-ki 'šā-pā-lim i-bi-šā-na 'ya-ba-um ma-lā-um 'a-na ar-nim te-dī-in 'ā-lu-a-ti 10 manā'ē kašpam 'ā-ša-dū-m-kā '1 manā'um 'A kašpam (edge) '11-na ša-lim (rev.) '12-ka-gal '12½ manā'ē kašpam 'a-na šā-pā-lim '13 šē-ep 'Ka-lu-na-a '14-ni-ū-qi-a-ham kašpam '15 ā-pā-sū šē-bi-lam '16-pu-lum a-wa šā-āp-dī-ni-ū '17 pī-ri-kā-ni '18-ga-at-kā lā-tū-ba-al-ma '19-lu-ta-ša-am bi-it-kā '20-gā-ru-kā '21-šā-mu a-wa-at '22-nim' da-na."

⁶⁷ AO 6322 (published by Dossin, *Lettres de la première dynastie babylonienne*, I [Paris, 1933], No. 14 and transliterated and translated by Ebeling, *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, XV, 1/2 [Leipzig, 1942], 16).

⁶⁸ Aššur 16850 (published by Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, II [Leipzig, 1922], No. 11). For a translation by Meissner in which, however, the signification "exemption from taxes" is attributed to the term for "free movement," "unrestricted traffic" (*andārārum*) see *Altorientalische Bibliothek*, I [Leipzig, 1926], 19 ff. sub 7. That Meissner erred in his rendering of *er'um*, to which he ascribed the meaning "bronze" instead of "copper", was noted by Schwenzner as early as 1931; see *Archiv für Orientalforschung*, 7, 249.

⁶⁹ Cf. the Old Babylonian idiom *štu pē adi hurdašim* and its explanation by Kohler and Ungnad, *Handbuch der Gesetze*, V (Leipzig, 1911), p. 119.

⁷⁰ See, e.g., BIN IV 175, 1 ff. and cf. H. Lewy, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 76 (1956), 202.

⁷¹ See, for instance, Col. 13, 11^b f.

But what does this prove?

a similar document in the Archaeological Museum at Istanbul which also concerns the business affairs of a certain Asqudum, that text of the former Hilprecht Collection is a message which Pûšu-kên, the afore-mentioned prominent businessman of Kaniš, received from the *waklum*. But whereas owing to the loss of their envelopes the few other messages of the *waklum* to residents of Kaniš could not with certainty be defined as royal letters, the Philadelphia text removes the previous doubts as to the identity of the so-called *waklum* with the Assyrian king.⁷² For its envelope, the major part of which is well preserved, shows remnants of impressions unquestionably made with the well-known seal of king Šarrum-kên.⁷³

As already intimated, the topic of Šarrum-kên's message to Pûšu-kên are the affairs of one Asqu-

dum who figures in altogether three royal letters.⁷⁴ But only the Philadelphia text with the king's request to seize assets of Asqudum in the amount of at least one talent of silver makes it certain that this businessman of Kaniš was the king's debtor because the royal house of Aššur participated in the most gainful trade with Asia Minor in the same way as the temples and the wealthy citizens of Aššur, namely by financing merchants who established themselves at Kaniš.⁷⁵ We say the royal house of Aššur in view of the opening lines of Šarrum-kên's message in which the king refers to an interview in the city of Aššur in the following terms: "Here my father instructed you saying 'If you are my son, if you love me, seize Asqudum's money!'"⁷⁶ This shows that the king's claim to the agreed share in Asqudum's profits antedated Šarrum-kên's accession to the throne and had already been asserted by his father and predecessor, king Ikūnum.

Before quoting an equally important passage of the afore-mentioned letter in the Istanbul Museum which sheds likewise light on the business interests of the Old Assyrian kings, we must note that this second royal message cannot have been written by Šarrum-kên who, when asking Pûšu-kên to act for him, respectfully calls the latter *abû* "my father."⁷⁷

⁷² Viz. in the Philadelphia text here under discussion (L 29-573 A and B), in the letter KIS 30 of the Istanbul Museum and in the British Museum tablet, OCT IV 32a.

⁷³ That the Assyrian king turns out to have had a personal share in the lucrative trade with Asia Minor is not surprising in consideration of, e.g., the well-attested commercial activities of king Solomon; cf. especially I Kings 10.28 f. and the pertinent comment of Meyer, op. cit., II 2* (Stuttgart und Berlin, 1931), 268 f. Incidentally, in view of letters such as TuM I 1b and TC III 75 and II. 17-20 of the document TC 72, we need not doubt that also the "native" princes of Asia Minor, on their part, did business with the Assyrian merchants. [This habit has a modern parallel kindly communicated to me, on the basis of his personal observations in Iran, by Dr. W. Hilbers: In certain remote regions of Iran, so he reports, the local magnates are wont to enter into profitable trade relations with the merchants whose caravans cross their domains.]

⁷⁴ See II. 3* ff.: *u-na-burn-mu u-bi u-na-hi-id-kâ šu-ma šu-ut-ma šu-ma me-cr-i a-la šu-ma šu-ra-a-ma-ni kasapū Lu-qi-dim ša-ba-at*. (A second reference to Šarrum-kên's father is found in II. 33 ff. of our text which run as follows: *a šu-mi a-wa-ti-kâ ša i bu-lu-ut a ti a šu-ut-ma-ni u šu-pi-pi-kâ šu-ta-ma a-na-ku a-na-kam ma-ša-ku-um*.)

⁷⁵ See L 29-573 A, 15 ff.: *šu-ma a-bi, a-la šu-ma ta-ra-a-ma-ni a-na 2 šu-pi-en a-na-šš-ū-ni ku-um* 12.

⁷⁶ Such doubts are reflected, inter alia, in the remarks of Landsberger, *Türk Tarih, Arkeologiya ve Etnografya Dergisi*, IV (Istanbul, 1940), 22, note 2. Alluding to the well-known fact that (just as the envelope of the unpublished letter here under discussion) the case-tablet of the document EL 327 begins with the words *ku-muk waklum* but bears the impressions of a seal which, in its legend, designates the Assyrian king as *išši'ak Aššur*, Landsberger advanced the hypothesis that the *waklum* was perhaps "nur berechtigt mit dem königlichen Siegel zu fertigen" but not identical with the king. The improbability of this hypothesis becomes obvious when it is noted that the judicial decision transmitted to us in the Middle Assyrian document VAT 8043 (published by Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalte* [Leipzig, 1920], No. 211) begins with the words *ina aššat [Aššur-uballi] aššim*, whereas, according to Schroeder, op. cit., p. xi and *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 34 (1922), 183, the legend of the royal seal used in legalizing the decision reads as follows: *ku-muk Aššur uballi šar māt Aššur apal Eršar-Adad*. That this is by no means due to any inadvertency on the part of Aššur-uballi's clerks follows from the fact that we possess in VAT 8065 and VAT 8790 (Schroeder, op. cit., Nos. 210 and 212) two other tablets which, while being provided with impressions of the same seal, designate king Aššur-uballi as *aššim*.

⁷⁷ So far as the legend is concerned, these remnants raise anew the question as to the spelling of the second element of Šarrum-kên's name. Whereas the impressions previously known seemed to indicate that the signs DINGIR and LUGAL are followed by but one sign, it now appears possible that there are two signs rather closely resembling the signs KI and EN as found in the strictly contemporary Old Babylonian sources dated to the reign of Šamu-lâ-el. In other words, it seems no longer impossible that *kên* is spelled in the same way as in the inscription of Aššur-rim-nišēn according to which Ikūnum and Šarrum-kên repaired the city wall built by Kikkia.

However, since the text in the Istanbul collection employs in a similar context the expression *mer'i attu* "you are my son,"²² and since we learned from the afore-cited introductory words of Šarrum-kên's message that king Ikûnum used this term in a conversation with Pûšu-kên, our second royal letter—the letter in the Istanbul Museum—turns out to have been sent to Pûšu-kên by Šarrum-kên's father, Ikûnum. Once this is realized, it is easy to see that this king, who, in all probability, occupied the throne for a few years only, referred to his predecessor, Irišum, when informing Pûšu-kên as follows: "Two talents and five minas of lead, thirty (bales of) *kalânu* cloth, two black donkeys, five minas and five shekels of haematite²³ of superior quality, eleven shekels of tin, a compact piece,²⁴—all this my father gave to Asqudum."²⁵

ti-in ūp-pâ-am šê-me²⁶ 1 ūp-pâ-vo. i-na qâ-ti-kâ²⁷ šê-i-š, šu-ma a-hi, a-lu²⁸ šu-ma to-ro-a-ma-ni²⁹ a-hu-ni lu-gâ-lâm ma-a-lâm³⁰ i-dê šu-vo lu e-ta-lâ-ti-ma³¹ iš-tâ kaspin 1 biltim a e-lî-š³² ūp-ba-ct.

²² See KTS 30, 19 ff.: me-er-i a-to ki-ma a-na²³ kaspišâ. kâ 1 šiglin tû-uš-ta-na-ru-gâ²⁴ i-hi-šâ-nu u-dâ 1 biltim²⁵ kaspin a e-lî-š a-lî-ma²⁶ kasapê e-wi-lîn ya-bi-š.

²⁷ For this rendering of the Old Assyrian term *husrum* see above, p. 97, note 54.

The importance of this statement of king Ikûnum leaps to the eye. As it attests one of the typical shipments to Cappadocia of lead, textiles, haematite and tin for the time of Irišum I, it clearly points to interdependence of the Assyrian trade with and in Asia Minor and this king's afore-cited decision to establish the free movement of silver, gold, copper, lead, etc. Therefore, and because there is prosopographic and chronological evidence that Pûšu-kên and his contemporaries belonged to the second generation of Assyrian businessmen established at Kaniš,³³ we shall hardly err in describing king Irišum I as an outstanding organizer of commercial activity and enterprise whom the Kültepe texts reveal to have been as great a ruler as any of the famous Assyrian empire builders of later epochs.

²⁸ For *husrum* "compact piece of metal" see above, p. 96, note 46.

²⁹ See KTS 30, 12 ff.: 2 biltim 5 manâš annakam 30 ku-ta-wi³⁰ 2 casit gi-lî-ni 5 manâš 5 šigli³¹ lu-sâ-ra-am durgam³² we at-ra am³³ 11 šigli u-wi-lîn ki-lî-ru-am³⁴ mi-nu a-ni-im a-na As-qu-dim³⁵ a lî i-dî-in.

³⁶ See for the present H. and J. Lewy, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XVII (1943), 82 with note 337.