



A general view of Kültepe-Kanesh in 2006. Photo by courtesy of F. Kulakoğlu.

ANATOLIA AND THE JAZIRAH DURING
THE OLD ASSYRIAN PERIOD

Edited by
J. G. DERCKSEN



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PREFACE

This volume is based on papers presented at the symposium entitled "Anatolia and the Jazira during the Old Assyrian period", held from 15-16 December 2005 in Leiden. It was the third of a series of symposia jointly organized by the *Netherlands Institute for the Near East* (NINO) and the *Department of Languages and Cultures of Mesopotamia and Anatolia* (TCMA) at Leiden University. The symposium and the present publication were made possible by financial support from these two organizations as well as from the *Research School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies* (CNWS), the *Leids Universiteits Fonds/Byvank*, and the *Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*. Unfortunately it has not been possible to include here the papers presented by Tony Wilkinson "The settlements in the Jazira during the Old Assyrian Colony Period" and Sachihiro Omura "The extent of the Old Assyrian Colony Period in Anatolia", and the part of Guido Kryszat's paper that dealt with religion at Kanesh has been published in *AoF* 33/1 (2006).

Leiden, April 2008
J. G. Dercksen

INTRODUCTION

Jan Gerrit Dercksen (Leiden)

The symposium "Anatolia and the Jazira during the Old Assyrian Period" offered a platform for specialists in the archaeology and history of the Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian periods in Anatolia and Northern Syria / North Western Iraq to discuss the impact of the Assyrian long-distance trade on this region during the first centuries of the second millennium BC. The exchange of information and ideas between archaeologists and philologists proved fruitful.

The richest sources of information for the trade as well as for Anatolian society are the documents in the Old Assyrian dialect that have been found in Anatolia and in the Jazira. In addition there are valuable references to the Assyrian trade in texts found at Mari. But even now the most important single source by far is the assemblage of more than 20,000 tablets excavated from the ruins of the lower city of Kültepe-Kanesh. The regular excavations at Kültepe were started in 1948 under the auspices of the Turkish Historical Society. At first they were conducted by Tahsin Özgür and after his death, since 2006 by Fikri Kulakoğlu. Thousands of texts from Level II (destroyed c. 1836 BC) are currently being prepared for publication and will be available for research in the near future. The growing number of texts from Level Ib (roughly corresponding to the 18th century) adds to our understanding of this period in which Kanesh became one of the dominant political powers in pre-Hittite Anatolia.

All this evidence makes the Old Assyrian long-distance trade the best documented in antiquity, and it marks an unsurpassed achievement for any city-state in Ancient Mesopotamian history. The ongoing publication of documents increases our knowledge of the period, especially since they also contain the first direct evidence about Anatolia from native sources. The reconstruction of the chronology —Assyrian documents and those from Samsi-Addu's kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia are dated by the year-eponym (*īmum*) officiating in Assur— has been considerably advanced by the identification of the Kültepe Eponym List by Klaas Veenhof and the anticipated publication of an eponym list that covers the greatest part of the Level Ib period announced by Cahit Günbattı.

In addition to the texts found at Kültepe, Boğazköy, Alışar and Acemhöyük, written evidence from the Colony Period has now been discovered at Kaman Kalehöyük and Kayalıpinar in Central Anatolia, as well as in Tell Arbid in the centre of the Habur Triangle referred to in this volume by Jesper Eidem (Addendum).

The evidence from and about the Jazira will be found in the first part of this book, and articles on various topics concerning Anatolia in the second.

The Jazira

The results of surveys in Northern Syria and NW Iraq, which suggest a marked contrast in the number of settlements in the Western Habur region as opposed to that in the central

ACROSS THE EUPHRATES

Klaas R. Veenhof

1. Introduction

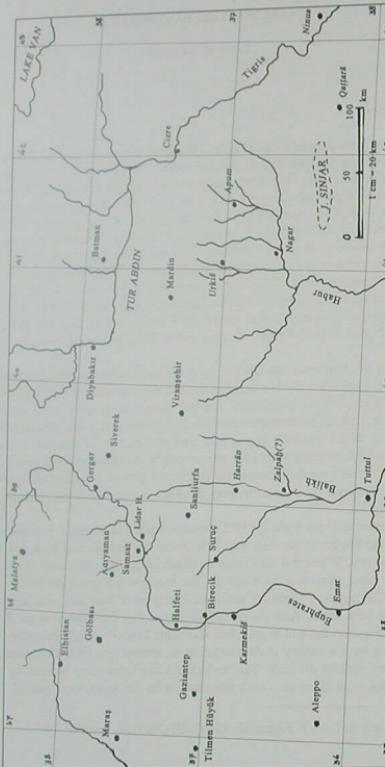
The Euphrates is an important geographical feature in the area where the Jazira, Northern Syria and Southern Anatolia border on each other. Throughout history it functioned in various ways as a dividing line, occasionally also as a political boundary. Where the river flowed between high embankments and during periods of high water, it must have constituted a serious obstacle. On the other hand, crossing it apparently did not present great problems and was regularly done throughout history by armies, caravans, pastoral nomads, and travelers. The treaty between Ebla and "Abarsal", from shortly after 2400 BC, in connection with the movement of goods between the two cities already mentions "a large ferry", apparently for crossing the Euphrates.¹ That various kings liked to record their at times repeated crossings of the Euphrates was not primarily to boast of an important logistic achievement, but to tell their audience that they had penetrated, had extended the range of their military actions and political power beyond a kind of natural boundary.

Crossing the Euphrates could have the purpose of subduing foreign territory, where "foreign" might refer to a rival or hostile state and to a people with a different culture and language. While political boundaries can be reconstructed with some confidence for certain periods, cultural boundaries are much more difficult to trace, precisely because the Euphrates was easily crossed. The spread and movements of Amorites, Hurrians and Aramaeans show how complicated the picture can be and that the river frequently did not constitute a cultural boundary. Since any diachronic picture is bound to remain vague, it is better to concentrate on a particular period, which in our case is indicated by the subject of this symposium.

The relevance of my topic for Old Assyrian studies is obvious, because all caravans had to cross the Euphrates on their way from Assur to Anatolia and back and this raises a range of questions. Where did they cross it, which itineraries were used to reach the river, which cities were important as stops or for business purposes on either side of the crossings? What people or political entities did they meet there and what kind of relations did they have with them? And are there indications that the Euphrates for them was not just a hurdle the caravans had to take, but also some kind of cultural boundary?

While we have a variety of data to guide us, answers, to be found mainly in the Old Assyrian texts, remain difficult. The traders did not write their records to supply their contemporaries – let alone us – with information on the areas they passed. Most of the

¹ addir-má-gal, see P. Fronzaroli, *ARET* XIII (2003) no. 5, col. V: 16ff.



Map of the area discussed.

data are in records (at times wrongly called "itineraries") that book expenses made during their journeys, which for the leaders of the caravans were the basis for rendering account of how they had spent the money (usually "loose tin") they had taken along for meeting them. In some cases the expenses are specified for particular towns or stages of the trip, others only summarize data for long stretches or even the whole journey. In some cases we may assume that the sequential listing of a number of towns reflects an itinerary, in others their combination does not suggest a more or less straight journey, but the use of by-roads due to logistic problems or for business purposes.² Some are very selective, e.g. Kt c 1615 (translated in note 42), which registers expenses in Batna and Razamā only. The mentioning of only a few places in some caravan records that register the payment of the "road-tax" (*dātum*)³ may be for reasons of accounting, when smaller amounts are added up for a longer stretch, and in some cases perhaps because at these places parts of a larger caravan split off. Among the travel expenses such texts occasionally also mention payments "at the (bank of) the river" (*ina (sapat) nārim*), "for the (fee/keeper)? of the bridge" (*sa titurrim*) and "for the crossing" (*ana nebātum*). Most refer to journeys in Anatolia⁴ and since a bridge for crossing the Euphrates (considering its size and the danger of the spring flood) is extremely unlikely, there remain only a few references where the Euphrates, never mentioned in such texts by its name *Purattum*,⁵ but simply designated as "river" (*nārim*), must be meant. This is probably the case in the caravan account VS 26, 150: 22, "15 shekels for the crossing", where the payment in tin indicates a caravan coming from Assur; in Kt 94/k 928: 8 (courtesy Larsen), where a trader traveling to Habbaniyah pays 1 shekel of silver for the crossing,⁶ and in Prag I 804: 16f., where a caravan coming from Assur (the text mentions stops at Qattarā and Apiya = Apum/Tell Leilan), before reaching Timiliya registers a payment of some silver "at/or

² Kt 91/k 437 (Veenhof 2006: 779f.) is a list of expenses made during a trip through Hattum to Durhüm. It shows that the caravan stayed some days in the area of Hanaknak, from where it visited various small towns before traveling on to its final destination.

³ For this feature, the textual sources and their use to reconstruct itineraries and calculate distances, see Nashef 1987.

⁴ Discussed in Barjamovic 2005.

⁵ The only occurrences of *Purattum* are in Kt 87/k 275: 17 (Hecker 1997: 165f.; see below § 6 with note 36), where a man promises to bring a slave-girl across the Euphrates (*Pu-ra-tim ušebbari*), and probably in the "itinerary" Kt g/k 200 (Günbati 2002: 81). The last text registers payment of the *dātu*-tax and other expenses during a journey from Assur to Tegarama and in lines 27ff. books "55 shekels (of tin) in the mountains of Haqa,"² 25 shekels *sa etim*,⁷ 7 shekels *sa pu-ra-tim*.⁸ The editor and Forlanini (2006: 166 note 96) take it as a reference to buying *purdū*-fish, but the use not of *ana* but of *sa* (as in the expenses *sa titurrim*) may well refer to the costs of (crossing the) Euphrates. The amount paid, 7 shekels of tin, equal to c. 1 shekel of silver, compares well the amounts of 1 shekel of silver and 15 shekels of tin paid for "crossing" in the two texts quoted above. Anyhow, we cannot link this expense with the town of Haqa and deduce from it that this town was situated close to a river (Forlanini), because lines 25ff. are a kind of appendix to the list of *dātu*-payments and the mention of Haqa and Purattum are separated by line 29, which mentions another general item.

⁶ Lines 13f. mention the payment of some silver "[to the] of the river".

the river" ((*a-i-n̄a*) *nārim*). Meetings of two traders "on the bank of the river", most probably the Euphrates, are mentioned in TPAK 1, 42; 6f., where they come from Kaneš and Assur respectively, and in Prag I 469; 2f., where A. reports how he met E. "when [I] stayed in [left] Hahhum, in Habruk, [on] the bank of the river",⁷ but the location of Habruk (not attested elsewhere) is unknown.

Other geographical information is contained in letters written by travelling traders to report on problems they had run into, but most of them concern those of transport, due to the death of donkeys, lack of personnel or shortage of travel money, and they are not very helpful, apart from occasionally mentioning the towns where this happened. A number of letters were written from Assur or Kaneš to provide traders en route with urgent information or instructions. Some of them - which they apparently took along so that they ended up in an archive in *kārum* Kaneš - are eye-openers. The best-known example is TC 1, 18, recently edited by Larsen as *OAA* 1, no. 18, sent from Assur by Aššur-iddī to his son Aššur-nâida, who is on his way with a caravan in the Northern Jazira. Aššur-nâida is told "If you are afraid to go to Hahhum, then go to Uršu instead!" It was apparently written in a situation of "unsettled political conditions in the states located in the region between the Euphrates and Kanesh", as Larsen put it. We know nothing of the underlying problems, but it is remarkable that the City-Assembly in Assur issued an instruction meant to reduce dangers by splitting up caravans, because it implies that it had received from Kaneš or from other caravans information on the situation in the area, which was passed on to a traveller. For our purpose it is important that the letter mentions Hahhum and Uršu as two different towns from where a caravan could travel on to Kaneš, apparently along different routes, which must have crossed the Euphrates at different points.

Our knowledge is also limited because the records, while mentioning towns and some of their rulers or administrators (who receive gifts or taxes), never mention the latter by name, which makes it impossible to say anything about their ethnicity (e.g., of the towns in the area directly south of the Tûr-Abdin, whose rulers must have been predominantly Hurrian). Only the fact that some of these local rulers are designated as *rubā'um* is helpful as indication that they were the heads of city-states.⁸ Another serious problem is that most of the towns visited by Assyrian caravans before crossing the Euphrates have not yet been identified. Only the first important city and caravan stop when entering the Habur Triangle from the southeast, Apum, has been identified with Tell Leilan, which also yielded the damaged text of a treaty between the ruler of Apum and the City of Assur and the local Assyrian *kārum*, dating to c. 1740 BC (more than a century later than the period of *kārum* Kaneš Level II).⁹ Other important cities in Northern

⁷ TPAK 1, 42; 6f., *ina* (*sāpat n̄ārim nimmihi*); Prag I 469; 2ff., *[ina]* / *Hahhum ina wa-s[a-i-a]* (or: *wu-[a-bi-a]*) / *ina* *Habruk* [*inā*] / *sāpat n̄āri[m]* E. *amħu[r]*. Whether ICK 2, 156; 1ff., "When he set out on his journey, on the bank of the river, at Zalpa", refers to the Euphrates is not certain.

⁸ Other designations are *kaššum*, "official", *bēl ălīm*, "lord of the town", and *massu'um*, "leader", which tell us little; they could be petty rulers, governors (dependent on a neighboring ruler), sheikhs, or mukhtars.

⁹ Edited in Eidem 1991.

ACROSS THE EUPHRATES

Mesopotamia that have been identified, such as Urkî, Nagar, Kahat, Harrân and Karkenî, do not occur in the Old Assyrian texts and the exact location of many road-stations, in particular several towns where the Assyrians had settled down in a *kārum* or *wabartum* – in alphabetical order Batna, Burudum, Eluhut, and Nehriya – is unknown. This also applies to cities on or across the Euphrates such as Hahhum, Uršu and Zalpa. Most of these do occur in the somewhat later texts from Mari and some also in Hittite sources, but not Batna, which housed an Assyrian *wabartum* and occurs a dozen times in OA texts. Moreover, many towns in that area known from Mari texts and in part also listed in the "Old Babylonian Itinerary"¹⁰ are absent from the OA sources. Texts from Mari and the OA corpus both know the towns of Burudum/Burundum, Eluhut, Nahur, Nehriya, Talhat or Talhayup (already mentioned by Naram-Sin of Akkad), and Puhidar/Puhadar (conquered by Yahdun-Lim according to a year-name), but their exact location is disputed.

For the problems of the location of the various towns and the Assyrian itineraries I refer to three recent studies, that of Charpin/Ziegler 2003, based mainly on the Mari texts and the famous OB itinerary, condensed in "Annexe II", pp. 272–76 (with the maps on pp. 31, 77 and 187), and by Forlanini in 2004 and 2006 (the latter updates and in some respects corrects the former),¹¹ who uses evidence from Mari, the Old Assyrian data and "itineraries", and in addition draws on Hittite sources. Because problems remain and there are differences between these reconstructions, I have to deal with the location of the main towns in the general area where the Euphrates was crossed and also with the identification of the western part of the itineraries leading towards the Euphrates from Apum/Tell Leilan.

2. *Hahhum and the crossing of the Euphrates*

Our problem is not only that the exact location of most of the towns is unknown, but also that there were few natural constraints suggesting or precluding particular itineraries, while there were several possible crossings of the Euphrates between Bireçik (where the modern road coming from Şanlıurfa crosses the river on the way to Gaziantep) and the area c. 100 km further upstream (at Gerger Kalezi), where the Euphrates Gorge begins. Especially in the area of Samsat and c. 20 to 30 km west and east of that city there are various alternatives, from which it is difficult to choose as long as the location of the towns passed before and after the crossing and possibly situated on or near the Euphrates, such as Abrum, Hahhum, Haqa, Nehriya, Simala, Timilkiya, and Zalpa, is uncertain. And

¹⁰ See A. Goetze, *JCS* 7 (1953), 51–72, with W.W. Hallo, The Road to Emar, *JCS* 18 (1964), 57–88, with p. 65 a list of the place-names in the sequence of the journey. Of the c. 40 geographical names listed between Assur and Tutul only Subat-Enlil = Apum/Tell Leilan and Ad/tmē or Ad/mum are attested in OA sources.

¹¹ The ms. of Forlanini 2004, judging from the literature quoted, was completed in 2001, which means that he could not use the data and analyses offered in Charpin/Ziegler 2003 and in *Florilegium mariannum VI* (2002), notably by Guichard 2002 and Ziegler 2002.

their identification of course has become more difficult after this area has been flooded following the construction of the Atatürk Baraj.

Judging from the frequency of its mention the main crossing of the Euphrates must have been in the area of Hahjum, most probably to be located, with Forlanini, at or near Samsat, on the right bank of the Euphrates, rather than at Lidar Hüyük, c. 10 km upstream, on the left bank, which was favored by Liverani.¹² The evidence collected by Nashef 1987 and new sources leave no doubt that Hahjum, seat of an Assyrian *kārum*, where several traders had a house,¹³ was an important market town, where goods could be sold, bought, deposited or entrusted for transport,¹⁴ and therefore a very important stop on the route to Anatolia. It is frequently mentioned in the so-called *dātu*-texts (that register the payment of the road-tax during the caravan trips, analyzed in Nashef 1987), several of which register such expenses of a caravan for two stages only: Assur–Hahjum and Hahjum–Kanes (see Nashef 1987: 70 table 6).¹⁵ The treaty between *kārum* Kanes and Hahjum from the period of *kārum* Kanes' Level Ib, recently published by C. Günbattı (2004), contains two valuable pieces of information that link the town with the river:
Col. II: 11ff. in my reconstruction mentions "a ferry-man" (*sa [nē]birim*), who might be instigated by the local administrators to sink a boat, obviously a ferry used by the Assyrian caravans crossing the river, and it also stipulates that any losses, whatsoever, "on the river, in your mountains and in your land" shall be compensated by the authorities of Hahjum.

Forlanini distinguishes two roads from Assur to Anatolia. A southern one, which turned west after passing Qatara and the eastern edge of the Jebel Sinjar, to proceed to Apum/Tell Leilan, from where it would go west and cover close to 300 km to reach the Euphrates in the area of Samsat. The northern route, after passing the Jebel Sinjar, went north, along the west bank of the Tigris, through the area of Burullum and Mardaman. There it turned west and continued through the area south of the Tür 'Abdin, via Eluhjut

¹² Forlanini 2004: 141f., note 60, contra M. Liverani, *OrAnt* 27 (1988), 165–172, who based his preference on the archaeological record of Lidar Hüyük. Forlanini uses the evidence from Mari (Hahjum does not belong to Zalmagum) and the data contained in the Letter of Hattusilis I to Tunip-Tesšup of Tigunium, see now M. Salvini, *Sumer* IV/1 (1998), 305–311.

¹³ E.g. Issu-ariik, the father of Salim-Asṣur, the main figure of an archive excavated in 1994, cf. Kt 94/1039A: 6f. (courtesy Larsen).

¹⁴ I only mention here CCT 5, 29a: 8ff., where eight loaded donkeys were entrusted in Hahjum for further transport; KTK 12: 3ff., which reports that a trader in Assur had hired five donkey drivers (*sāridū*), who returned there after the caravan had reached Hahjum; CCT 1, 31a (Nashef 1987: no. 10) mentions the cost of hiring a donkey driver "from Qatara until Hahjum", and Kt n/k 220: 14ff. (courtesy Bayram) of one "until Hahjum". For additional data I refer to the dissertation of Barjamovic (above note 4), ch. 4, which starts with an extensive analysis of the data bearing of Hahjum.

¹⁵ This is confirmed by new evidence, e.g. Kt m/k 9: 8ff. (courtesy Hecker) and Kt n/k 480: 6ff. (courtesy Günbattı), both of which register the road-tax "from the City until Hahjum" and "from Hahjum until Kanes".

¹⁶ I refer the reader to my new analysis of this treaty in *OBO* 160/5, part I, ch. V.2.2.

and Burundum,¹⁷ to arrive in the general area of Viranşehir, from where it headed for the Euphrates. While the first part of the northern route, which does not concern me here, is fairly certain thanks to data from Mari, its western part leading to the Euphrates, is less well assured. It may well coincide with the second part of the southern route in the area where, to use the terminology of the Mari texts, one leaves the northwestern part of İdamaş to cross Yapturum and Zalmagum in order to reach the Euphrates. It passes an area which is badly known and where, apart from Harran (which does not occur in OA sources), not a single town known from the texts (e.g. Ta'ilhat/Talhayum, Puhjadar/Pahjudar and Na'eħriya) has been identified.

For this area the "itinerary" CCT 5, 44c¹⁸ is important, which registers expenses from Qatara until Haqa and lists in lines 11ff. successive payments in Apum, Amaz, Nahur, [Ina/ana] Luhayum, Abrum, [x], and [Ha]qa. Forlanini, in view of the probable location of Amaz and Nahur, which he situates to the northeast and northwest respectively of Nagar (Tell Brak), uses it to reconstruct his southern route, with caravans traveling via Nahur¹⁹ in the direction of Viranşehir. Via Luhayum,²⁰ in the most western part of the Habur Triangle²¹ and Aşılım, for which he proposes a location about halfway between Viranşehir and Siverek, caravans would have reached the Euphrates at Hahjum (Samsat), 75 km to the west. From there the journey recorded in CCT 5, 44c would have followed the Euphrates upstream to Abrum, where (as the name of the town would indicate) the river could be forded and which he locates c. 25 km northeast of Samsat

¹⁷ For this important city-state, the eastern neighbour of Eluhjut, see Guichard 2002: 149ff., who uses the qualification "royaume houariste".

¹⁸ Nashef 1987: no. 31; Forlanini 2004: 406; Forlanini 2006: 160, with note 65.

¹⁹ Its only other OA occurrence is in the letter TC 3, 105: 8, 15, whose writer (probably a woman) complains of having been left behind in Nahur and later in Hahjum. For this city, in the northwestern part of İdamaş, not too far from Harran, see M. Guichard, this volume.

²⁰ Forlanini 2006: 160, note 66, now prefers to restore *>a-na> Lu-ha-im*, taking the latter as a nisbe, referring to the ruler or a man from Luhaya, which could imply that the town itself was not visited. Note that in text from Mari the name of the town is spelled both Luhaya (A 109: 40, 42, quoted in J. Bottéro, *Le problème des Habiru ...*, CRRAJ 4, Paris, 1954, 22 no. 28), Luhayan (ARM 26, 331: 10'; 334: 7, twice spelled *Lu-ii-ha-a-ia-an*, both by Yamsum, who is known for using peculiar orthographies), and Luhayum (ARM 28, 120: 4). D. Charpin (note b on ARM 26, 334) and Joannès (note a on ARM 26, 430) assume the existence of a second town of this name, north of the Jebel Sinjar (which for some time would have been dominated by Kurda), but it does not figure on the maps of Charpin/Ziegler 2003. In our "itinerary" the western Luhaya must be meant, which also occurs in ARM 28, 120: 3, a letter written by three men who designate themselves as "*sugigū* of Luhayum". For the relation between Talhayum and Luhaya, see also LAPO 17 no. 607 (cf. below note 69).

²¹ According to A 109, people from Talhayum (the capital of Yapturum, southwest of Burundum) and *hapirū* had raided the town of Luhaya, said to be "opposite Zalmagum" (*pāni* Zalmagim), which should mean the most western part of the Habur Triangle. Forlanini situates the town north of Talhayum and points to its contacts with Abrum.

(perhaps near Bahçe), to turn there north, towards Haqa, Zalpa, and beyond.²² But crossing the river at Hahhum one could also go in a northwestern direction, towards Timilikey, which Forlanini locates near Gölbasi, and from there via the plain of Elbistan in the direction of Kanes.

The identification of the western part of the southern route is not without problems, because it passes through an area which is geographically and archaeologically almost a *terra incognita*, without convincingly located towns.²³ Moreover, none of the towns passed after Apum according to CCT 5, 44c – Amaz, Nahur, Luhaya, [x], Abrum, Haqa – has an Assyrian *kârum* or *wabartum* and this is the only “itinerary” in which the first three occur. Forlanini’s (2006: 166) location of the important road-station Abrum, a city with a palace,²⁴ on or near the Euphrates, in which he follows Garelli (1963: 94), is based on the name of the town and the mention in CCT 5, 48d (Nashef 1987: no. 16) of a payment of 1 shekel of silver to an official (*massu’um*)²⁵ of Abrum, followed by the same amount *ana aydamâtum*, probably “for expenses of, i.e. incurred on or for getting to) the near bank (of the river).”²⁶ This record next mentions a gift to the *massu’um* of Asîhum, which Forlanini locates c. 25 km east of Abrum, to the south of the Euphrates. This is only acceptable, assuming that CCT 5, 48d lists the expenses in the order in which the towns were visited, if this caravan traveled back from Anatolia to the Jazira (perhaps on its way to Assur). The rarity of Asîhum makes its use for reconstructing an itinerary

²² Additional evidence is supplied by TC 2, 57 (Nashef 1987: no. 24), where the sequence is Apum–Abrum–Kaneš, and by TC 3, 164 (Nashef 1987: no. 26), presumably the sequence Assur (Assur)–Burallum–Eluhhut–Haga–Zalpa–Kaneš.

²³ See the maps in Charpin/Ziegler 2003: 77, 171 and 186 (note that neither Luhaya/um nor Amaz figure in their list of towns on p. 272f.). Amaz appears, together with Asnakkum and Taljayum, in the letter A 3194 (p. 222f.), which suggests the western part of the Habur Triangle, but p. 237 with note 633 only states "au nord du Sindjar", which is reflected in the map of p. 187. The town of Amaz is located c. 15 km north of Nager/Tell Brak.

²⁴ RA 59 (1966), 40f. no. 17 mentions a payment to the palace when leaving Abrum, followed by expenses during two further "stops" (*nāmātum, sic!*) where the night was passed in an inn (*bāz urīm*), followed by visits to Hurupşa, Nehriya, Sınaruh and a final town, whose name is bədəm and which, considering the area covered in this text (even though Hurupşa and Sınaruh are thus far unique), is unlikely to have been Ulama (located far north of Kancs in Hatay).

²⁵ The frequent small payments *ana ma-sǖ-e-im* (etc.) do not mean "for a boat", but refer to a local official designated in this way, see Nashef 1987: 22f. Forlini (2004: 412) takes him as a "comide", but for this purpose OA used *rädüm*, "escort, guide".

²⁶ See Forlini 2006: 165f. with note 91. *CAD A/II*, s.v. *aqdāmātu* (attested at Mari), wants to read *a-nakatāmātīm*, “for covers”, a hapax, otherwise only attested lexically and rather unlikely in such expense accounts. The sum of 1 shekel of silver “for crossing” is also attested in Kt 94/k 224 (*ana nēbarim*).

risky,²⁷ and there seem, moreover, to have been two towns of this name, which Charpin/Ziegler (2003) distinguish as "in the area of Karkemis" and "of Subartum", but the second location is rather vague. The latter, apparently somewhere west of the Jebel Sinjar,²⁸ hardly fits the OA occurrences. The former could be the OA one, if we may locate it somewhere (north)east of Karkemis, within the bend of the Euphrates, in the northern part of Zalmaqum, perhaps west or northwest of Sanluhra.²⁹ Anyhow, the problems of the exact location of Aslumah make it not very helpful for locating Abrun, and the data from Mari give Forlini's proposal (northeast of Jebel

Important for the location of Abram is also K1 862/192 (see below, Appendix text no. 4), which lists expenses made in Nebyri, Haqa, Zalpa and Abram, where 1 shekel of silver was paid, but its purpose (perhaps similar to that in CCT 5, 48d; cf.) is not mentioned. The order of the last town differs from that in CCT 5, 44c, and from the sequence Abram-Haqa-Zalpa suggested by Forlanini, though it points in the same general direction and suggests that Haqa, Zalpa and Abram were all three situated east of Habbum. Perhaps the difference is due to the fact that the caravans in question, for whatever reason, crossed Euphrates at different points, near Habbum or more to the east.³⁰

4. Haqq, Šimala, and Nehriya

The texts just mentioned show that the location of Haqa and Nehriya is important for reconstructing the itineraries in the area where the Euphrates was crossed. Haqa according to Kt g/k 220 (Günbatti 2002: 81): 27f. bordered on a mountainous area (which meant additional transport costs for the caravan of 55 shekels of tin) which could suggest

²⁷ The only other occurrence is in Kt c. 216 (Sahin 2002: 206 note 19), where the *mawat* of this town receives half a mina of copper (exactly the same amount as in CTC 5, 48a), followed by the payment of tin, oil, *dilbâhum* and sunries to the palace, perhaps of this town. It appears there among a few rare or unique towns, in the order Panaga-Humahum-Zurzam-Asîhum-Harûmâshum, which is not very helpful for its location (see Forlini 2004: 411), though the last town occurs in TPAK 1, 50-38. "3 servants of yours have entered Hurûmâshum," preceded by "(you made me take the road to Nebyra)." A possible clue for a location depends on the (unanswerable) question whether and how these two movements were related.

²⁸ It occurs in the itinerary of Šamt-Addat's journey from Šubat-Enlil to Mari described in ARM 1, 26: 14-23, where he travels via Tilla, Aššum, Iyatu, Lakušir and Saggaratum, the last two towns located on the Habor. See also *LAPO* 16, 116f. and Charpin/Ziegler 2003: 210, note 375, no. 4.222.

²⁹ Evidence from Mari indicates that this Ašihum belonged to Zalmaqum; its governor Sunqar was chased away by Šamir Adad I and fled to Karšum (see *J. PPS* 16, 472 note).

³⁰ The distance of c. 100 km between Abrum and Luhanya on the map Forlanini 2004:426, is too big, considering the fact that according to TC 2, 57 (Nashev 1987 no. 24) people from Luhanya had stolen a donkey in Abrum, which forced the author to spend 26½ shekels of tin, presumably to hire one (the amount equals c. 2 shekels of silver).

a location across the Euphrates.³¹ In CCT 5, 44c it was visited after Abram (but the break in the tablet allows for one more place name between the two), and TC 3, 164; if, in the tablet allows for one more place name between the two), and TC 3, 164; if, in the tablet allows for one more place name between the two), and TC 3, 164; if, in the area south of the Kaşiyar Mountains. This last reference has to be used with care, because it mentions that the caravan paid 12 shekels of silver to hire a donkey-driver, which would accompany it from Elühhut until Haqa. This amount (even when the man was hired together with his donkey) allows for a trip of at least one week, enough to reach a crossing of the Euphrates, e.g. at Hahjum (*c.* 200 km west of Elühhut).³² The statement of the writer of Kt 89/k 236: 9ft. (courtesy Kawasaki), that he paid tin on behalf of a colleague sent to people from Nehriya and Haqa,³³ points to the same general area, because Nehriya is usually located somewhere south or southeast of Hahjum (see below). Interesting is Kt 87/k 433 (courtesy Hecker), a letter dealing with an amount of silver that has to be shipped (perhaps from Kanès) overland (*eqlam etaqum*) until Haqa, "but if there is no traveler who, as an affiliated trader, can transport a purse until Haqa, than take care to (send it) to Simala, to where it is safe".³⁴ If the final goal of the shipment was Assur, Haqa and Simala may have meant two different routes, perhaps to where the Euphrates was crossed. Note that in the "itinerary" Kt g/k 199 (Günbatti 2002: 82f.) the road-tax (*datum*) for the caravan is specified for the stretches Assur–Hamisânum–Simala–Zalpa, but additional expenses for hiring donkeys and donkey-drivers refer to the stretches Assur–Qatjar–Burullum–Hahjum–Zalpa. This means that before reaching Zalpa, which certainly is in Southern Anatolia, across the Euphrates, presumably somewhere northeast of Adiyaman, both Simala and Hahjum were passed, probably in that order.³⁵

Nehriya, a town with its own ruler, palace and *kârum*, and a "ten-man-board", (*ekur*) (AnOr 6, 15: 2), was not unimportant in the OA trade and is attested more than 20 times in OA texts.³⁶ A text dealing with the sale of prisoners there and a marriage

³¹ See also above note 5. The map by Forlanini (2004: 426) locates it *c.* 25 km north of Samsat, east of Adiyaman, south of the Yarlıga Dağı.

³² In Kt g/k 199: 22f. (see below) a donkey was hired for the stretch Burullum–Simala for 39 shekels of tin (equal to 4 or 5 shekels of silver), and for the stretch Hahjum–Zalpa for nearly the same sum (40 shekels of tin).

³³ *ša Ni-ha-ri-a-e / u Ha-qâ-i-e / aššumišu āpul.*

³⁴ 23 ... *summa / ana Haqa alikum/ mer a ummiānim / ša kīsam iradde'u / laššu ana Simalana ana* ³⁵ *asār salāmim epša.*

³⁵ Forlanini (2006: 157) assumes that Simala (only attested in OA sources) was situated "dans les montagnes au nord d'Idamaras", which may be supported by the statement in ICK 1, 84: 19ff, which mentions it together with Burudum, "one owes me 25 ½ shekels of gold of the journey to the City in Burudum and Simala", but its exact location remains unknown.

³⁶ Kt 89/k 236 (courtesy Kawasaki) records a payment *ša Nihiari'āyē u Haqa'īyē*. In Prag I 489 (cf. VS 26, 13) Idmilius asks to have tin shipped (from Assur), which should reach him in Nehriya; CCT 2, 22, speaks of textiles and donkeys shipped to Anatolia (*šēlu um*) from Nehriya; KÜG 36, asks to send some minas of silver, which the writer has to pay to the palace of Nehriya; in KTS 1, 12 (Larsen, OAA 1, no. 63): 21ff., Aššur-nâda asks to have sent silver to him there (*ana pânia*).

contract with a stipulation on taking a second wife suggest that it was considered a different, perhaps foreign city-state and "land", far from Kanès, which might support a location across the Euphrates.³⁷ Forlanini wants to identify Nehriya with Lidar Höyük, on the left or southern bank of the Euphrates (which therefore cannot be Hahjum), also because of the evidence on the battle at Nehriya between Tidhaliyas IV and the Assyrians.³⁸ He assumes that the Hittite king only wanted to establish a bridgehead on Assyrian territory and did not carry out a deep penetration. Mari specialists, however, want to locate this town, one of the "capitals" of Zalmaqum, more to the south, on the upper course of the Balıç, possibly at Kazane Höyük, which is *c.* 40 km southeast of Hahjum.³⁹ Identification with Lidar Höyük seems rather unlikely, because it would mean the existence of two Assyrian *kârum*s at a distance of only c. 10 km, in two apparently independent cities (both had a ruler and a palace). And what would be the strategic importance of Nehriya on the left bank of the river, if caravans (also?) crossed the Euphrates at nearby Hahjum? This makes a more southern location likely, also because otherwise not a single town in the area of the upper course of the Balıç would occur in OA records. Unfortunately, the OA evidence on Nehriya, notwithstanding its twenty occurrences, is rather diffuse and it occurs in only two so-called "itineraries". The first (R4 59 [1966], no. 40; Nashef 1987: no. 30) has the sequence Abram–Hürupas–Nehriya–Sinarînum–[x], the second (Kt 86/k 192, text no. 4 of the Appendix below) lists expenses incurred in Nehriya, Haqa, Zalpa, and Abram. But we take the first one at face value Nehriya was reached three or four days (stops) after Abram, while in the second Abram follows Nehriya, Haqa and Zalpa. The problem would be solved if the caravan of the first text was heading south and that of the second went up to Anatolia, in which case a location south of a main crossing of the Euphrates (perhaps at Hahjum) seems likely.

5. Batna, Uršu and Zalpa

The letter TC 1, 18, mentioned in § 1, suggests the use of still another crossing of the Euphrates in order to reach Uršu, which suggests a crossing more to the southwest, in the

³⁷ In Kayseri 5064, a debt owed has to be paid from the sale of prisoners (*astrû*), which for that purpose will go overland to Nehriya (*da assumu adi Nehriya ša S. 1. umalla, orbitâsu ša Nehriya S. eppal*). They probably had to be sold in a foreign land/city, where redemption and return would be difficult. In AKT 1, 77, a man is forbidden to marry a *qadîsim* as secondary wife either in Kanès or in Nehriya, which amounts to neither in the land of Kanès nor in the neighboring land, which could mean across the Euphrates (but see below note 71). Nehriya must have been part of what the Old Assyrians called Amurru (cf. "two Amorites from Nehriya" in CCT 2, 49a: 14). For Amurru in OA sources, see below § 6, with note 55.

³⁸ Forlanini 2004: 414f. with note 60. For the battle at Nehriya, see I. Singer, ZA 75 (1985), 100-123, with p. 105 a discussion of the location of Nehriya and of the equation between Nehriya and Nairi. Singer locates Nehriya much more to the east, "between the Tur Abdin and the Upper Tigris", and on p. 105, he speaks of Nehriya "commanding the approaches to Anatolia at the Ergani Pass".

³⁹ See Charpin/Ziegler 2003: 46 with note 157, in which they follow a proposal of J. Miller.

general area of Bireçik (where the modern road connecting Şanlıurfa and Gaziantep crosses the river) or perhaps at Halfeti, 20 km north of it. The choice of course depends on the location of Ursu, and this question cannot be isolated from that of the identification of the towns of Batna and Zalpa or Zalwar.⁴⁰

Batna harbored an Assyrian *wabartum* and occurs three times in a so-called *dātu*-texts as a town where payments were made.⁴¹ Two of them (BIN 6, 265 and Kt c/k 161^½) register the payment by caravans of amounts of tin as import-tax (*nishatum*) there, which suggests (as does the presence of a *wabartum*) that the town could also be used as a basis for trade in the area. In the first, which registers expenses made by a trader called Kurub-Istar, payments in Batna are followed by one in Zalpa and two other records about caravan expenses by the same trader also mention Zalpa, this time alongside the town of Dadaniya.⁴² If we identify OA Batna with the town of Batnae, known from Roman sources and located in the area of Suruç, the question is where caravans passing this town were heading, because the amount of *nishatu*-tax paid there was relatively small and apparently a toll paid at a road-station on the way. From Batna one could travel due north to Hahjum (a distance of c. 65 km) and the new treaty between the Assyrians and Hahjum shows that this city-state was Hahjum's southern neighbor and potential rival, comparable to Timiliya (in the area of Gölbasi?), c. 75 km to the north-east of Hahjum.⁴³ This location of Batna seems to be rather far to the (south)west for a caravan heading for the area of Samsat, unless a visit to Batna was a deliberate choice, which

⁴⁰ Not Zalpah, mentioned in the "OB itinerary", which is located on the lower course of the Balib, perhaps identical to Hammâl et-Turkman; also not Zalpuwa, probably Ikitizete, situated at the mouth of the Kızılırmak, which harbored an Assyrian *wabartum*.

⁴¹ For the data, see Veenhof 1972: 293ff.

⁴² Kt c/k 1615 (a transliteration of which was supplied to me by B. Landsberger) reads: "4 minas ½ shekels of tin I paid for the *nishatu*-tax in Batna, 2 1/3 minas 8 2/3 shekels of tin I gave in Batna to the scribe." In all 6 ½ minas 7 shekels of tin I paid in Batna on behalf of the caravan (elolum). *20 sâlibatum I gave in Razam!*"

⁴³ The caravan belonging to Kurub-Istar, apparently on its way to Kanesh, carries a load with a value of nearly 22 talents of tin. In CCT 1, 24b = BIN 6, 180, his caravan carries more than 400 textiles and nearly 9 talents of tin (which means one of at least 15 donkeys); TC 3, 166 is an account about "the remainder of the textiles of Kurub-Istar". Both these records register losses and payments in the towns of Zalpa and Dadaniya (location unknown), the first of which also occurs in the (heavily damaged) BIN 6, 265. Losses of 17 textiles in Batna are recorded in Kt 91/k 451, while Kt 91/k 465: 22 mentions two traders who came from Batna. Kt 94/k 219 records a claim effectuated in Batna, and from TC 3, 211: 49ff. we know that the trader Su-Labân had a house in Batna.

⁴⁴ Kt 94/k 10 III (actually col. 1): 26ff., dealing with the effects of war on the trade, mentions a possible war between Hahjum and the rulers of Timiliya or Batna (*Ba-at-na-e-im*), which suggests that they were its main political rivals to the north and south. This could fit a location of Hahjum in the area of Samsat, but one more to the west (e.g. at Özgören, c. 20 km downstream from Samsat) might also be possible. But such a conclusion is risky, not only because the location of the town is uncertain, but also because during the later period of *kârum* Kaneš Level Ib, to which the treaty with Hahjum dates, the political landscape may have changed. During the Level II period one might expect Nehriya to have been the nearest southern rival.

meant branching off from the more direct road to Hahjum before or when reaching the Upper Balib. But a stop at Batna could also mean that the caravan was heading for a more western crossing of the Euphrates, e.g. on the way to Ursu. Unfortunately the exact locations of Timiliya and Batna are not certain and it is also possible that there may have been some distance between OA Batna and later Roman Batnae.

There is still no agreement on the location of Ursu, which is also known from early Hittite sources, especially from the tale on its siege. Charpin-Ziegler (2003) on their maps locate it in the area of Samsat, as does Miller.⁴⁵ Forlanini prefers a location west of the great bend of the Euphrates, between Bireçik and Gaziantep, in which he follows Garelli (1963: 106f.). This proposal is, in a general way, supported by a new OA source, which suggests a location somewhere between the crossing of the Euphrates and the town of Mamma (usually located in the area of Maras).⁴⁶ Ursu had a *kârum*, with a cella with a statue of the god Aššur, and was visited by caravans as a stop on the road to Anatolia (perhaps also to carry out trade in its territory), but does not occur in "itineraries". TC 1, 18 (see above) mentions Ursu as an alternative stop if Hahjum had to be avoided, and CTMMA 1, 81a: 21f. reports that a trader left Assur with his caravan for a trip to Ursu. Textiles were sent from Ursu (perhaps to Kanesh) according to VS 26, 20: 19ff. (related to CCT 3, 9: 32f.) and according to BIN 4, 210: 5 honey was sent north (*zēlu'um*, perhaps to Kanesh) from Ursu. These references are not helpful for locating the town, but the report in Kt 87/k 179 (courtesy Hecker), that a slave-girl was purchased in Ursu, subsequently "given" (entrusted) to a man in Zalpa, who would bring her to Kanesh, suggests a location south of Zalpa, and this brings us to the identity and location this town.

The data on Zalpa were recently studied by Miller (2001), together with those on Haşsum and Mamma (or Ma'ama), since all three were or came to belong to the kingdom of Anum-hirwi and they occasionally occur together in texts from Mari and Gözaköy. He comes to the following conclusions on their location: Haşsum near Gaziantep, Zalpa/Zalwar on the upper Karasu, possibly at the site of Tilmen Höyük, Mamma between Maras and Göksun, and Ursu probably in the area of Samsat.

This means that Zalpa was located c. 100 km west of the Euphrates and Miller's position implies that caravans coming from the east (e.g. via Batna) must have crossed the Euphrates near Bireçik (in the direction of where Forlanini locates Ursu), visited Zalpa and from there went in a northern direction, via Maras and Göksun. Forlanini wants to locate Zalpa in the area of Doğanşehir (about halfway between Gölbasi and Malatya), also because one did travel there from Haşa, which he wants to locate near the Euphrates,

⁴⁵ Miller 2001: 75.

⁴⁶ KT 94/k 673 (courtesy Larsen), which reads: "I sacrificed (*naqâ'um*) one sheep on the bank of the river, I sacrificed one in Ursu to Istar, Lady of ..., and also one in Mamma". The information contained in CCT 6, 14: 30f., where a trader states that *kâru-um Kâ-ni-is Za-al-[pâ Hu-]ra-mi Ur-su-ú A-ma-a* know certain facts, even when these towns are enumerated in a geographical order and if the unknown *A-ma-a* is a mistake for *Ma-aa-ma* (Mamma), is still too vague and only allows the conclusion: (north)west of the Euphrates. Note also that ARAM 23, 524 registers amounts of tin sent as gifts (*sâlibatum*) to the rulers of Karkemis, Ursu (written *Ur-su-ú*) and Yamhad, which suggests a location in line with the proposal of Garelli and Forlanini.

east of Samsat, as is also suggested by Kt 86/k 192 (Appendix no. 4).⁴⁷ Nashef also notes a certain association between Zalpa and Tegarama,⁴⁸ which Forlanini locates northwest of Malatya, which results in a sequence Abrum-Haga-Zalpa-Tegarama.

In general one must say that the evidence is weak, due to too much variation in the series of place-names, which apparently do not always reflect a true geographical sequence or a linear trip, as repetitions and strange combinations show. As mentioned above, a few texts mention travel expenses at both Batna and Zalpa, but this link could be used both for Miller's and for Forlanini's location. But if Uršu was in the area of Samsat (as Miller and Charpin/Ziegler assume), we are faced with the question where to locate Hâjhûm, since TC 1, 18 shows that Hâjhûm and Uršu are clearly alternative destinations, probably reached via different river crossings. Identification of Hâjhûm with Lidar Höyük – which would support a more southerly location of Nehriya, as the Mari specialists believe – is rather unattractive because Hâjhûm and Uršu, both with an Assyrian *kârum* and apparently independent city-states, would be situated at only c. 10 km from each other, and also because the OA texts do not point to a close relation between the two. It would also make the alternatives of a journey to Hâjhûm or to Uršu, proposed in the letter TC 1, 18, rather meaningless. Therefore I favor Forlanini's location of Uršu somewhere between Gaziantep and the Euphrates. Zalpa remains a difficult issue, but in my opinion Tilmen Höyük, c. 100 km west of Euphrates, is too far to the west and does not fit the sequences Abrum-Haga-Zalpa-Tegarama and Hâjhûm-Zalpa, mentioned above. Forlanini's proposal (the area of Doğanşehir), which means c. 70 km northwest of Samsat, is more attractive, but perhaps a more easterly location (north of Samsat and northeast of Adiyaman) is still better and this seems to be also preferred by Barjamovic 2005, where he tentatively locates Tegarama in the general area of Malatya.

6. The Euphrates as a political or cultural boundary

Are there indications that the Euphrates also constituted a political or cultural boundary in the OA period? For the political situation not only the names of cities, but also the use of the word "land" (*mâtum*) is important. It could indicate the territory of a state or city-state, as in cases where a ruler is appealed to because an Assyrian has been killed "in his land" and he consequently is responsible for compensation, or in the famous letter ATHE 62, where the queen of Kaneš, in connection with smuggling, writes "to Luhusaddia, Hurama, Salâḥîwa and to her (own) land". But "land" may also be a geographical term, as in "the land Šawit", a mountainous area where copper was found, or it may designate

⁴⁷ See above § 4 and note 5 on Haqa and its location in relation to the Euphrates, and for the position of Zalpa and Haqa in the "itineraries", Nashef 1987: 67ff.

⁴⁸ In Adada 2370 two fugitives have to be caught in Mamma, Zalpa or Tegarama; CCT 5, 3b: 3ff. contains the advice to travel on from Zalpa to Tegarama; CCT 1, 29: 8ff. list a payment for a messenger sent to Tegarama (?) and for drinks in Zalpa.

the countryside, around a city or even the hinterland (*ina libbi mâtum*).⁴⁹ In connection with the areas where the Euphrates was crossed we meet it in connection with Hâjhûm, Timilkiya, and Zalpa. The treaty with Hâjhûm repeatedly speaks of what could happen "in your city and in your land". And the possibility of a military conflict with Timilkiya or Batna strongly suggests that these three were neighbors, whose territories bordered on each other.⁵⁰ The "land of Timilkiya", referring to its territory, also occurs in Kt 75/k 81: 4f., which speaks of "doing business (*sutebbulum*) in Timilkiya and its land". And such city-state territories may also be assumed for Nehriya (attested with a ruler, a palace and a *kârum*), Zalpa (five references to *mât* Zalpa) and Uršu, but we know very little of this city.

The ethnicity of such city-states remains largely unknown, because we are never told the names of their rulers (with the exception of the somewhat younger case of Anum-hirwi of Mamma), while language is still the main criterion on which statements on ethnicity can be based. In the northern Jazira, apart from scattered Akkadians, two ethnic groups seem to be prominent, speakers of the Hurrian and the Amorite languages. This is confirmed by a famous verdict of the City-Assembly of Assur that forbids Assyrians to sell gold to Akkadians, Amorites or Subareans.⁵¹ The Subareans – whatever the origin of the term – must be the inhabitants of the area called SUBUR or *Šubartum*, already in an inscription of Naram-Sin of Akkad, which according to the evidence from Mari covered the area stretching from the upper course of the Tigris to the western part of the Habur Triangle.⁵² The linguistic evidence consists of persons with Hurrian names and the use of terms like *umusum* and *sinaħum* (also in the Hâjhûm treaty). It links up with the attestations of Hurrians in Northern Mesopotamia already in the Old Akkadian and Ur III periods (when Uršu had a ruler with the name Dâsal-ibrî) and the Mari period, when quite a number of rulers of city-states have Hurrian names, including those of Eluhüt (Sukru-Teššub), Burundum (Atal-kenni), Urkîš (Terri), Amaz (Sambugam) and Uršu (Şennam).⁵³ Lack of personal names from this area during the OA period makes it impossible to say more, also because the OA texts, with the exception of the verdict quoted, do not mention "Subareans", although there are some references to "Subaræan textiles" (*sa su-bi-ri-im*). I also mention the letter Kt 91/k 539, written by a certain Abudata to a man with the good Hurrian name Unapse, probably the same man as the

⁴⁹ For the meanings and implications of the word *mâtum*, "land", see my observations in OBO 160/5, part I, ch. IV.2.6.

⁵⁰ It is not certain that the damaged beginning of the Hâjhûm treaty mentions a "boundary", *tuhumum* for normal *tahâumum*? (Kt 80/k 10 I: 7, [x x x x x x] x-at tū-hu-u[m] * [x x x x x ū DUMU kârim...]).

⁵¹ Kt 79/k 101: 18ff., see the observations on this text in Veenhof 1995: 1733f.

⁵² For the data from Mari in historical perspective, see Guichard 2002.

⁵³ For an earlier survey, see J.-R. Kupper, Les Hourrites à Mari, *RHA* 36 (1978), 117–128; the list of Hurrians rulers can be updated with the help of Charpin/Ziegler 2003, Annexe I.

addressee of the letter Kt k/k 4, published by Hecker.⁵⁴ He is asked to summon somebody, presumably in Mamma, and to write down what he declared and ends with the request: "Give the tablet to a scribe who understands Subaraean, so that he can read it".⁵⁵

Anonymous Amorites, on the contrary, occur in some texts: twice a payment of copper to "Amorites" (CCT 4, 1b: 22, and 2, 4b: 20) and once the mention of "Amorites of Nehriya", to whom a trader owes some silver (CCT 2, 49a: 13f). This reference is interesting because Nehriya was part of Zalmaquam, the area in which during the Mari period the Amorite Benjaminites were prominent. This same area may be meant in four references that use *Amurru* as a geographical term, "the west" (three times *a/mu libbi Amurru*, always written with the logogram MAR-TU), as the area where traders travel and where transactions took place.⁵⁶

Finally, also a few slave sales contracts indicate that the Euphrates in some way functioned as a boundary and that by crossing it (from Anatolia) one entered a different land, a foreign territory. The clearest example is Kt 87/k 275 (mentioned above),⁵⁷ in which two Assyrians give an Anatolian (Papan-tah') a slave-girl, presumably as compensation for losses he suffered, and tell him: "You can take her along to Hattum or 'the land', but you shall not sell her in Kaneš or in the land Kaneš". He answers: "I will bring her across the Euphrates". The slave-girl (whose name is not mentioned) must have been a native of the land Kaneš and the prohibition to sell her there wished to prevent legal complications, such as claims by others, the right of redemption by next of kin, or a royal measure of liberating debt-slaves.⁵⁸ Outside the land of Kaneš this danger is absent and across the Euphrates she is in foreign territory, where no legal claims apply and she becomes a chattel slave.

7. Talhat, a foreign city

Five records dealing with the sale of slave-girls in a similar way mention inhabitants of the city of Talhat as acceptable buyers of slaves sold at Kaneš. Three of them deal with the same case:

a) Kt 91/k 120: 6-19: *gi-ba-sá-a iš ši-it/ar-ša-a / et-ra-šu' a-na DUMU A-šur / iš DUMU Ká-né-eš⁵⁹ lá ta-dá-na-šu' / a-na Ta-al-ha-tim / di-na-šu' / iš a-ša-ar / ta-dá-na-*

⁵⁴ Uluslararası 1. Hititoloji Kongresi Bildirileri (Çorum 1990), 55ff., with SCCRHH 8 (1996), 294. However, Kt k/k 4 should belong to Level Ib, while Kt 91/k 539, according to the excavator, was found in situ in a Level II archive, where, however, it is completely isolated considering the persons and issues mentioned. [This text will be published in AoF 35 (2008).]

⁵⁵ *tappam ana DUB.SAR⁶⁰ iš su-ylu-ri-a-ta-am / išamme u dimma lîs Hassi.*

⁵⁶ See the data collected in OBO 160/5, part I, ch. II.2.6, with note 426.

⁵⁷ Hecker 1997; 165f., lines 11ff.: *summa ana Hattum / lá am mätim : amtam / rid : ina Kaneš / u mät Kaneš⁶¹ lá iaddanši umma P-ma / Purattam usebbarši.*

⁵⁸ Now attested in the treaty between the Assyrians and the rulers of Kaneš, Günbatti 2004: 252, lines 81f. "When you effectual in your city ... the liberation (*addirärärum*) of slave-girls and slaves".

ACROSS THE EUPHRATES

ní¹⁵ um-ma a-ti-nu-ma / a-na ma-at / Ká-né-eš / a-wi-il-y-tám / lá tú-ta-ra-nim, "Deprive her of her garment and head-scarf, do not sell her to an Assyrian or Kanešite, sell her to a Talhatte and where you sell her (you) must say: 'Do not bring the woman back to the land of Kaneš'".

b) Kt 91/k 139: 26-29; *ana²⁵ Ta-al-ha-ti-i-im / di-na-šu' a-na DUMU A-šur / iš DUMU Ká-né-eš lá ta-dá-su' / ha-li-qá-su' ú ma-at / Ká-né-eš lá i-fa-nar*, "Sell her to a Talhatte, do not sell her to an Assyrian or a Kanešite, get rid of her and she must not turn up (again) in the land of Kaneš!".

c) Kt 91/k 181: 20f.; *a-[am]-tám ha-li-iq / a-na Ta-al-ha-tim / di-i-ši a-na / DUMU A-šur lá ta-da-ši*, "Get rid of the slave-girl, sell her to a Talhatte, do not sell her to an Assyrian".

d) TC 3, 252 reports how the girl Huzura is sold into (debt-)slavery "instead of 45 shekels of silver" (apparently for an unpaid debt) to the Anatolian capitalist Enišru. The contract, discussed long ago by J. Lewy, by myself and edited by B. Kienast,⁶² stipulates: "If they (the sellers) bring within one month <30>+15 shekels of silver, her purchase price, they can take her along. If they do not bring it, he (the buyer) will sell his slave-girl to Talhatte or wherever he wishes" (*ana Tah-ha-i-e ul asar libbusu⁶³ iddašši*).

e) Kt 87/k 99: 18ff. (Hecker 1997: 163), finally, after mentioning the (theoretical) possibility of a slave-girl's redemption for a multiple of her sale-price, stipulates: "He can sell her, if he wishes, to Talhatte (*summa libbusu a-Ta-al-ha-ti-e iddašši*). For debts of her mother, father or sisters A. (the buyer) shall not sell her". Sale to cover debts of relatives presumably would take place in the city or area where the buyer lived and might entail the possibility of the slave's redemption or manumission, but sale to people from Talhat made this impossible.

In 1978, I mentioned two similar stipulations from other periods and areas, which probably served the same purpose. According to an Old Babylonian contract from Ur, UET 5, 97; 19ff., the adoptive parents may sell their rebellious son as slave "to Elam, Sutum or Yahmutum", all three foreign lands or areas, outside Babylonia.⁶⁴ A contract from Ugarit, PU 5, 116: 15, stipulates that guarantors, unable to meet their financial obligations, could be "sold to Egypt" (*nym tmruk*). In all cases the issue was sale abroad, to foreigners, which would rule out redemption or return of the slave. This means that

⁵⁹ The writer, apparently an Anatolian, had problems with the gender of the pronominal object suffixes (the possessive suffixes in Kt 91/k 120-6f. are correct) and of the 3rd p.sg. verbal prefix (in Kt 91/k 129: 29), but there is no doubt what is meant. The spelling in Kt 91/k 139: 25 shows that *Ta-al-ha-tim* in the other two texts renders the nisba (the name of the town in OA is Talhat, without case ending).

⁶⁰ J. Lewy, AHD 1 (1937), 96ff.; K. R. Veenhof, in: *Festschriften Lajos Matouš*, II (Budapest 1978), 293-98; B. Kienast, *Das altassyrische Kaufvertragsrecht* (Stuttgart 1984), 150ff. no. 32.

⁶¹ A similar stipulation occurs in Tell Sifir no. 13, edited in D. Charpin, *Archives familiales et propriété privée en Babylone ancienne* (Genève 1980), 208, where a rebellious adoptive girl will be sold (lines 14f.) *Sú-ú-um i Ya-oh-mu-tú*. The Amorite name Yahmutu (from the root *ymt*) designates probably a tribe or tribal area on the fringes of Babylonia.

Talhatines were considered foreigners and the territory of this city-state foreign territory, which fits the explicit statements in texts a) and b) that the slave-girl sold must not turn up again in Kaneš.

Unfortunately, our information on Talhat (once Tilhat, VS 26, 31: 7; in texts from Mari the town appears as Talhayum) is rather limited. The town and its nisbe are not rare in OA texts, but it was not the seat of an Assyrian *kārum* of *wabartum* and it does not occur as a road-station in "itineraries". We meet a few persons said to be Talhatines and one who had a house in the town, but judging from their names they probably were no Assyrians. According to Kt 87/k 463: 5ff. (courtesy Hecker) two Assyrians are asked to send a message to a certain En(n)uniya, who stayed/lived in Talhat, because of a substantial sum of gold given to him.⁶² Kt b/k 682: 6ff.⁶³ list an amount of tin that is "with the steward (*alaphinnam*) of Talhat" and 34 textiles which the writer "left behind in the Talhat, in the house of Ummisar" to two men. TPAK 1, 194: 10 and 16 mention "the Talhatine Inata",⁶⁴ to whom Sakhya owed more than 2 minas of silver, and Kt j/k 90: 13ff. record a debt due by a certain Niri to Abirith, which the former "has to pay in Talhat, if he goes there, or else in Kaneš".⁶⁵ Kayseri 72: 6 mentions a Talhatine called Kaluru, and BIN 6, 237: 6f. records an amount of silver owed by [an Assyrian] to "the Kaluru, and BIN 6, 237: 6f. records an amount of silver owed by [an Assyrian] to "the Kaluru, and BIN 6, 237: 6f. records an amount of silver owed by [an Assyrian] to "the Kalurru". None of these names, except the last (also in CCT 5, 3b: 20ff.), seems to be Assyrian or familiar among Assyrians. In other cases "Talhatines" with whom the Assyrians do business remain anonymous and two occurrences of the singular, "the Talhatine", might refer to the local ruler.⁶⁶ These texts reflect business contacts with people from this town, but not necessarily always in Talhat, because they could have met the Assyrians elsewhere. Kt 87/k 469: 17f. (courtesy Hecker) tells an Assyrian that a claim rests "on your merchandise of Talhat", and Kt 94/k 53: 9f. (courtesy Larsen) asks a trader to "send what can be purchased in Talhat or in its hinterland" (*sūnum lū ū Talhat lū barkišama šēbilam*). Products from or named after Talhat occur repeatedly, especially *epattu-cloaks*(?) and "belts" (*īsrūm*), and the former were exported both to Anatolia and to Assur.⁶⁷ A group of texts of the Kt n/k archive (courtesy Çeyen) deals with the purchase of "items of Talhat" (*ša Talhat*), probably textile products,⁶⁸ Kt n/k 1452: 10ff. mentions a *kushtu*-garment from Talhat and Kt 94/k 1672: 20 *sappitnu*-textiles from that town.

The exact location of Talhat is not known. Naram-Sin's statement (UET 1, 274 I: 17ff.) that he went (all the way to) Talhatum ("a road no king had thus far taken") in

combination which the information that the rulers of Subartum and the kings of the upper lands brought their food offerings before him⁶⁹, is rather vague. Apart from showing the early importance of the town, it might point to the region north or northwest of Nagar (Tell Brak), where his power was already well established. The information in the damaged text Kt 94/k 817: 9f. (courtesy Larsen) unfortunately is not helpful,⁷⁰ but ARM 13, 144: 27f., one of the letters of its ruler Yawi-ila, speaks of "the land of Yapturum, the town of Talhayum and its villages" (*kāprāniša*). Other texts from Mari mention the town in combination with Nahur, Qirdahat and Asnakkum (ARM 5, 51) and alongside Amaz, Asnakkum and Šubram (A 3194).⁷¹ In ARM 28, 60: 26ff. Ibal-Addu, the ruler of Aslakka (in the western part of Idamaras) tells Zimri-Lim: "I live near to the Upper Land so that information about Eluhup, the Lullū, Hahjum, the Land of Zalmagum, Burundum and Talhayum is at my disposal".⁷² These data suggest that the town, capital of Yapturum, was situated in the "Upper Land", between Idamaras and Zalmagum, perhaps in the general area of Viranşehir, but this region is badly known and not a single town has been identified by excavations. Moreover, it is not clear which were the boundaries between (from west to east) Zalmagum, Yapturum and Idamaras. A further complication is that one source, while omitting Yapturum, alongside the kings of Idamaras and Zalmagum mentions also those of Adamū, a geographical name that Guichard tentatively connects with Admu(m), a town usually located somewhere east of the Balih.⁷³ The OA texts show that this trading and market town, whose textile products were in demand and whose traders had commercial contacts with some Assyrians, nevertheless was somewhat outside the normal range of the Assyrian caravans. For that reason and perhaps because of the composition of its population, it was considered a foreign city-state, across the Euphrates.⁷⁴

⁶² The writer states: "My share (in a lot of merchandise) is still [in] Talhat. Nobody can go down from Sadahar to Ḥarabet", but the last two place-names are unknown.

⁶³ See Charpin/Ziegler 2003: 222f. with note 484.

⁶⁴ The information in A 3901: 4-7 (Guichard 2002: 158f., text no. 9), "The pasturing herds (*nawim*) are scattered all the way until the hinterland (*libbi mātin*). To the right of the herds is Mount Ebih and to their left Talhayum", is too general to be helpful. See for Talhayum during the reign of Zimri-Lim also the letter written by the elders of the town, translated as LAPO 17 no. 607, which reports on an attack on the town by the people of Lubaya.

⁷¹ See Guichard 2002: 129, no. 7: 11 and p. 132f., where he tentatively connects Adamū with Admu(m), a town (which occurs in the "OB itinerary") usually located somewhere east of the Balih, cf. Charpin/Ziegler 2003: 133 with note 463. In ARM 13, 139: 17f. the ruler of Talhayum mentions people from Admu(m). The two OA references to Ad/mū(m) concern the eastern town of which, as is clear from the "itinerary" VS 26, 148: 3, where it is mentioned before [Mard]jamān.

⁷² Nehriya (in Zalmagum) might be mentioned here too, because a marriage contract (AKT 1, 7f.; see above note 37) stipulates that the groom shall not take a second wife, neither in Kaneš nor in Nehriya, if we interpret this as "neither at home nor in (faraway) Nehriya" (across the Euphrates). However, this provision is probably conditioned by the groom's commercial trips, since more marriage contracts forbid marrying a second wife in other cities. TPAK 1, 161 does it

⁶⁵ "Talhatines" in BIN 4, 180: 8 (copper paid to them for belts) and LB 1286: 14 (silver paid to them). The singular in BIN 6, 142: 2, where he gave silver to Assyrians, and in Landsberger C 5: 2, which mentions "18 ½ shekels of silver of the Talhatine".

⁶⁶ See Veenhof 1972: 128ff.

⁶⁷ Kt n/k 139: 13ff.; Kt n/k 1346: 12ff.; Kt n/k 1654: 26ff., each time for 10 minas of silver.

8. The "town of the Kanešites"

Finally, I mention here a new datum, probably also related to the importance of the area where the Euphrates was crossed. It occurs in two new records, edited in the Appendix below as texts nos. 1 and 2, which list expenses of a caravan traveling from Assur to Kaneš. Both mention a "Town (*âlum*) of the Kanešites", which follows after Burullum and Bi/Pird/u'um, while the next town mentioned is Timilkiya. Burullum belongs to the first stage of a caravan journey beginning in Assur and is situated west of the Upper Tigris⁷³ and the location of Bi/Pird/u'um (a hapax) is unknown (but might be somewhere in the Habur area). But since the next stop is Timilkiya, usually located in the area of Gölbasi, c. 75 km to the northeast of Habbum, the "Town of the Kanešites" might well have been situated in the neighborhood of the Euphrates. It cannot have been a border town of the land of Kaneš, since it was separated from Kaneš by the independent city-state of Timilkiya. But it cannot have been too far from Timilkiya, considering the amounts of money spent on hiring a wagon, donkeys and personnel for the various stages of the trip, as the following table, which includes data of Kt 92/k 107 (Appendix text no. 5) shows. Unfortunately, the variety in the nature of the expenses and their rating in tin 5 shows. Unfortunately, the variety in the nature of the expenses and their rating in tin and silver make it impossible to arrive at more exact conclusions.

	stage of the journey	nature of the expenses	amounts of tin or silver
Kt 92/k 103	Qatara to Hamisānum	transport, new donkey	30 and 75 sh. tin
	Burullum to Birtu'um	transport	17 sh. tin
	âl K. to Timilkiya	hire of a wagon	7 sh. tin (= c. 1 sh. si.)
	Timilkiya to Hurrama	hire of a donkey	2 sh. si. + 2 sh. tin
	Hur(a)mā to Luhusaddiya	hire of a donkey	3 sh. si. + 3 sh. tin
	âl K. to Timilkiya	<not specified>	6 ½ sh. <of tin> ⁷⁴
Kt 92/k 108	Timilkiya to Hurrama	hire donkey	2 sh. si. + 2 sh. tin
	Hurrama to Kaneš	hire donkey + driver	4 ½ sh. si. + 4 ½ sh. tin
Kt 92/k 107	Timilkiya to Hurrama	replacement of donkey	2 sh. si. + 2 sh. tin
	Hurrama to Kaneš	<not specified>	6 sh. si. + 6 sh. tin
	in Kaneš	for straw	3 ¼ sh. si.

A town or settlement of "people from Kaneš", mentioned in Assyrian records, must mean one founded by the local population or ruler of Kaneš. Such a pied-à-terre in the general area where the Euphrates was crossed, as point of departure for a journey into Anatolia (in the direction of Timilkiya) or into Northern Mesopotamia, before crossing the river, would make sense and shed interesting light on how Kaneš took care of its trade-routes and provided facilities for its traders (Anatolians or Assyrians). The fact that

for Kaneš, Purašattum, Durhūmit, and Wahšūšana, all well-known Anatolian cities, regularly visited by Assyrian traders.

⁷³ See Charpin/Ziegler 2003: 273, s.v. Burullum.

⁷⁴ The date by mistake omitted in these lines may have been similar to those of Kt 91/k 193: 13-16, because the costs are very similar.

for the trip to Timilkiya a wagon (available in this settlement?) was hired also suggests that the journey started in a flat area, probably a river valley. But without more data the exact location and the function of the "Town of the Kanešites", as well as its relation to the Euphrates remain unclear.

APPENDIX

Five new records bearing on caravan journeys in Northern Mesopotamia and southern Anatolia

I. Kt 92/k 103 (1-65-92, 4.6 x 4.5 cm, black)

- | | | |
|---------|--|---|
| 1 | 5 <i>ma-na hu-sa-e</i>
<i>i-na kâ-si-im</i>
<i>a-na ta-si-a-tim</i>
<i>iš-tü Qâ-tâ-ra a-di</i> | 5 minas of scrap (copper)
in the steppe
for transport.
From Qattarā until |
| 5 | 5 <i>Ha-mi-sâ-nim 1/3 ma-na</i>
<i>AN.NA a-ta-si-a-tim</i>
<i>ANSE uš-pâ-il-sa-ma</i>
<i>1 ma-na 15 GIN</i> | Hamisānum 1/3 mina
of tin for transport.
I replaced a donkey and
had to balance 1 mina and
15 shekels of tin. |
| 10 | 10 <i>iš-tü Bu-ra-li-im</i>
<i>a-di Bi-ir-ti-im</i> | From Burullum
until Birtu'um |
| rev. 17 | 17 <i>GIN AN.NA a-na</i>
<i>ta-si-a-tim 7 GIN</i>
<i>AN.NA iš-tü a-al</i> | 17 shekels of tin for
transport, 7 shekels
of tin from the Town |
| 15 | 15 <i>Kâ-ni-sâ-e a-di Ti-mi-il-si-ki-a</i>
<i>a-na ig-re e-re-qî-tim</i>
<i>iš-tü Ti-mi-il-ki-a</i> | of the Kanešites until Timilkiya
as hire for a wagon. |
| 20 | 20 <i>a-di Hu-ur-ma a-na ig-re</i>
<i>ANSE 2 GIN KU 2 GIN</i> | From Timilkiya
until Hur(a)mā as hire |
| e. | e. <i>AN.NA âs-qîl</i> | of a donkey I paid 2 shekels |
| | <i>iš-tü Hu-ra-<ma> a-di</i>
<i>Lu-hu-sâ-di-a</i> | of silver and 2 shekels of tin. |
| I.e. | I.e. <i>3 GIN KU 3 GIN AN.NA</i>
<i>a-na ig-re ANSE</i> | From Hura<ma> until
Luhusaddiya
3 shekels of silver (and) 3 shekels of tin
as hire of a donkey. |

This record, closely related to no 2, concerns the expenses – *taššiātum*, "transport", presumably by porters, the hire of donkeys and once of a wagon – made by the writer for the owner of the caravan during various stages of his trip. The geographical names reveal a trip from Assur, through Northern Mesopotamia, across the Euphrates (but no mention of the costs of crossing) until Luhusaddiya, which must be located southeast of Kaneš.

Since the order of the entries seems to reflect a linear itinerary, its first stage through the steppe (*kasum*), before arriving in Qattara, must refer to the trip from Assur along the upper course of the Wadi Tharthar to the area east of the Jebel Sinjar. The location of Būrī'um is unknown, but the most remarkable feature is the "Town of the Kanešites", Elbistan, which precedes Timiliya, usually located in the area of Gölbaşı, southeast of the plain of Elbistan.

2. Kt 92/k 108 (1.70-92, 4.0 x 4.1 cm, black)

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>GÜ 58 ma-na</i> | 4 talents 58 minas (of tin) |
| | <i>a-ni-ut : Šu-Istar</i> | the value of Šu-Istar's (shipment), |
| | <i>24 ma-na 10 GIN</i> | 24 minas 10 shekels (of tin), |
| | <i>qā-dum īku-ul-tin</i> | including the fodder, |
| 5 | <i>ū-ša-qi-il 6 1/2 GIN</i> | 1 paid, 6 ½ shekels (of tin) |
| | <i>īs-na-al Kā-ni-śi-i</i> | from the Town of the Kanešites |
| | <i>a-di Ti-mi-il-ki-a</i> | until Timiliya. |
| | <i>2 GIN KÜ.B. 2 GIN AN.NA</i> | 2 shekels of silver and 2 shekels of tin |
| | <i>ig-re ANSĒ īš-tū</i> | the hire of a donkey from |
| 10 | <i>Ti-mi-il-ki-a : a-di</i> | Timiliya until |
| | <i>Hu-ro-ma dā-qil</i> | Hurama I paid. |
| rev. | <i>4 1/2 GIN KÜ.B. ī</i> | 4 ½ shekels of silver and |
| | <i>4 1/2 GIN AN.NA</i> | 4 ½ shekels of tin |
| | <i>ig-re ANSĒ ī</i> | the hire of a donkey and |
| 15 | <i>sā-ri-di-im īš-tū</i> | a donkey-driver from |
| | <i>Hu-ro-ma : a-di</i> | Hurama until |
| | <i>Kā-ni-īš : dā-qil</i> | Kaneš I paid. |
| | <i>mi-ma : a-nim</i> | All this I paid |
| | <i>a-śu-mi : Šu-Istar</i> | for the sake |
| 20 | <i>ū-ša-qi-il-s</i> | of Šu-Istar. |

This record, like no. 1, lists expenses for a trip from the "Town of the Kanešites" until Kaneš, but it skips Luhusaddiya. The other difference is that the costs of transport paid by the writer and charged to the owner of the caravan are specified on the basis of the "declared value" (*awitum*) of his shipment, a device which allowed a fair proportional division of all travel expenses between the members of a caravan. The value was rated on one valuta, tin, whereby textiles and donkeys were both equated to 2 minas of tin (see most recently Dercksen 2004: 154ff.). The amount mentioned in line 1 could imply a caravan of 3 donkeys, e.g. two loaded with tin (plus 8 textiles for wrapping) and one loaded with c. 25 textiles. The costs charged to Šu-Istar (including the fodder for the donkeys, which is normally kept separate, see text 3: 18ff.) are c. 8.1 % of the declared value, which is acceptable. The owner is separately charged a few smaller expenses, presumably because, as happened often, a donkey had died, which was not replaced by buying a new one, but by hiring one for a particular stage of the trip (once together with

its driver). As was the case in text no. 1: 19 and 23, payments in southern Anatolia were several times made in equal amounts of silver and tin, presumably because the writer wished to spend also silver, understandable because the exchange value of tin increased in Anatolia (in Assur 15:1, in Anatolia eventually 6 to 8:1).

3. Kt 92/k 111 (1.73-92, 4.0 x 4.2 cm, black)

- | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>iš-tū Wa-ah-śu-śa-na</i> | From Wahšušana |
| | <i>a-di Kā-né-ēs da-tum</i> | until Kaneš the road-tax amounted |
| | <i>1 1/3 GIN KÜ.B. ik-śu-di</i> | for me to 1 1/3 shekel of silver. |
| | <i>1 GIN a-na kā-śi-im</i> | I shekel (of silver) Ied |
| 5 | <i>i-na Kā-né-ēs</i> | to the official in Kaneš and |
| | <i>ab-ri-ma 10 GIN KÜ.B.</i> | I consumed 10 shekels |
| | <i>a-ku-ul 1 GIN KÜ.B.</i> | of silver. 1 shekel of silver |
| | <i>a-na É wa-āb-re</i> | for the inn |
| | <i>i-na Hu-ro-ma</i> | in Hurama, |
| 10 | <i>1 GIN KÜ.B. i-na</i> | 1 shekel of silver in |
| rev. | <i>Ti-mi-il-ki-a</i> | Timiliya |
| | <i>a-na É wa-āb-ri</i> | for the inn, |
| | <i>2 GIN KÜ.B. i-na</i> | 2 shekels of silver in |
| | <i>Ha-hj-im a-na É wa-āb-ri</i> | Hahüm for the inn, |
| 15 | <i>1 GIN KÜ.B. i-na</i> | 1 shekel of silver in |
| | <i>Bu-ru-lim a-na</i> | Burullum for |
| | <i>É wa-āb-ri</i> | the inn. |
| | <i>10 GIN KÜ.B. iš-tū</i> | 10 shekels of silver from |
| | <i>Kā-né-ēs a-di a-łim⁷⁵</i> | Kaneš until the City |
| 20 | <i>a-na īku-ul-ti-a</i> | I spent on |
| | <i>a-ag-mu-ur</i> | my food. |

This record lists expenses during a trip starting in Wahšušana and apparently ending in the city of Assur (l. 19), which is only mentioned when the total costs for food are summarized. The only expenses for the trip from Hurama to Burullum are those for lodging, presumably 1 shekel of silver per night, with a two nights' stay in Hahüm. One wonders where the traveler spent all the other nights. Burullum (also in no. 1: 10) was an important road-station that occurs in several OA "itineraries".⁷⁵ It is known from texts from Mari and Tell Leilan, and must be located north of Mosul and the Jebel Sinjar, to

⁷⁵ TC 3, 164 (Nashef 1987: no. 26): 4, in the sequence: Assur-Burullum-Eluhħut; VS 26, 148: 17: Admī-Mardaman-.....-Habura-Burullum; VS 26, 43: 10th: expenses of a caravan calculated from Razamā until Burullum and from Burullum until Kaneš. Kt nk 931 (Uzunalmışoğlu 1993: 61f., no. 10): 2ff. mentions a settlement of accounts in tin about expenses for a trip "from Nineveh until Burullum" and in its final lines "from the City until Nineveh".

the west of the Tigris, perhaps in the easternmost tip of Syria, in the area where we also find Habura and Mardaman.⁷⁶

4. Kt 86/k 192 (2-74-86, 4.1 x 4.0 cm)

1	3 ma-na 5 ⁷ GIN AN.NA a-na kā-šl-im dās-qu-[u] 1 ½ ma-na 5 GIN AN.NA a-na si-ip-ri-kā a-[a]	3 minas and 5 shekels of tin I paid to the official. 1 ½ mina and 5 shekels of tin for your messenger (sent) to Kaneš.
5	Kā-ni-iš ⁸ 1 ma-na a-na si-ip-ri-kā 1 ½ SILA; LGIS re-ēši-tám ū sá-he-er-tám i-na Né-eh-ri-a	(For) 1 mina I made available to your messenger 1 ½ quart of prime oil and sundries in Nehriya. ½ mina of tin to Su-Asšur our nākirum. 5/6 mina of tin for a garment they selected in Haqa.
10	dāš-ku-nam ⁹ ½ ma-na AN.NA a-na Su-A-sür na-ki-ri-ni	4 minas 10 shekels of tin which you ¹⁰ transferred to Puzur-Sad'u.
c.	5/6 ma-na AN.NA rev. lu-bu-ša-am i-na Ha-gó-a e-mu-ru-nim	1/3 ma-na 1 GIN AN.NA a-na na-ki-ri-im (^{“used dāš”})
15	4 ma-na 10 GIN AN.NA sa Puṣu-ŠA.TU tū-tā-hi-a-nim	I gave to a nākirum when he sent (him) to Kaneš.
20	i-nu-mi a-na Kā-ni-iš ta-dā-pu-ra-ni a-di-in i-nu-mi a-na Za-al-pá/a ni-li-ku-ni ½ ma-na 1 GIN AN.NA	When we went to Zalpa we spent ½ mina 1 shekel of tin. 1 shekel of silver
25	ni-ig-mu-ur Le. 1 GIN KÜ.B. i-na Áb-ri-im dās-qu-ul	I paid in Abrum.

Geographical names from this text were listed in the index of the Kt 86/k texts published by Ayşe Üzünlüoğlu (1987) and incorporated in Nashef 1991, but without context and evidence of their sequence so that their informative value is limited. All expenses (apart from the last one, in Abrum) are in tin, which suggests a trip from Assur to Anatolia. The order of the place-names indicates a journey that started in or somewhere north of Assur, presumably with Kaneš as final destination (on the way three times messengers were sent

⁷⁶ See Ziegler 2002: 269, notes 266ff., where Šamši-Adad I is said to travel from Šubat-Enlil to Ekallatum via Burallum (where he stayed five days) and Tupham (see the map on p. 267).

ahead, at least twice to Kaneš, l. 4f. and 18ff.), and the caravan passed Nehriya, Haqa, Zalpa, and Abrum. The order of the last two towns is perhaps not quite certain, because the unusual formulation “when we went to Zalpa” (l. 22f.) might refer to a deviation, but I take it at face value.

The verb *sákānum* in line 10 (more likely than *ságālum*) may indicate that the preceding items, worth 1 mina of tin, were provided to the messenger for his trip. The *nākirum* (l. 11 and 19) must be some kind of messenger, attested in a few other texts too, hardly a “herald” who performed such tasks; see Veenhof, in print, § 2.2.4.

5. Kt 92/k 107 (1-69-92; 4.1 x 4.4 cm, black)

1	8 GÚ 16 ½ GÍN / AN.NA a-vi-it I-di-Si-in	8 talents 16 ½ shekels of tin the calculated value of Iddin-Suen’s merchandise.
5	ŠÁ.BA 41 ma-na 15 GÍN / AN.NA qá-di šá ú-ku-ul-tim 2 GÍN KÜ.B. ú 2 GÍN AN.NA iš-tú Ti-mi-il-si-a	Thereof: 41 mina 15 shekels of tin, including expenses for fodder. 2 shekels of silver and 2 shekels of tin
	ANŠE i-mi-lis-ja-ma dás-quid 6 GÍN KÜ.B.	I paid from Timiliya because a donkey suffered a stroke.
10	ú 6 GÍN AN.NA iš-tú Hu-ra-ma	6 shekels of silver
rev.	a-di Kā-ni-iš	and 6 shekels of tin
	dás-quid 4 LÁ ¼ GÍN KÜ.B.	I paid from Hurama
	a-na tib-ki-nim	until Kaneš.
15	i-na Kā-ni-eš dás-quid mi-ma a-nim a-šu-mi l-di-Si-in [d]ás-quid ŠÁ.BA	3 ¾ shekels of silver
	34 ½ ma-na	I paid
20	AN.NA a-qá-ti-a i-di-mu-nim	in Kaneš
	i-2/3 ma-na 7 GÍN.TA bi-il-sá-tam ik-šu-dam	for straw. All this
		I paid in the name of
		Iddin-Suen. Thereof
		34 ½ minas of tin
		they had given me
		as tin for in the hand.
		It amounted to 3 minas 47 shekels
		per talent.

This record, written by the transporter who had shipped the merchandise of Iddin-Suen, like text no. 1 starts by stating the calculated value in tin. He paid in all 41 minas 15 shekels of tin, obviously, as parallels show, for the ‘road-tax’ (*dātum*) and in this case also for the costs of buying fodder. The statements in lines 22f. are somewhat surprising, since a road-tax amounting to 3 minas 47 shekels per talent of tin implies a calculated value (*avitum*) of the load of c. 28 minas and 40 shekels of tin, which is c. 11 minas and 25 shekels less than the amount mentioned in line 4. The difference could be explained by adding the unknown costs of fodder and the specific expenses itemized in lines 6-15,

OLD ASSYRIAN TRADE IN NORTHERN SYRIA
THE EVIDENCE FROM TELL LEILAN*

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Introduction

Compared to the abundant data on trade conducted by the Old Assyrian and local merchants in Anatolia little is known about contemporary trade dynamics in the North Syrian area. New information provided by the archives found at Tell Leilan in 1985 and 1987 in the so-called "Lower Town Palace East", serves to improve this situation. The archives belonged to the kings Mutiya, Till-Abnū, and Yakūn-Asār, who reigned at Leilan c. 1755-1728 BC. The archives include some 200 letters from the royal correspondence, more than 500 administrative documents, and remains of 5 tablets with the texts of political treaties concluded by Leilan rulers. Pending full publication of this material, inexplicably delayed, a number of preliminary studies have provided sufficiently comprehensive summaries that it should be possible to proceed almost immediately to a presentation of the aspects relevant for the subject of trade and traders.¹

The Old Assyrian traders and their caravans crossed the Habur Basin before moving into Anatolia, and during the earlier phase of the trade contemporary with Kültepe Level II (c. 1950-1835 BC), they passed a town named Apum. Although as yet unidentified Apum was located in the vicinity of Tell Leilan, ancient Sehna/Subat-Enlil, which during the later phase of the Old Assyrian trade (= Kültepe Level Ib, c. 1800-1700) functioned as capital of "the land of Apum". In this latter period Leilan seems to have inherited the earlier role of Apum as relay station for the traders, probably as a result of intervention by Šamši-Adad, who made Leilan his own residential capital. Subsequently, in the mid-18th century BC, the new Leilan archives document an Assyrian *kārum* establishment, including an institution known as the "House of the Servant of Assur" at Leilan. The official nature of the Assyrian presence is underlined by the conclusion of a formal treaty between the king of Leilan and the city of Assur, while contemporary administrative texts

* This is a slightly updated version of the paper read at the Leiden meeting. On that occasion the author could unfortunately not attend and the paper was instead presented by J. G. Dercksen. For this and his kind invitation to contribute to the meeting he is warmly thanked. It should be noted that most of the information and discussion here is also incorporated in the comprehensive summary of the Leilan evidence Eidem n.d. The letters and treaties are published in Eidem YTLL (in press).

¹ For the letters and treaties see especially Eidem 1991a, 1991b, 1991c, and n.d. For the administrative texts see the provisional editions Vincente 1991 and Ismail 1991. An excellent short summary of the reported evidence can be found in Charpin 2004: 348-351.

show that the Assyrians participated in banking activity in the local region. Also of considerable interest is the existence in Leilan of *kārum* establishments belonging to other North Syrian city-states and to Sippar in Babylonia, a reflection of both local and international trade networks.

To set the scene, however, we must first go back to the earlier Old Assyrian period, and consider an important geographical problem, namely the identity of the town Apum, which the traders passed, and which we now know was the base of a *kârum* colony settlement.¹⁰ Was it Tell Leilan itself or some other site in its vicinity? It has long been established that the imposing site of Tell Leilan should be identified with ancient Sehna and Subat-Enlil. Tablets found on the high mound "Acropolis" of Leilan in 1985 made the identification with Subat-Enlil virtually certain (Whiting 1990a and 1990b). At the same time evidence from Mari revealed that the original name of the city was Sehnâ, and under this name the site is mentioned several times in Old Akkadian texts found at Tell Brak (Eidem, Finkel, Bonge 2001). Sehnâ was presumably renamed Subat-Enlil by Samsû-Adad (c. 1835–1778 BC), and the city was again referred to with its old name following the dissolution of his kingdom. Sehnâ is also encountered in the year-formula or the 23rd regnal year (= 1728 BC) of the Babylonian king Samsu-iluna, which records the destruction of "Sahnâ, the capital city of the land of Apum" (Hornsieck 1999, vol. 2: 211–213). This is the latest known reference to Leilan, where major occupation seems to have come to an end about this time.

Thus the Babylonian year-formula, as well as sources from Mari and Leílah itself, show clearly that Senna or Subat-Enlil was the capital for an area called "the land of Apum", which presumably covered a large eastern portion of the Habur Basin. Apum, however, must also have been the name of a town as shown by the Old Assyrian texts where Apum was a distinct locality with a *kárum*. Further the documentation for a paramount local goddess, Bélet-Apum, points in the same direction, since such compounds usually involve a town (Charpin 1987).

Although a town Apum is not in clear evidence outside the Kültepe material, it thus seems likely to have existed. It seems unlikely moreover to be identical with Leilan itself, where the excavator has repeatedly stressed a "hiatus" in settlement for the period c. 2200-1900 BC (=Leilan Period IIc). Looking in the Leilan hinterland for likely candidates one immediately thinks of Mohammed Diyab, another large second millennium site a few kilometres southeast of Leilan, and one notes the find of an Old Assyrian cylinder seal at Mohammed Diyab, which prompted the following comment from one of the excavators: "on peut affirmer désormais que Mohammed Diyab se trouvait sur la route commerciale qui reliait l'Assyrie à l'Anatolie centrale, en plein cœur du "pays d'Apum" (Castel 1990: 53). Also Mohammed Diyab, however, seems to have been abandoned during Leilan Period IIc (Nicolle 2005: 181), and must therefore, at least

² Mentioned specifically in AKT 2, 19: 13.

formally, be discounted. According to recent and very detailed survey work in a 30 km strip of the Syrian Habur Basin the Leilan Project team found only a few, mostly very small sites, which show occupation in Period IIe. Although even the best survey has obvious limitations, especially with regard to identification of such a narrow time range, it seems prudent to limit search to the sites presently identified. Since Apum should be a relatively large and important place this allows virtually only a single candidate, namely Tell Aïd, c. 15 km due west of Leilan, and c. 15 km southeast of Qamishli.¹ Is this possible? One observation which could point in the same direction is the rather curious fact that among the senders of letters to the kings of Leilan only the king of Sunā, a vassal, reports on the well-being of the "land of Apum" (see the letter YTLR 101 published in appendix below), as if Sunā was particularly associated with Apum. Was Sunā, a town which must clearly be sought west/northwest of Leilan, somewhere in the vicinity of Qamishli (Chardin and Ziegler 2003: 275), thus perhaps closer to the core of Apum than Leilan itself?²

The important point, however, is that Apum almost certainly was a town distinct from Sehna/Subat-Enlil identified with Tell Leilan. Leilan may have been the capital of an important Habur kingdom prior to its abandonment around 2200 BC. In the following centuries Apum could instead have become a political and religious center for this part of the Habur Basin, and as such a natural relay point for the Old Assyrian trades. When Šamsi-Adad conquered the Habur Basin in the late 19th century he chose perhaps still deserted mound of Leilan as his residence, instead of the local capital, a strategy also seen elsewhere in this period. Šamsi-Adad is known to have deposited some local rulers in the areas he conquered, while allowing others to remain as vassals. What happened to the ruler of Apum is uncertain. The cult of Belet-Apum was probably transferred from Apum to Subat-Enlil, which now also became transit point for the renewed Assyrian trade on Anatolia. Possibly Apum was destroyed or at least severely reduced, but the name remained as a designation for the region.⁵

Perhaps we here have a fairly clear and concrete example of how political circumstances reshaped the Old Assyrian network between the two main periods of the

³ The site is no. 90 on the Leilan period maps (available at: http://research.yale.edu/leilan/regional_survey.html). In the Leilan IIc period occupation is estimated at 10–20 ha. The same site is no. 166 in Meijer 1986: 19–20, where it is reported to be ca. 500 m in diameter, and that: “Ancient remains consist of four summits, the western one ca. 35 m high, the eastern (covered by the modern village) ca. 22 m, the southern and northern ones lowish”. Occupation was estimated to cover EB IV through LB.

⁴ The correlation of archaeological and historical data is of course precarious. The end of the Lelian II period would formally include the inceptive phase of the Old Assyrian trade, and it is of course logical to think that there is a general connection here; the revival of settlement in the North would have provided the stability and prosperity which allowed the trade to proceed, further supporting the revival. In archaeological terms the margin is slim, but one would still prefer clear evidence for "pre-Samsat-Adad" occupation at any particular site before claiming that it was occupied when the Old Assyrian trade began.

⁵ With the exception of a single uncertain example a town Apum is not mentioned in the archives from the Lower Town Palace East.

trade. How Šamši-Adad interacted with the Assyrian trade is as yet little known, and I shall not attempt to discuss this subject. It is clear, however, that Leilan, during a fairly brief period became an extremely important hub in international relations. Just to mention two examples. One is the incident late in his reign when Šamši-Adad exchanged envoys with the king of Dilmun in the Arabian Gulf, and the Dilmunite envoys travelled all the way up to northern Syria to Subat-Enlil.⁶ The other example is even more curious. When the Leiden archaeologist Diederik Meijer surveyed in the Habur he was at Leilan shown a fragment of an alabaster vessel with remains of an inscription in Egyptian hieroglyphs (Meijer 1986: 44 and Fig. 7 a-b). The vessel is probably of Middle Bronze Age date, and a rare example of such an object in these parts. It is tempting to see it as a trace of the international activities focusing on Leilan during the period when Šamši-Adad was in residence.

Merchant Offices at Leilan

We know that Leilan housed an Assyrian *kārum* during the subsequent period contemporary with the reign of Zimri-Lim at Mari. The evidence from the Mari archives includes some significant references to the traders. At one point they were evicted from their houses in Leilan by an Elamite army which had seized the town in ZL 10 (c. 1765 BC), and it has recently been suggested that the Elamite invasion and brief occupation of the Habur could have been prompted by desire to take over the Assyrian trade (Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 217f.).

The most important evidence for Assyrian presence from Leilan itself is the tablet with the text of a treaty between Till-Abnū of Apum and Assur (Eidem 1991b). No doubt it dates to the beginning of Till-Abnū's reign, thus c. 1750 BC, and would have been necessitated by the change of rule. The details of the treaty are unfortunately obscured by the broken condition of the tablet, but basically the preserved text consists of two main parts. The godlist and adjuration closes with a direct appeal to Till-Abnū, the king of Apum, to swear to the Assyrians, namely the representatives of the "city of (divine) Aššur, the son(s) of (divine) Aššur in transit, and the *kārum* in your city". Then follows the clauses of the treaty in the form of oral statements put by the Assyrian representatives to the king, who is addressed in the 2nd person sg. Few of the stipulations are preserved or can be reconstructed fully, but they seem to follow a pattern very similar to that of the new examples of Old Assyrian treaties from Kültepe. The large four-column tablet would have had a longer text than any of the Old Assyrian treaties known from Kanesh, but otherwise seems very similar, especially with the treaty concluded between Assur and and Hähnum (Günbatlı 2004).

The contemporary letters from Leilan do not provide any information on the Assyrian trade, and this must be sought in the administrative texts. First it is of interest to note that other towns had colonies or merchant offices in Leilan. There was a *kārum* of

⁶ For this incident see Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 140 ff. with further literature.

Sippar in Leilan, unfortunately only mentioned once,⁷ and we hear nothing of its functions, but we know that Babylonian traders operated in the North in this period, and from Sippar itself there is evidence for an Assyrian merchant establishment (Veenhof 1989). The administrative texts also show that Leilan housed merchant offices of local Habur kingdoms. The kingdoms of Kahat, Sunā, and Amursakkum are concrete examples,⁸ but quite likely there were more merchant offices than those attested in the available texts. In sum it is clear that Sehnā was part of both international and regional networks of trade, and must have housed a busy merchant quarter. In 1991 excavations at Leilan tested the possibility of a *kārum* type quarter in the southern part of the Lower Town, but found only a Mitanni period cemetery imposed on remains from the third millennium (Weiss 1991). The Leilan commercial district therefore must be sought elsewhere, but quite likely within the safety of the city walls. Although the large Lower Town may not have been densely inhabited in the Old Babylonian period, we are gradually gaining some insight into the topography of the site. Apart from temples on the Acropolis, we have the large Lower Town Palace East, of which only some 1000 square meters have been excavated, but is estimated to have covered an area of some 12500 square meters (Akkermans and Weiss 1991). In 1991 excavations explored part of another large administrative building belonging to the king of Andarig in the Lower Town North (Operation 7) (Van De Mieroop 1991). Such buildings plus residences of foreign kings, the merchant offices, residences for many officials, service personnel and so on must after all have filled much of the available space within the walls.

In charge of the merchant offices was an official with the title "overseer of the merchant offices" (*wakil kāri*). His name was Iṣi-ahū, and so he was probably not an Assyrian. He is mentioned twice in the archive. In one instance he is paid silver from the royal coffer as price for some jewelry,⁹ and on another occasion he brings a jar of wine to the king.¹⁰ In spite of the different title his functions were probably equivalent to that of the "overseer of the merchants", known from Assur during the time of Šamši-Adad (Michel 1996: 420-422). The main function would have been to act as a link between the merchant offices in Leilan and the palace. It is not clear whether he was appointed by the king or chosen by the merchant offices themselves, but the latter possibility seems the more likely.

A special designation is also found for the Assyrian commercial establishment in Leilan. Although it is called a *kārum* colony in the treaty with the king of Leilan, administrative texts refer several times to "a house of the servant of Aššur". The "servant of Aššur" could of course be understood as a simple personal name, Warad-Aššur, but almost certainly qualifies the "house" as an Assyrian institution. After the death of Šamši-Adad there was a struggle between his old official Samiya, who controlled Leilan and a

⁷ Vincente 1991: no. 176; 7f. lists a certain Bununa-Addu dub-sar, lú ka-ar si-ip-pi-ir.

⁸ All mentioned in the text Ismail 1991: no. 103 discussed below.

⁹ Vincente 1991: no. 65; 1.5 should no doubt be read: ugula kar-meš-ri.

¹⁰ Vincente 1991: no. 114; the occasion is a kind of play performed with the king, but the important 1. 5 of the text is not clear, and may require collation.

local prince Turum-natki, possibly related to the former king of Apum. Troops from Ešnuna occupied Leilan and inhabitants who supported Turum-natki of Apum declared: "Let us kill Samiya and the nobles, and let us either make 'the son of Aššur' (dumu *Aššur*) king or give the city to Turum-natki, but we shall not join Ešnuna" (Chirpin and Ziegler 2003: 198). The rather mysterious Mār-Aššur or "son of Aššur" is very likely another term for "servant of Aššur", and both terms should probably be understood as "director" of the Assyrian merchant office.

The texts also provide some limited information on activities of the merchant offices in Leilan. A small series of texts from the last regnal year (*lammu Habil-kēnu*) of Mutiya, so shortly before the conclusion of the treaty between the Assyrians and Till-Abnū – concern a group of 22 slaves who are transferred from the "house of the servant of Aššur" to the palace. Subsequently some of these slaves are ransomed by their relatives from various small towns in Apum. The exact background for this is not clear, but it seems likely that the slaves were residents of Apum who had been caught in foreign raids, and later ransomed by Assyrian traders in transit.¹¹ The only other references to Assyrians in the texts concern first a text which mentions a present of oil to the palace from a merchant Innaya arriving from Mammā.¹² Second we find mention of another merchant with a typical Assyrian name, Alf-wagrum, who presents a jar of wine to the palace.¹³

As for the activities of other non-Assyrian merchant offices we get some information in a tablet which is an interim account for silver set aside for purchase of wool and barley for the palace cultivators ("the farmers of the villages").¹⁴ It totals 14 5/6 minas of silver, listing expenses and incoming amounts of silver. The text is unique, and not all details are clear, but some interesting features emerge. First that wool is procured from 1438 sheep (= c. same kg wool), probably belonging to the palace, and shorn by Haneans, i.e. the semi-nomadic population of Apum, for a fee of 1 shekel silver for each 7 or 8 sheep. Next some 600 kg of wool is purchased from the "merchant offices" of "the man of Šunā" and "the man of Amursakkum". Although this phrasing is unusual it presumably means offices of these towns, rather than specifically their kings, both vassals of Apum. The explanation for these purchases is possibly that sheep belonging to Šunā and Amursakkum had been shorn close to Leilan, and the wool therefore was most easily

¹¹ The relevant texts are as follows:

Vincente 1991: no. 168 (15... H-K) lists 22 slaves, among them boys, girls, "old" women, from "the House of the servant of Aššur", entrusted to the palace official Mannum-balfi-El.

Vincente 1991: no. 64 (24/vi H-K) is a note of 1 mina of silver received from "the House of the servant of Aššur".

Vincente 1991: no. 31 (27/vi H-K) is a note of 1/3 mina silver as ransom for a man from "the House of the servant of Aššur", and released to a man from Hizhibzzi (= Izhizzī).

Vincente 1991: no. 35 (27/vi H-K) is a note of 1/3 mina silver as ransom for a woman from "the House of the servant of Aššur" to a man from Lazapat.

¹² Vincente 1991: no. 153.

¹³ Ismail 1991: no. 15.

¹⁴ Ismail 1991: no. 103. For more details on this interesting and difficult text see for now the comments in Ismail 1991: 111-116. Detailed analysis of the text is beyond the scope of the present study.

sold through the merchant offices there. Why the palace farms needed two tons of wool is not stated, but presumably the staffs were supposed to spin and weave in their spare time.

Conclusions

The evidence discussed in this short paper admittedly raises more questions than it answers. Why did the Assyrian *kārum* or at least one of its structures have the unusual designation "house of the servant of Assur", and who was the "servant" or "son" of Assur? Was the house the equivalent of the "house of the *kārum*" known as the administrative center for the Kaneš colony, and was the "servant" equal to its so-called "secretary", in charge of the *kārum* house in Kaneš (see Dercksen 2004: 99ff.)? Do the differences reflect geographical or chronological circumstances?

At present the evidence does not allow secure answers to such questions, but the information available is clearly just the shadow of an intricate and extensive merchant activity in the North Syrian area, both internationally and locally, and only represented by scattered references in a palace archive. Clearly a main focus for the Old Assyrian traders was the Anatolian market, but one is tempted to postulate a second system which already in the earlier period of the trade concentrated more on the northern Jazira, a system which has left few traces in the archives from Anatolia.

Tell Leilan first became famous as the site which hides the ruins of Šubat-Enlil, and finding major archives from the time of Šamsi-Adad there is certainly still a possibility. At present, however, the site has mostly produced texts which date to the generation or so following Šamsi-Adad's reign, and nearly all of them related to official activities. It is clear, however, that the site may also hide considerable written evidence in the ruins of its many merchant offices. Ancient cities in the North, like Kaneš, Mari, and Sehna/Šubat-Enlil had the misfortune to be basically abandoned in the early second millennium BC, leaving huge archives to be fortunately retrieved by modern scholars. As yet ancient Sehna/Šubat-Enlil has presumably yielded only fractions of its epigraphic treasures, and since 1991 excavation strategy at Leilan has targeted mainly Early Bronze Age remains. Hopefully excavation of the early second millennium city, a potentially rich source of historical information, will be resumed in the near future.

Appendix: A letter from ancient Šunā

The letter YTLR 101 is one of a series of letters sent from the Aya-Abu, the king of Šunā, to Till-Abnū of Apum. A unique feature of this specimen is that it is co-authored by a certain Šibila, possibly Aya-abu's *sukkallum-minister*. The contents refer to a complicated and rather unclear political situation, which unfolded in the early year(s) of Till-Abnū's reign. At the core of the situation was a military menace created by Halu-rabi (king of Tabitum?) and a certain AŠK'-Eduu. The senders here report on the manoeuvrings of troops serving these two figures, and request a reinforcement of 150

troops to safeguard the town of Šunā and the "district" of the land of Apum. The letter ends with the assurance that both Šunā and the land of Apum are well.

The land of Apum is not mentioned in similar terms by other correspondents, and the impression is certainly that Šunā must have been closely associated with Apum. As discussed above this may indicate that the core of the territory known as Apum was west of Leilan, and that the original town Apum should be sought between Leilan and Šunā, which M. Wäfler recently suggested to place at Tell Abu Rasein, SW of Qamishli (Wäfler 2001).

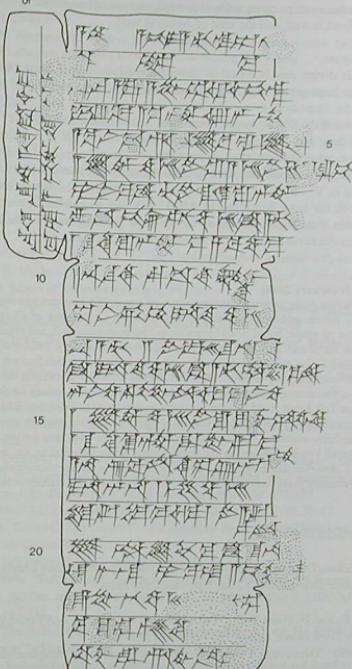
YTLR 101 (L.87-1430)

oby. *a-na a-bi-ia ti-la-ab-n[u]*
 _{[g]l-bi-ma}
 _{"um'-ma a-ia-a-bu-um i ši-bi-ba}
 _{dumu-ru-ka-o-ma "im i' as-kur}
 5 *a-ba-ni da-ri-[?] li-ba-al-li'-tū'*
 _{2 li-im érin-mes tū dirig-meš lū ha'-lu'-ra-bi}
 _{iz.-ni-ma it-ti lū aš-ki-e⁴-im}
 _{u'-da-pi'-r pu-na érin-mes sa-a-ti}
 _{"aš-ki-e⁴-im is-sa-ba-tam-ma}
 10 *a-na uru⁵ gur-da-ba'-ah'-li-im⁶*
 _{is-ni-qd-am i-na ša érin-mes}
 rev. *'sa'a'-a⁷ 2 lu dumu-muš su-na-[a]⁸*
 _{sa i-na ša érin-mes sa-a-ti il-li-ku-nim}
 _{an-ni-tam ig-bu-nim i' sa'a'-ni-tam}
 15 *I li-im érin-mes e-lu-hu-ta-yi⁹*
 _{"aš-ki-e⁴-im iš-pi'-ur-ma}
 _{a-na sa-ba-nim¹⁰ is-sa-an-qa-am}
 _{i-na-an-na I me 50 érin-mes}
 _{tū-ur-dam-ma I lū alik / pa-nim}
 20 *li-il-li-kam-ma ša su-na-[a]¹¹*
 _{u hal-la-as ma-at a-pi-im¹²}
 u.e. *e-pu-ūš érin-me[š an-ni]u'-am*
 _{ba-lu-um si-di-[tim a-na]}
 _{na-oh-ra-ri-im li-[l]-li-kam}
 25 *uru¹³ su-na-ak¹⁴ sa-lim-ma*
 _{ma-at a-pi-im¹⁵ š[a-li]n}

Say to Till-Abnū: Thus (say) Aya-abum and Šibila, your sons:

May Adad and Askur grant our father long life!

2000 supplementary troops of lord Halur-rabi became dissatisfied, and detached themselves together with lord AŠK'-Eddu. AŠK'-Eddu has taken command of these troops and reached the town Gurdabahum (?). Among these troops were two men from Šunā, who marched with these troops, (and) told me this. Also AŠK'-Addu sent off 1000 Eluhut troops, and they have reached Sábabánum. Now send me 150 soldiers, and let a



Copy of YTTR 101 (L.87-1430); tablet of pale reddish, gritty clay; 4.7 x 4.0 x 2.1 cm.

commander come, and do what (is necessary for defense of) Šunā and the district of Apum. Let these troops come without provisions as reinforcements. The town Šunā is well, and the land of Apum is well.

Selected Notes:

4) This divine pair is found in several other letters from Šunā. Aškur is otherwise only known from some PNs (like prominently Mut-Aškur, the son of Išme-Dagan), but may now be identified as an important deity associated with Šunā. For a possible interpretation of the DN as Asqr ("mountain") see Durand 1991: 88.

7) Reading and interpretation of the first part of the PN is not clear to me. AŠK-

Edu occurs in several other letters as an enemy of Apum.

10) The town mentioned here, the latter part of the name written over erasures, is also attested in YTLR 102, 8, where it seems to be spelled ...-bahhūm, and so probably is identical with the town Kardubah in ARMT XXVIII 91, where Šubram of Susa relates that men from there (lú-méš ku-ur-du-ba-ah-hu-ju¹¹) have destroyed the town Kalmatum. A location in the north central sector of the Habur Basin seems likely.

Addendum (February 2008)

As this article was going to press I became aware of a new Old Assyrian text from Northern Syria, excavated by Polish archaeologists at Tell Arbid (some 15 km east of Chagar Bazar). It is a fragment of an envelope, found in a Mitanian period pit in step trench S, and preserves part of a text in clearly OA script and language (for a photo see www.swiawa.pl/TellArbid). Besides the OA treaty from Tell Leilan this specimen is the only other OA text which has yet surfaced in Syria, and must reflect some OA activity at Arbid. While detailed discussion of this find will be presented in a forthcoming publication (Bieliński and Eidem, n.d.), it may be noted that it invites the theory that Tell Arbid could be identical with ancient Amaz. This town is known to have been a potential next stop for OA traders leaving Apum (the Leilan region) en route to Anatolia. Judging from fairly extensive information about Amaz from Mari and Leilan, the town was the capital of a small kingdom placed in the north central part of the Habur, i.e. in the same general area as Arbid. However that may be, the new find provides welcome confirmation that sites in NE Syria may eventually yield more information to help illuminate OA activity in this region.

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NAHUR ET LA ROUTE DES MARCHANDS ASSYRIENS
À L'ÉPOQUE DE ZIMRI-LIM*

Michaël Guichard

C'est avec modestie, étant loin d'être un spécialiste des affaires paléo-assyriennes, que je voudrais traiter du commerce assyrien vu par les gens de Mari. Outre les mentions bien connues dans les archives royales de Mari du commerce entre Aššur et Kanēš (l'expulsion des marchands de Subat-Enlil¹, la caravane de 300 ânes passant par Karanā², etc.)³, J.-M. Durand a fait remarquer que d'autres occurrences de cette activité et des marchands assyriens figuraient dans des documents inédits de Mari⁴.

Je voudrais vous en présenter deux brillants exemples. Il s'agit de deux lettres envoyées depuis la ville de Nahur en Haute-Djéziré (Triangle du Habur) à Mari : A.3064+M.10722 (joint que j'ai réalisé en septembre 2005) et A.3063. Elles donnent un aperçu de ce commerce péninsulaire sur un tronçon de la route où les textes de Mari jusqu'ici publiés ne documentaient pas encore : l'étape après Subat-Enlil ou le Sindjar.

Ces deux documents ont été écrits par Itūr-Asdu, un serviteur de Zimri-Lim. Il est l'un des fonctionnaires de ce roi les mieux connus en raison de l'importance des fonctions qu'il a occupées et de son abondante correspondance. Itūr-Asdu fut gouverneur de Mari, puis de Saggaratum, avant d'être envoyé à Nahur au cours de la sixième année de règne de Zimri-Lim⁵. Entre l'année 6 et 13 de Zimri-Lim, il écrivit régulièrement des rapports parfois assez longs⁶.

Il se trouve en effet que la mention des marchands assyriens par Itūr-Asdu est liée directement à l'occupation de Nahur par les gens de Mari. Il me faut par conséquent

* Je voudrais exprimer toute ma reconnaissance à J. J. Roodenberg et J. G. Dercksen qui m'ont invitée à Leyden pour ce symposium. Je remercie aussi J.-M. Durand, L. Marti et G. Chambon pour l'aide qu'ils m'ont apportée.

¹ Cf. *ARM* XXVI/2 315-316.

² Cf. *ARM* XXVI/2 432.

³ Cf. *ARM* XXVI/2 ; Charpin et Durand 1997.

⁴ Cf. Durand 2001 : 120.

⁵ Cf. Lion 2001 ; cf. tout particulièrement p. 179 et p. 184-185.

⁶ Cette correspondance (sans doute le plus important témoignage sur la région du Haut-Habur à l'époque de Zimri-Lim) devait être initialement publiée dans le tome XX des *Archives Royales de Mari* par G. Dossin. Il ne put jamais achever l'édition définitive du corpus. J'ai repris la tâche de publier ces lettres, à l'instigation de J.-M. Durand, en ajoutant tout un ensemble de documents ignorés par G. Dossin à son époque. L'édition du corpus fait partie de mon travail d'habilitation soutenu en novembre 2006 sous le titre : *Nahur et l'Ida-maraš. La Correspondance d'Itūr-Asdu gouverneur de Nahur sous le règne de Zimri-Lim et autres documents*.

décrire rapidement l'histoire de Nahur et les conditions de l'installation d'Itûr-Asdu à Nahur avant de présenter les deux lettres.

I) L'occupation de Nahur

a) Localisation

La ville de Nahur, pour l'heure surtout documentée à partir de l'époque de Samsi-Addu, mais qui existait déjà à l'époque sargonique⁷, n'est pas précisément localisée⁸. Il ressort de la documentation du gouverneur qu'elle se trouvait au nord-ouest du Triangle du Habur. Un itinéraire paléo-assyrien a depuis longtemps⁹ montré que Nahur était sur la route allant d'Apum (sans doute une ville située dans le sud-Sindjar)¹⁰ à Luhu ou pour route allant d'Apum (sans doute une ville située dans le sud-Sindjar)¹¹ à Luhu ou pour route allant d'Apum (sans doute une ville située dans le sud-Sindjar)¹². Cette dernière est plus précisément située entre Amaz (une station après Apum) et Luhu¹³. Cette dernière appartient au Yaptur Supérieur¹⁴, au nord-ouest du Haut-Habur. Elle est plusieurs fois mentionnée dans les lettres du gouverneur de Nahur.

La localisation récente d'Urgis à Tell Mozan représente une donnée fondamentale puisqu'il semble clair d'après les textes d'Itûr-Asdu que cette ville était voisine de Nahur¹⁵. Comme exemple on peut noter que le roi de Mari eut le projet de faire Nahur.

⁷ Cf. Foster 1992 : 73-76. Pour la période pré-sargonique, cf. M. Bonechi, RGTC 12/1, p. 255.

⁸ Pour une présentation générale mais qui nécessite une mise à jour, cf. Kupper 1998.

⁹ J.-R. Kupper (1998) la situe aux sources du Habur (avec RGTC 3, p. 173 et ARM XXVIII, p. 179). Cette localisation a été remise en cause par K. Nashef (RGTC 5, p. 201 et RGTC 4, p. 86). Astour la localise à Tell Ermen (Kırzı Tepe), cf. Foster 1992 : 74. Récemment P. Forlanini (2006 : 161 n. 69) a proposé de la mettre à Tell Dibik (mais sa reconstitution de la toponymie d'époque amorrite dans cette partie du Habur — notamment pour Ašnakkum ! —, ne me paraît pas convaincante). Il faut tenir compte de la lettre d'Ila-salim qui devrait être le gouverneur de Nahur à l'époque du Royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie vu qu'il se déplace en char (ARM V 66) et qu'il jure par Addu de Nahur (inédit M.8199 : 3° dont J.-M. Durand m'a confié l'édition définitive). Celui-ci devait se « déplacer à travers le plat pays (*mánum*) et la montagne » (cf. LAPO 16 77). J.-M. Durand note qu'e il faut donc chercher cette ville du côté du Tûr-'Abdin. » (*Documents épistolaire du palais de Mari*, LAPO 16, 1997, p. 204 n. a). Une telle indication suggère en effet que Nahur à l'époque d'Ila-salim avait la montagne pour arrière-pays, comme Ašlakkâ sa voisine (cf. Guichard 2005 ; 2006).

¹⁰ Lewy 1952 : 271-272 n. 4.

¹¹ Cf. Charpin 2003b : 10 n. 68.

¹² Cf. Forlanini 2006 : 160.

¹³ Ce concept géographique est plusieurs fois mentionné dans les lettres du gouverneur de Nahur.

¹⁴ Cf. Buccellati et Kelly-Buccellati 1996.

administrer Urgis directement par Itûr-Asdu depuis Nahur¹⁶. En outre une bonne partie des colons implantés à Nahur était représentée par des gens déplacés d'Urgis¹⁷.

Si Nahur est plusieurs fois attestée dans les textes de l'époque de Samsi-Addu, ses mentions deviennent particulièrement nombreuses dans la correspondance adressée à Zimri-Lîm. Cela vient de la place centrale qu'elle tint en particulier après son annexion entre ZL 5-6 dans le cadre d'un dispositif de surveillance de l'Ida-Maras. On peut résumer ainsi l'histoire de la ville jusqu'à l'arrivée d'Itûr-Asdu à partir de témoignages épistolaires disparates.

b) Son histoire en bref¹⁸

À l'époque du Royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie, Nahur était la capitale d'un des districts du Haut-Habur, détachée d'un gouverneur¹⁹. À la mort de Samsi-Addu, elle retrouva son indépendance comme les principales villes de la région. Le Triangle du Habur (soit l'Ida-Maras) fut de nouveau divisé en petits États querelleurs. Sur Nahur régna un roi éphémère qui paraît avoir partagé son ascendance sur les autres villes de la région avec son voisin d'Ašnakkum²⁰. La ville fut prise de force par les troupes du nouveau roi de Mari (Zimri-Lîm) ou bien par un de ses alliés²¹. Ensuite commença pour Nahur une phase chaotique où elle passa de maître en maître. Adal-šenni de Burundum, Qarni-Lîm d'Andarig, Asqur-Addu, Hîya-Sûmu d'Ílân-sûrû furent les conquérants ou usurpateurs qui se succédèrent les uns à la suite des autres en peu d'années. Ces crises successives entraînèrent le déclin de la ville. Elle perdit sa population. Ses principaux édifices, le temple d'Addu, le palais et le système défensif furent en partie ruinés.

Cette phase témoigne à mon avis de l'importance de l'enjeu politique que représentait le contrôle de Nahur pour tout chef de guerre qui aspirait à l'hégémonie en Ida-Maras. Tous ces acteurs que nous avons mentionnés sont en effet les principaux leaders régionaux de l'époque qui étaient entre eux tantôt alliés, tantôt ennemis. Nahur apparaît ainsi avoir été le siège traditionnel de l'autorité dans l'ouest de l'Ida-Maras à cette période.

c) La prise de possession de la ville par les gens de Mari

Le grand suzerain de la région, le roi de Mari Zimri-Lîm, poussé par les circonstances et aussi par les Bensimalites, les membres de sa propre tribu, décida finalement de

¹⁵ D'après l'inédit A.4353.

¹⁶ D'après l'inédit A.3558.

¹⁷ Ce qui suit s'appuie sur mon travail d'habilitation ; cf. note supra.

¹⁸ Cf. note 9 ci-dessus.

¹⁹ Une allusion à cette période « royale » de Nahur figure notamment dans une lettre du chef hédouin Asmad (FM VIII 43). La compréhension de ce passage est néanmoins difficile.

²⁰ Cf. Guichard 2002 : 151-153.

s'approprier Nahur et son territoire, mettant un terme pour un temps aux conflits suscités par ses vassaux et provoqués à l'origine par la vacance du pouvoir à Nahur.

Il recolonisa la ville, installa une garnison permanente et mit à sa tête un gouverneur Itûr-Asdu. À peine arrivé à Nahur dans le courant de l'an 6 de Zimri-Lîm, Itûr-Asdu se heurta à de très nombreuses difficultés : il devait remettre complètement en état l'économie de Nahur.

II) La route des marchands assyriens doit repasser par Nahur !

a) Le texte A.3064

Ce fut dans ce contexte qu'Itûr-Asdu écrivit A.3064²¹. En voici le début :

- i-na pa-ni-tim i-nu-ma qar-ni²² i'l²³-im*
- 4 *i' ha-lâ-su-mu a-na na-hu-ul²⁴] il-li-ku-nim*
[as]-sum²⁵ ge-er-ri-im ša lú-mes dam-gár a-šu-ur²⁶
- 6 *[ke-em iq] bu-ū um-ma-mi ge-er-rum ša lú-mes dam-gár*
[i-na aq-d'a-mi-im le-na-hu-ur²⁷] ma
- 8 *[mi]-ak²⁸] lum w̄a-ar-ka-sâ li-ip-pa-ri-is*
ib-ji-ti-tum i-sti-ku mat-tim la 'ib-ba'-as-sâ
- 10 *an-ni-tam i-sti-ku iš-tu u-ml-šu*
ha-lâ-su-mu a-na mi-kh-si-im i-ni-šu [§-ši]
- 12 *ü ge-er-ra-am a-na i-za-al²⁹ i'hū³⁰ [...]]*

Auparavant, lorsque Qarni-Lîm⁴ et Hâya-Sûmu étaient allés à Nahur,⁵⁻⁶ ils avaient déclaré ainsi à propos de la route des marchands d'Aššur : « La route des marchands (passait) naguère du côté de Nahur et il y avait une taxe-*miksum*. Qu'une enquête soit faite à son sujet !⁹ Qu'ainsi il n'y ait pas de manquement dans le pays ! »¹⁰ Voilà ce qu'ils ont décreté. Depuis ce jour,¹¹ Hâya-Sûmu s'est mis à convoiter la taxe-*miksum*.¹² [Il a détourné ?] la route vers Izallû. (Lucene).

b) La date

Itûr-Asdu commence par rappeler une décision prise à Nahur par Qarni-Lîm et Hâya-Sûmu « auparavant » (*ina panitîm*). Il évoque une des visites de ces deux rois que d'autres lettres de la correspondance évoquent par ailleurs. La plus importante eut lieu lorsque Itûr-Asdu prit ses fonctions dans la ville en ZL 6. Qarni-Lîm organisa une assemblée politique à laquelle prirent part les autorités de l'Ida-Maraş et le peuple en vue de faire reconnaître par tout le monde le nouveau statut de Nahur. Il y fit un discours dont Itûr-Asdu a donné ailleurs un résumé ou un extrait²¹. La réunion se termina par une prestation générale de serment. Ce fut dans une assemblée de cette sorte, éventuellement

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celle-là même, que Qarni-Lîm et Hâya-Sûmu prirent ce décret concernant la route des marchands assyriens : il fut proclamé publiquement devant de nombreuses gens.

Or, la lettre A.3064 fut écrite suite à cet événement en hiver (du côté du mois ix) lorsque Qarni-Lîm et Hâya-Sûmu descendirent dans le royaume de Mari pour participer à la grande fête religieuse de l'année²².

c) Les acteurs

La collaboration de Qarni-Lîm roi d'Andarig dans l'affaire de l'appropriation de Nahur fut essentielle car il était le suzerain local de l'Ida-Maraş. Il avait donc l'autorité suffisante pour faire revenir la route vers Nahur tandis que Itûr-Asdu en tant que nouveau gouverneur de Nahur n'aurait pas pu imposer seul une telle décision. On doit relever en outre que Qarni-Lîm devait avoir des relations privilégiées avec les autorités d'Aššur puisqu'il gouvernait aussi Šubat-Enlî où se trouvait installé un comptoir marchand (*kârûm*) assyrien. Il est d'ailleurs probable qu'à l'époque qui nous concerne Šubat-Enlî était l'étape la plus importante des marchands assyriens lorsqu'ils passaient par la plaine du Haut-Habur.

À ses côtés figure Hâya-Sûmu roi d'Illân-Sûrâ. Son soutien était aussi indispensable puisqu'il était le chef de file des rois de l'Ida-Maraş²³. De plus, il avait des intérêts personnels à Nahur. Dans un passé proche, il avait pris lui-même la ville et installé une partie de son harem dans le palais²⁴. Il fallut à Itûr-Asdu une longue phase de négociation pour obliger Hâya-Sûmu à lui redonner le palais, mais plus encore le contrôle des villages de Nahur et la perception du *miksum*²⁵.

d) La mesure prise par Qarni-Lîm et Hâya-Sûmu

Itûr-Asdu résume le fond de l'affaire évoquée dans A.3064+ à la fin de ce premier sujet : Il faut que la route des marchands assyriens revienne à Nahur. La décision de Qarni-Lîm et Hâya-Sûmu n'est pas exprimée de manière aussi claire puisqu'ils se contentent de réclamer une enquête sur le sujet. On peut imaginer que la demande venait d'Itûr-Asdu lui-même et que celle-ci n'était légitimée que parce que dans le passé la route passait effectivement par Nahur.

À deux reprises, Itûr-Asdu utilise dans sa lettre le terme *aqdamum* pour exprimer la notion de « comme par le passé ». C'est un mot rare attesté uniquement dans trois autres

²¹ Ces deux rois se trouvaient dans le royaume de Mari (Qarni-Lîm à Terqa et Hâya-Sûmu dans la capitale) le 16/ix/ZL 6 d'après M.11337 ; cf. Charpin 2003a : 210 n. 365.

²² Cf. Guichard 2002 : 143 ; 2003 : 199-216, et tout particulièrement p. 203.

²³ Cette autorité de Hâya-Sûmu s'exerça jusqu'à une date tardive du règne de Zimri-Lîm comme l'illustre ARM XXXVIII 81.

²⁴ La manière exacte dont Hâya-Sûmu et Itûr-Asdu sont parvenus à s'entendre reste cependant non documentée.

²⁵ Inédit A.3059.

lettres de Mari²⁶. Il signifie toujours « temps ancien » voire « temps immémorial ». Ainsi à une époque située loin dans le passé, les marchands assyriens fréquentaient le territoire de Nahur.

Deux documents paléo-assyriens bien connus en donnent la preuve. Ils datent peut-être comme la majorité des textes de Kültepe du temps du *kārum* II.

Une lettre mentionne que le marchand Adū s'est arrêté à Nahur²⁷: « Il m'a laissé deux documents paléo-assyriens bien connus en donnent la preuve. Ils datent peut-être comme la majorité des textes de Kültepe du temps du *kārum* II.

Une lettre mentionne que le marchand Adū s'est arrêté à Nahur²⁷: « Il m'a laissé dans Nahur. (Puis) ils sont arrivés ici pour acheter du cuivre et il m'a laissé dans Nahbur. »²⁸

Le second document est cette liste déjà mentionnée de paiements en étain effectués au cours d'un trajet qui passe notamment par Apum, Amaz, Nahur et Luhja. Une taxe de douane était donc bien prélevée dans le pays de Nahur.

Cela permet de faire l'hypothèse que l'emploi du terme *aqdānum* pourrait renvoyer au temps du *kārum* II²⁹. Une enquête visant à recueillir le témoignage des Anciens était donc nécessaire pour rappeler aux plus jeunes le fait. Mais il est sans doute plus simple d'y voir une référence au règne de Samsi-Adū. Le temple d'Addu semble avoir alors fonctionné normalement³⁰ et la ville disposait, de plus, d'une population susceptible d'être enrôlée dans une armée³¹, signes que la ville était loin d'être déserte. Les crises qui se sont succédées à Nahur à partir de l'effondrement du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie ont pu dissuader les marchands de passer par Nahur. Ceux-ci évitaient désormais ce lieu.

En outre, d'après le discours de Qarni-Lim et Hāya-Sūmu, la ville de Nahur n'était pas un lieu où s'arrêtaient habituellement les marchands mais ce n'était qu'une zone à traverser. Les deux rois disent que la route était *lēt Nahur* soit littéralement « à la joue de Nahur » ce qui doit signifier que les marchands entraient dans un territoire tombant sous la juridiction de Nahur sans avoir forcément à pénétrer dans la ville même. Cependant, le texte assyrien qui nous avons cité (*TCL* XX 105) montre qu'il n'en fut pas toujours ainsi.

La mesure à prendre consistait à modifier l'itinéraire des marchands³². Ce document montrera donc les manipulations que pouvaient opérer les pouvoirs locaux sur les étapes

²⁶ *ARM* X 80 : 18 (cf. *LAPo* 18 1203), *ARM* XXVIII 95 : 25 (cf. *LAPo* 18 1000) et *FM* II 118 : 14².

²⁷ *TCL* XX 105. J. Lewy (1952 : 273) l'a présentée de la sorte : « a text to be defined as the copy or the draft, retained at *Kanis*, of a letter dispatched or to be dispatched from Asia Minor to Nahur. Its writer mentions that, owing to certain circumstances, he had to stay for some time first at Nahur (l. 8) and subsequently at *Habhub* (l. 12) ».

²⁸ Traduction Garelli 1963 : 110 n. 2.

²⁹ Sous réserve que les deux textes mentionnés appartiennent bien à cette strate.

³⁰ Une des conséquences des crises survenues à Nahur fut la disparition de la statue de culte d'Addu. Dans une prophétie inédite le dieu de Nahur réclame au roi de Mari qu'on lui en fabrique une nouvelle.

³¹ D'après l'inédit A.4217.

³² On pourrait supposer que soit Nahur avait perdu une partie de son territoire, soit les marchands assyriens avaient dévié leur route.

des caravanes³³. Il est possible que l'évocation de la convoite de Hāya-Sūmu et la mention de la ville d'Izallū ait un rapport avec ce thème : Hāya-Sūmu aurait détourné ou voulu détourner vers Izallū³⁴ la route. Malheureusement ce passage se perd dans une lacune... Son interprétation reste donc sujette à conjectures.

e) L'enjeu économique de la route des marchands

L'intérêt de A.3064+ est aussi de montrer pourquoi Itūr-Asdu tient tant à cette route commerciale. Les gens de Nahur dans le passé prélevaient sur les caravanes un droit de passage, appelé *miksum* par les gens de Mari (mais qui est désigné par les Assyriens comme *dātum*). La suite de la lettre permet de comprendre ce que souhaitait exactement Itūr-Asdu.

- (...) *a-na zabar*
 14' *hi-ši-ib-ti ē-gal-ia a-na ma-an-nim*
lu-’iš-ši-[pu]-t’ur be-li pa-ni-su li-da-an-ni-in-ma
 16' *m[i-ik-sa-am] ša na-hu-ur³⁵*
 T. *a-n[la ga-rl]-ia lu-te-er*
 18' *ū pa-mu ē-gal-ia la i-sa-al-[i-mu]*
ū ūm-ma 50 1 šu-si-’gū-šukur z[abar]
 20' *i-na qa-tim uš-ta-ab-ši*
 C. *uš-ul da-m[i-iq ...]*

³³ En ce qui concerne le bronze³⁶ nécessaire à mon palais à qui³⁷ dois-je écrire? Que mon Seigneur se montre plus ferme³⁸⁻³⁹, afin que je puisse faire revenir la taxe-*miksum* de Nahur entre mes mains,⁴⁰ afin que la situation de mon palais ne se dégrade pas⁴¹.
³⁹⁻²⁰ Si je pouvais me procurer ainsi entre 50 et 60 lances de bronze,⁴² ne serait-ce pas une bonne chose?

Les propos d'Itūr-Asdu laissent à penser que la taxe de douane pouvait constituer la source principale de revenu de Nahur et que c'était en tous les cas une source essentielle pour obtenir l'indispensable métal.

³⁴ Pour un exemple des relations entre autorités locales et marchands assyriens, cf. Michel et Garelli 1996. Cf. aussi Günbatti 2004.

³⁵ Cette ville qui faisait partie de la mouvance d'Aṣnakkum est malgommement attestée dans les textes de Mari. Un lien éventuel avec la montagne Izalla de l'époque néo-assyrienne reste par conséquent incertain.

³⁶ On peut aussi entendre par « palais » le personnel qui y est rattaché. Aussi pourrait-on traduire : « ... afin que ceux qui dépendent de mon palais ne se fâchent pas. » Le palais désigne dans ce contexte plutôt l'institution plutôt que la bâtie puisque celle-ci était encore occupée par Hāya-Sūmu.

III) S'emparer à l'occasion d'une caravane commerciale ...

a) La lettre A.3063

Les marchands assyriens sont-ils au bout du compte revenus à Nahur ? Aucun document retrouvé à Mari ne nous le dit explicitement. Seule la lettre A.3063 pourrait apporter un élément de réponse³⁶. Elle est écrite un certain laps de temps après la demande exprimée par Itûr-Asdu (A.3064)³⁷. Itûr-Asdu répond à une demande inattendue de son Seigneur Zimrî-Lîm :

- [be-]li-ke-em iš-pu-ra-am um-ma-mi i-na 'ge⁷-[er-ri lú-mes] dam-gár¹⁰ a-śu-ur²¹
 4 [ta-ma-a-yam a-na 'lugal¹¹] k[a]-ni-iš²¹ iš-ša-bi-lam i-tu-ru-ma šu-nu-ma
 a-na lugal ka-ni[iš²¹] iq-bu-ma me-he-er ta-ma-ar-ti-iš-šu-ter-a-am
 6 iš-dumu-mes si-ip-ri-iš-šu-sá-ki-pu-nim dam-gar-mes a-śu-ur²¹
 8 e-li-ka i-te-ne-ri-šu-ka su-we-er-ma el-la-[a]n ša si-bu-ut
 10 3 gú-kú-babbar na-śu a-śa- a-er an-ni-tam be-li iš-pu-ra-am
 el-la-tum ša 3 gú-kú-babbar na-śu-i-ūl i-ūl i-ba-as-ši ša 20 ma-na ša 30 ma-na
 [babbar]
 i-te-ne-ri-šu-ka su-ka-be-ili i-qa-ab-bi me-he-er tup-pi-[i] a li-ib-mu-tá-am-ma
 10 [e]y-la-tam ša 20 ma-na [ša] 30 ma-na kú-babbar lu-iš²¹-a-er

^{3,4} [Mon Seigneur] m'a écrit ainsi : « J'ai fait porter par une *caravane* de marchands d'Assur un présent au roi de Kaneš. Ils sont bien revenus. Mais qu'ouïx-mêmes⁵ aient pu parler au roi de Kaneš, il ne m'a pas retourné de réponse à mon présent.⁶ De fait, ils ont écouté mes messagers. Les marchands assyriens^{7,8} passent régulièrement au dessus de chez toi. Aie l'œil ! Je veux faire intercepter une caravane transportant une valeur de 3 talents d'argent (de marchandises) ! »

Voilà ce que m'a écrit mon Seigneur.⁹ Il n'y a pas de caravane qui transporterait 3 talents d'argent (de marchandises) ! Il n'y en a que de 20 ou 30 mines d'argent¹⁰ à passer régulièrement. Si mon Seigneur l'ordonne, il faudrait qu'il envoie rapidement une réponse à ma tablette¹¹ afin que j'intercepte une caravane de 20 ou 30 mines.

³⁶ Il n'existe à propos des marchands assyriens qu'une seule autre attestation dans la correspondance de ce gouverneur. Dans A.273+ il rapporte que des membres de sa garnison qui se sont enfuis ont été vendus par les autorités de Madarâ à un marchand assyrien nommé Eštar-tulid. Cette précision s'explique par le besoin qu'éprouve Itûr-Asdu de se disculper à tout prix de cette affaire. Madarâ se trouvait de l'autre côté du Tûr 'Abdin dans la région du Tigre supérieur. Aussi ce document donne-t-il une indication sur une autre route des marchands assyriens. On pourra compléter sur ce point les remarques de M. Forlanini (2006 : 162) au sujet de la route du Kâšian.

³⁷ Selon ma reconstruction de la chronologie de la correspondance d'Itûr-Asdu le document daterait de la mi-ZL 7.

b) Les marchands passent au dessus de Nahur

La route de la plaine passait d'après ce texte au dessus de Nahur, soit au nord de celle-ci. Elle était à portée de main d'Itûr-Asdu. Mais passait-elle pour autant dans la zone dépendant de Nahur et y avait-il taxe ? C'est possible puisque Itûr-Asdu est parfaitement au courant de la valeur de ces caravanes. Mais cela ne constitue pas une preuve en soi. Si les caravanes passaient effectivement sur son territoire ne lui aurait-il pas été préjudiciable de s'attaquer à l'une d'entre elles (voire à plusieurs !) puisqu'il aurait pu mettre en péril la perception du *miksum* qu'il jugeait si précieux pour sa garnison ? On pourrait dès lors s'attendre à des réticences de sa part, ce qui n'arrive pas. L'ordre donné au gouverneur de surveiller étroitement les caravanes pour en prendre une de grande taille suggère qu'en temps normal ces caravanes pouvaient échapper à son attention et ne se déclareraient pas à lui. Voilà l'indice que les marchands assyriens évitaient encore Nahur à cette date³⁸.

c) La taille des caravanes

Le roi pense qu'une caravane transporte en moyenne des marchandises valant 3 talents d'argent, c'est six fois plus que la valeur des caravanes qui passent effectivement au dessus de Nahur. Autrement dit, il est question de caravanes vraiment réduites d'une dizaine d'ânes³⁹. Quelle que soit la raison pour laquelle le roi se trompe⁴⁰, son ignorance montre qu'à Mari on avait une vision inexacte ou faussée du commerce assyrien sur le tronçon qui longeait le Tûr 'Abdin. Ce détail nous indique donc que la prise de possession de Nahur par les gens de Mari n'a pas de rapport avec un quelconque désir de contrôler la route des marchands⁴¹.

³⁸ L'antériorité de A.3064 sur A.3063 dépend évidemment de ma reconstitution de la chronologie.

³⁹ La valeur transportée par un âne jusqu'à Kaneš à l'époque du *kárum* II peut s'évaluer à 9 mines d'argent d'après Michel 2001 : 186-188. Cette donnée ne peut pas être adoptée telle quelle pour Mari, ne serait-ce que parce que cela supposerait l'existence de « caravans » vraiment minuscules, cf. note ci-dessous.

⁴⁰ Il pense moins à l'ampleur des caravanes attestées à partir d'Ekkallatum jusque dans le Sud-Sindjar qu'à la caravane moyenne ; cf. ARM XXVI 432. Une telle caravane comportait jusqu'à 300 ânes. Celle-ci se divisait en route après l'étape du Sindjar en groupe de 50 à 60 ânes d'après ARM XXVI 432 et A.285 (cf. MAR 8, 1997, p. 385). Il est vraisemblable que Zimrî-Lîm pense à des caravanes de cette taille. Trois talents d'argent correspondaient dans ce cas à une caravane de 50 ânes (voire 60 ânes ?). Alors la valeur moyenne supposée des marchandises que transportait un âne à cette période dans la Haute-Djeziré n'était pas supérieure à 4 mines d'argent.

⁴¹ Pace Forlanini (2006 : 148). Pour lui, l'hégémonie de Mari aurait représenté un danger pour le commerce assyrien. Mais l'affaire de Nahur prouve que les Mariotes n'étaient pas en principe hostiles à ce commerce. Il n'y a pas lieu de supposer qu'ils aient directement été responsables des éventuels dommages qui survenaient sur le parcours entre Aššur et l'Anatolie. La

d) La recherche d'un contact avec Kaneš

Zimri-Lim pouvait à l'occasion nouer des relations directes (ou par l'intermédiaire de ses agents) avec des marchands assyriens. Mais ces liens n'étaient guère solides puisqu'à en croire Zimri-Lim des marchands l'avaient escroqué et refusaient de prêter attention à ses messages. Une démarche auprès des autorités d'Aššur a peut-être échoué.

En outre, il cherchait à créer des relations avec le roi de Kaneš dont il ignore probablement le nom. Il a voulu lui offrir un présent en espérant un retour. On sait par une lettre publiée il y a longtemps par G. Dossin et reprise récemment par N. Ziegler⁴² une lettre de Kaneš à Aššur dans laquelle le souverain assyrien demande à son correspondant de faire passer pour lui une partie de l'offrande au dieu d'Aššur. Cela démontre que Zimri-Lim cherchait à obtenir des œuvres d'art issues d'Anatolie ou peut-être des matériaux considérés précieux comme le fer. Il tenta d'accéder à ce « marché » par les marchands assyriens ou bien par un agent à lui situé du côté de Carkémish.

e) Une vendetta

Enfin, la manière dont le roi de Mari cherche à se faire justice rappelle une pratique bien attestée ailleurs dans l'Antiquité. La valeur du butin escomptée par Zimri-Lim est sûrement largement supérieure à la somme qu'il avait dû dépenser pour atteindre ce roi de Kaneš. C'est un cas de vendetta orchestrée par un État.

Conclusion

Ces deux nouveaux documents issus de la correspondance de Nahur qui viennent d'être brièvement commentés permettent de voir comment les gens de Mari qu'ils soient sur les Bords de l'Euphrate ou dans le Triangle du Habur perçoivent le commerce assyrien entre Aššur et Kaneš : ils y voyaient apparemment une source de profit intéressante, quoiqu'ils ne cherchaient pas directement à en prendre le contrôle. Le gouverneur de Nahur nous apprend que le trafic des caravanes au pied du Tigris abdin était modeste même si lui-même attachait une grande importance au profit qu'il pouvait en tirer grâce à la taxe douanière. Cette documentation « mariote » vient encore une fois apporter un complément utile à l'histoire des marchands du *kârum* ib.

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correspondance issue de la Haute-Djéziré montre plutôt que la menace venait des désordres politiques locaux.

⁴² Cf. Ziegler 1996.



The excavated Karum-area of Kültepe in 2006. Photo by courtesy of F. Küllioglu.

THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ANATOLIA AND THE TRANSITION FROM THE KĀRUM-PERIOD TO THE EARLY HITTITE EMPIRE

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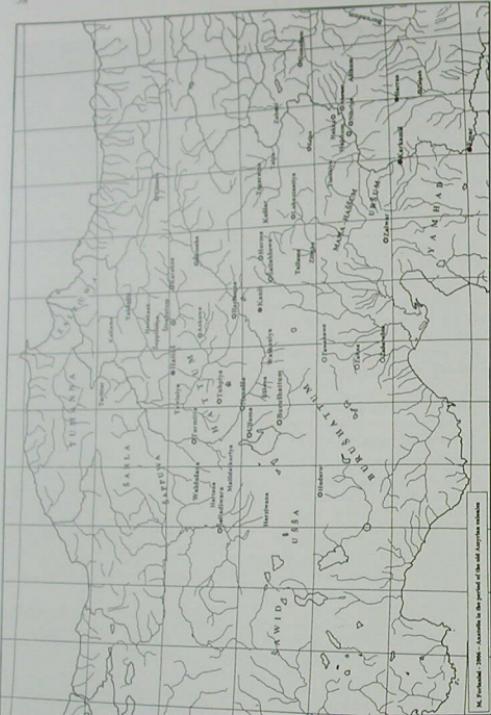
The last years have brought new evidence about the Old Assyrian Colony Period in Anatolia (from the end of the twentieth to the end of the eighteenth century BC): a considerable number of cuneiform tablets from the Turkish excavations of Kültepe has been published recently, among them documents of new types, like the History of Sargon, the *limu*-lists (presently limited to the Karum Level II period), and several treaties between the merchants' organisation and local rulers.¹ This new evidence broadens the horizon of our understanding of the history and chronology of the period; besides, the discovery of another eponym list (Kt 01/k 287) extending well into the Ib Period and a letter (Kt 01/k 217) mentioning king Hurmeš of Harsamna and his relations with Aššur, Za'alpa and king Šamsi-Adad, have been announced by C. Günbattı.² In recent years, there has been intense research on different topics trying to organize the huge quantity of available data. This has resulted in a substantial improvement in our understanding of the Old Assyrian period.³ However, new data about itineraries of the Anatolian circuit, gleaned from the texts recently published, do not seem to improve or change dramatically our knowledge and a reconstruction of the Anatolian geography still depends heavily on Hittite documents.

Students of the Old Assyrian period must cope with difficult linguistic and philological problems and intricate researches concerning prosopography, chronology and economic relations; moreover, since the writing, the language and the nature of

¹ Editions of the "History of Sargon" found in Kültepe: Günbattı 1998, Van de Mieroop 2000, Dercksen 2006. For research on the relative chronology of the Old Assyrian Period and the sequence of the eponyms of the period Kültepe Karum Level II, see Veenhof 2003 and Kruszat 2004; Kruszat starts from this sequence in order to investigate the historical position of merchants and companies. Michel (2002) has proposed a new "lowered middle chronology" for the absolute chronology, using dendrochronological evidence from Achemhöyük. Günbattı (2004) has published the fragmentary treaties which the Assyrians concluded with Kanesh (Kt 00/k 6) and Habhu'm (Kt 00/k 10).

² Cf. Günbattı 2005: 450, and his paper at the *VII Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* ("Hattulsa-Bogazköy. Das Hethiterreich im Spannungsfeld des Alten Orients"), Würzburg, 22-24 March, 2006. With the announced extension of the eponym list the total number of year-names will be 252, covering the Ib Period until 1723 BC.

³ See note 1 above. Students are particularly indebted to J.G. Dercksen for his reference works on the Old Assyrian copper trade (1996) and institutions (2004), and to C. Michel for her comprehensive updated treatment of the Old Assyrian period, with the translation of 400 texts (2001, here referred as CMK followed by text number) and for her Old Assyrian Bibliography (2003), an indispensable tool for any future research. A fundamental starting point for further historical and geographical research on the eighteenth century is offered by Dercksen (2001).



the documents are quite different from those of the Hittite period, there is a lack of multidisciplinary approach to the transition phase between these two periods. It is evident that the different nature of the documents of the two phases and the short "dark" period between them do not affect the underlying continuity of the local history and of the geographical framework.

Therefore in the study of Anatolian geography I refrain from restricting myself to Hittite documents;⁴ moreover, the results gained by the specialists of the Old Assyrian period are indispensable not only for the geographical but also for the historical research on the early Hittite empire, particularly in order to understand its origin and first steps. Only by comparing the two groups of sources I can present a working theory on the origin of the early Hittite Empire, based on my reconstruction of the political geography of Central Anatolia in the transition period.

The western circuit and the role of Šalatuwar/Šalatiwar(a) and Purušatum/Purušanda

The "western circuit" of the merchants' network included, in the Kültepe Karum Level II period, the cities of Wahşusana in the north and of Purušatum in the south, connected via Ullama in the east and also by way of Šalatuwar (Hitt. Šalatiwara) in the west; Durhumit was located at the junction of this area and Hatti.⁵ The position of Wahşusana is confirmed by a Hittite historical fragment placing it in the region of Ka/iššya, between modern Ankara and Haymana and by the probable identification of the neighbouring town Aliaša with Classical Aliassum.⁶ A recently published Old Assyrian itinerary shows that Šalatuwar was located across a river with a bridge for people travelling from both

⁴ Cf. Forlanini 1985, 1992, 1992a, 2005, 2006, which are mainly devoted to the Old Assyrian evidence. Since I do not aim at an exhaustive treatment of the matter here, I refer the reader to the pertinent volumes of G.F. del Monte and Kh. Nashef in the *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes* of the TAVO for the toponyms, and, as regards the bibliography of the Hittite and Old Assyrian texts, to the on-line *Konkordanz der hehitischen Texte* of S. Košak and to Michel 2003.

⁵ Forlanini 2004, forthcoming. According to this reconstruction the first phases of the Hittite state are analysed as the result of the alliance of two family branches, a southern (that of Labarna) and a northern one (that of Huzziya I, grandfather of Hattušili I) and of their succession mechanism, based on interdynastic marriages and adoptions.

⁶ KT 90.k 108 (Bayram/Cecen 1995: 4-5, text no. 1): Aššur-malik has married [x]hamana-niga, (l. 11); "And Aššur-malik shall not take (another) wife in Purušatum, Wahşusana, Durhumit or Kanes".

⁷ Cf. Forlanini 2005. Ertem (1995) proposed to identify the site of Külhöyük with Šalatuwar, but since this town is likely to have been west of the Sangarius, Külhöyük rather was Hartana or even Wahşusana, for which a larger mound may be expected.

directions, coming from Wahşūšana and from Purušattum.⁸ Since it must have been an important river, in such a dry countryside, one cannot avoid to think of the Sangarius. As a matter of fact the most probable interpretation of Anita's *Res Gestae*, where the war against Salatiwara is described, shows that its king retreated to the valley of the river Hulana when Anita attacked him and burned his city.⁹ The Hittite texts connect the two rivers Sahriyā and Hulana; the latter has been, on the one hand, part of the northern kingdom of prince Hattusili during the reign of his brother Muwallatili II, but on the other hand was also involved in political events of north-western Anatolia in the thirteenth century BC.¹⁰ The only river having a valley whose geographic position and length satisfy all these conditions is the Porsuk Çay, the most important tributary of the Sangarius, having its sources north-west of Afyon and the confluence near Gordion.¹¹ Hence Salatiwara must be sought on the left bank of the Sangarius near a crossing with a bridge and south of the confluence of the Porsuk Çay; the most suitable position is near Yağrı, where a late Hittite relief has been found.¹² Salatiwara was less important than Wahşūšana in the period Kültepe Karum Level II, but during the eighteenth century, when Wahşūšana had disappeared from the texts, probably because it had lost its ruling position, Salatuwar took its place and territory,¹³ so that, when Anita conquered Ullama, the two kingdoms became adjacent and, as soon as the king of Nesa had temporarily removed the threat of his northern adversaries (Hattus and Zalpuwa), war broke out and Salatiwara was defeated. The town was included in the Hittite state only during the reign of Labarna and afterwards disappears from our sources.¹⁴

⁸ Dercksen 1996: 12-13. Apart from Salatuwar and Wahşūšana, AKT 3, 45, mentions a *mīlum qerbitum*, where it was possible to purchase iron (Dercksen 2001: 58), probably an "Inner Land", outside of the normal commercial roads.

⁹ Cf. Forlanini 2004: 376-377 n.38.

¹⁰ I refer to the Apology of Hattusili III (CTH 81 II 60; Otten 1981: 14-15) and to the letter KBo 16.22 (579d), mentioning the king of Aḥhiyawa and the elders of the Hulana river land (Güterbock 1936: 323-326).

¹¹ For this geographical reconstruction, see Forlanini 1977: 211-212.

¹² See Crowfoot 1899: 40-41, who wrote the name as Yarre. See the map of Turkey 1:200,000, Ankara, 51/I. Today the town is called Yağrı.

¹³ For the historical role of Wahşūšana and Salatuwar, see Michel 2001: 96-97, KTP 14 (CMK no. 40), shows that the influence of Wahşūšana reached as far as Waššaniya, immediately west of Kanēs. In the Level Ib period, when Wahşūšana disappears, Salatuwar is frequently mentioned and its name is known as far as Northern Mesopotamia during Zimri-Lim's reign (see the letter of Sidqum-Lanasi from Karkamī to Zimri-Lim, ARM 26, 542, 22: "one golden ring of Sa-la-du-wa-ar").

¹⁴ Part from Anita's *Res Gestae* and the list of KBo 4.13, we find Salatiwara in KBo 27.31, mentioning Kanēs, the merchants and even the LU.MEŠ *ummiyān(θ)*; cf. Ünal 1995: 276, who places this fragment among a few Hittite texts showing reminiscences of the previous Karum period.

As for Ullama, both Hittite and Old Assyrian evidence place this town near Nenaša, the latter being on the southern bank of the Halyss, probably near Nyssa.¹⁵ Ullama should have been more to the west, near the shores of the Salt Lake (Tuz Gölü), and a suitable archaeological site for this place is undoubtedly Varavan, 3 km south-east of Sereflıköyhisar, because of its size and the potsherds from the Karum and the early Hittite period found there.¹⁶

The central topic of the present section is the geographical position and the historical function of Purušattum/Purušanda. Dercksen remarked that this city, frequently mentioned in the Kültepe Karum Level II texts, is almost ignored in the following phase and he concluded that, since it did not disappear and kept its political importance in the following periods, the only explanation would be given by its exclusion from the merchant's circuits;¹⁷ these general considerations can influence the choice of the ancient archaeological site to be identified with Purušanda. To better understand this problem, connected with the two alternative locations proposed for Purušanda, we have to examine what we know of its history and geographical connections.

The legendary expedition of Sargon of Akkad against Purušanda narrated in the *Sar tamhāri* is not confirmed by the copies of Sargonic inscriptions and the History of Sargon found in Kanēs, moreover Purušanda is not mentioned among the enemies of Narām-Sin.¹⁸ Nevertheless this tradition confirms the importance of the city at least at the beginning of the second millennium BC; an Old Assyrian document mentions a *rubā'um*

¹⁵ Nenaša is usually identified with Nanassos, a town of the Cappadocian Strategia Garsarsita, according to Plut. Geogr. V 6, 13; this town is unfortunately unknown elsewhere and the *strategia* with its capital at Garsarsa/Archelais (modern Aksaray) should not have reached the Halyss, on whose bank we expect Nenaša. The historical importance of Nyssa, a well known bishopric near modern Armandali on the Halyss, and a suitable place for a town of the district of Dummita point to this site, whose name could come from the old one modified by the influence of Greek place names like Nyse. Nenaša was situated between Waššaniya and Wahşūšana according to TC 3, 10 (CMK no. 84). See also Sturm 2000: 492-504, on HS 2932 (showing once again the connection between Nenaša and Waššaniya), with a review (pp. 500-502) of the Old Assyrian texts hitherto known mentioning Nenaša.

¹⁶ For Varavan, see Omura 1993: 373; this mound has the considerable diameter of 500 m and yields pottery typical of the Old Assyrian Colony Period. It is located only 3 km south-east of Sereflıköyhisar. Ullama had a common border with Purušattum, and an agreement between the two towns (or the submission of Ullama) was considered important for a peaceful situation in Purušattum according to KTS 2, 40 (Ka 1053), 27-30: *sulnum ina Purušattum Ullama mīmitam iti Purušattum ilege*. "There is peace in Purušattum. Ullama took an oath with Purušattum."

¹⁷ Dercksen 2001: 61.

¹⁸ The composition "The Great Revolt against Naram-Sin" (edited in Westenholz 1997: 221-261) was also known at Hatusa (Güterbock 1938: 67-80). In the Hittite only Hatti and Kanēs are included, as far as the names are preserved, among the Anatolian enemies (Garsarsa of this list and Class. Garsarsa/Archelais are unrelated). In the composition "Gula-AN and the seventeenth Kings against Naram-Sin" (Westenholz 1997: 246-257, text no. 17) only Kanēs occurs, this time with Hähüm and Amurrun; these lists contain mainly place names in eastern Mesopotamia, the Zagros region and even eastern Iran (Aratta).

rabi'um of Puruṣṭattum,¹⁹ another one shows that Puruṣṭattum was a country that, together with Hatti, could indicate the two main (opposite) travel directions from Waššaniya.²⁰

Whereas Puruṣṭanda is ignored in the texts from Kültepe Karum Level Ib, the "Acts of Anita" confirm its special position in the second half of the eighteenth century BC with the words: "When I went to fight against Puruṣṭanda, the 'man' of Puruṣṭanda came with the words: 'When I went to fight against Puruṣṭanda, the 'man' of Puruṣṭanda came to pay homage to me and he brought me an iron throne and an iron sceptre as a gift. But when I came back to Nesa I took with me the Man of Puruṣṭanda and whenever he goes into my throne room (var, "in Zalpa") he sits to the right before me'.²¹ This passage can only show that the king of Puruṣṭanda, although militarily weaker than Anita, still enjoyed great prestige among the Anatolian rulers.

Labarna I conquered for good Puruṣṭanda and Telebinu refers to this event with the words: "[...] and the land was small but whatever campaign he went, he held the lands of the enemy in subjection by his might. (...) But when he returned from the field, each of his sons went to the various lands (to govern them): Hubišna, Tuwanuwa, Nenaša, Landa, Zallara, Paruṣṭanda, Lušna, these (where the) lands they governed (...)."²² All these well-known Hittite towns are located around Puruṣṭanda, and with the exception of Nenaša and Puruṣṭanda (= Puruṣṭanda) itself, never occur in Old Assyrian texts; in my opinion the Assyrian merchants in the Kültepe Karum Level II period already were not allowed to travel around through the kingdom of Puruṣṭanda and its dependencies²³ but they could reach only its capital (perhaps through controlled roads) and, in case of hostility, through the road of Ullama. The relations of the kingdom with Syrian powers like Mari and Karkamış could explain why the freedom of movement of the Assyrians was so limited.²⁴ But Puruṣṭanda had a common border also with Waššaniya, since the

¹⁹ TCT 27, 7 (CMK no. 82); cf. Garelli 1989: 149.

²⁰ MAH 10823 + Sch. 23 (Garelli, RA 59: 149-154, no. 23 = CMK no. 247), 50-51: *lu i-na Ha-tim lu i-na Pu-ri-uš-ha-tim*. A similar horizon is shown in CCT 5, 15b (CMK no. 89): 3-6: "The Prince of [Wa]ššaniya came here. He prevented me from (going) to Puruṣṭattum and Hattum". Thereupon the writer decided to go to Kanēs. From this text one can infer that Waššaniya was situated between Hatti to the north and Puruṣṭattum to the south. On these passages see also Dercksen 2001: 58.

²¹ CTH 1, 73-79 (according to the edition of Carruba 2003). The size of the metal gifts of the king reminds me of the bronze vehicle found at Acemhöyük (N. Özgür 2001).

²² According to the translation of Bryce (1982: 132-133).

²³ A possible exception could be Zidawaris/Zidamris, a town mentioned in Kt n/k 175, where also Puruṣṭattum (Bayram 1997: 55) occurs. If we suppose that the two towns were in the same region we could compare the first one with Class. Sidamaria, probably modern Anbar between Karaman and Ergili (Belke 1984: 126); see also Zidabara (KUB 9.1 II 27). A man from Saḥbiya, a town near Hurniya, between Konya and Aksaray (see Forlanini 1988: 137), is mentioned in Kt n/k 578 (Bayram 1973: 52), but of course that does not mean that Assyrians travelled to that town.

²⁴ In the letter ATHE 32 (CMK no. 70) sent by Amur-İstar to Püšu-kēn we read: (17-22) "Many Eblaites (*ib-lá-i-ú*) came here and a lot of copper has been weighed for them in the palace, they have given in exchange *amurrum* silver (a quality) at the rate of 2 1/3 minas (of copper) for (1

two kingdoms have been fighting together and Puruṣṭattum sought an alliance with Salatuwār against Waššaniya;²⁵ probably at the end of a similar war a treaty between the two kingdoms, with as third contracting partner the elsewhere unknown Üskuna, was expected, as we read in the letter AKT 1, 78;²⁶ the two routes already mentioned, via Ullama or via Salatuwār,²⁷ where not the direct junction between the two capitals, and this explains the strange detour the merchants were compelled to make.

For a similar reason also the well known itinerary of TC 3, 165, with its stations way between the two metropolises,²⁸ along the future Ulu Yol of the Seldjuks, but was intended in order to avoid the common border, entering the kingdom of Puruṣṭattum from Ullama, *i.e.* from the north; the same situation is clearly expressed in Kt c/k 445, where a trader entrusted by Taħaššili, who had previously gone from Waššaniya to Puruṣṭattum, was compelled, because of an embargo, to come back to Kanēs through (from) Ullama.²⁹ With a position of Nenaša and Ullama on the direct line Kanēs-Puruṣṭattum, the size of the thirteenth century BC Hittite province of Durmitta would become unacceptable. The direct road (Kanēs-Waššaniya-Puruṣṭattum) was perhaps in use in periods of peace or reduced rivalry between the two kingdoms, and, in that case, we can guess it was diverting from the Halys route at Waššaniya.³⁰ The Halys route was followed further

shekel of silver)." This Amur-İstar, a partner of Püšu-kēn and İndilüm, used to live in Durhukum, where he could purchase copper, but he occasionally went to Puruṣṭattum in order to get good silver (cf. Ichisar 1981: 35-37). According to the letter ATHE 63 (CMK no. 68) Puzur-Asšur writes to İndilüm: (3-6) "As far as the copper of Amur-İstar is concerned, they did not want to give the copper to my representatives in Puruṣṭattum". We can safely assume that the place were the Eblaites came was Puruṣṭattum.

²⁵ KTP 10 (CMK no. 57).

²⁶ CMK no. 100. See also Bayram 1997: 51-52.

²⁷ KI 83.k/117 (Grünbaum 1995: 107-109; CMK no. 44).

²⁸ Itinerary no. 24 in Nashef 1987: 50-53, text no. 27. Even if this itinerary seems to have been adopted in order to avoid the border between Kanēs (or better Waššaniya) and Puruṣṭattum, Veenhof (1972: 333, n. 448) remarked that from Ullama to Puruṣṭattum no *nishšānum-tax* has been paid, instead of it 30 minas of copper for the *pazurum* (smuggling) are recorded. The border of Puruṣṭattum is likely to have often been crucial. The question whether the towns mentioned in this itinerary, each of them a commercial centre and/or a local capital, were the only stations during this journey (cf. Forlanini 1985: 46) cannot be settled any more by CCT 2, 1, witnessing probably a five days journey from Puruṣṭattum to Kanēs (or even less, see Garelli 1963: 122, n. 5: "Le voyage aller n'étant, d'ailleurs peut-être pas terminé lorsqu'il écrit ce billet"), since in this case we are likely faced with the "direct road", different from that of TC 3, 165. Moreover, if the direct road took five days, not much more than 150 km from Kültepe to Puruṣṭattum, this distance would fit a position at Acemhöyük and not at Karahöyük of Konya (see below).

²⁹ For this unpublished letter, see Dercksen 1996: 14 n. 39, with a different interpretation: the trader after reaching Ullama could not go to Waššaniya and went to Kanēs.

³⁰ Waššaniya was the capital of a kingdom, and had an Assyrian *wabartum* (transformed into a *kārum* in the Level Ib period, see Bayram 1997: 63-64), probably dependent on Kanēs. It was on an important cross-roads towards Nenaša in the north-west, further downstream on the Mařššanda, Hattum to the north and Puruṣṭattum to the south-west. The direct road is probably

downstream when the traveller had to go to Waşlışana and, then, he could stop on the way at Malfita.³³

The town list of KBo 4.13, if my historical interpretation is correct, shows that Puruşanda was conquered by Labarna after a short alliance of this king with Halab; the pertaining section of the list does not mention here the names of simple towns, but of capitals or even country names. Halpa, Pala, Parşuhunda, Ussa.³⁴ All the towns administrated by the sons of Labarna according to the Decree of Telebinu, as we have already seen, can have been previously depending from Puruşanda with the sole exception of Nenaşa, that, as we shall see, was generally considered a town of Hatti; but we could also easily suppose that at the beginning of Labarna's reign Nenaşa was subject to Puruşanda.

During the reign of Labarna II (Hattusili I) a revolt of Puruşanda broke out and was put down. A section of Hattusili's "Extensive Annals" mentions the "man of Puruşanda" and some towns probably rebelled together with him, the broken context allows only to read the following names: Harşhaba, Taşan[...], Arimatta, Parugitta, Zumahara and Siñuwanda.³⁵ Among these, Arimatta is known as a town on the border of Tarbundaşa, Zumahara is a centre of Kizzuwatna, located to the east of Adaniya, and Siñuwanda dominates the Cilician Gates on the Central Anatolian side.³⁶ If we should infer from this list the extent of the ancient kingdom of Puruşanda, we would be compelled to include in it also the Cilician Plain, already acquired by the Hittites at the beginning of Hattusili I personal reign. That could explain why Cilician towns, such as Adaniya, Tarşa, Zumahara, Kummanni and Zabarasa, never appear in the Old Assyrian texts, although we know from the onomastics that the main towns on the road through the Cilician Gates and the "Silver Mountains", Tuwanuwa, Tunna and Zabarasa existed in this period.³⁶

mount in VS 26, 46 (CMK no. 139), where Püšu-kēn records travel expenses in Waşlışana and Puruşanda only. A location near Nevşehir fits the geographical requirements.

³¹ As described in the well-known itinerary OIP 27, 54, see Nashef 1987: 40-41, text no. 23, itinerary no. 20).

³² A difficult question concerns the order of the place names in this sequence: if it refers to a temporal succession, we have to place a "conquest" of Aleppo before that of Palâ or Parşuhunda (Puruşanda). The presence of the gods of Aleppo in the list is likely to be connected to diplomatic overtures which the king of Aleppo made towards Labarna, probably by means of sending gifts and a statue of Adad (the city-god of Aleppo), followed by an act of "treason", when Aleppo preferred to stay on the Hurrian side, which started the long-lasting war during the reign of Hattusili I. The so-called Chronicle of Puhana (CTH 16, studied mainly by Otten and Soysal; for recent interpretations see Steiner 2002, Gilan 2004), probably refers to the presence of the Storm God of Aleppo in Hatti, and particularly in Arima, whereas his presence in Hurma, the capital of Labarna, is witnessed by the list in Muwattalli's Prayer. For this reconstruction see Forlanini, forthcoming.

³³ CTH 13 I B, 29'-36' (de Martino 2003: 142-145).

³⁴ Cf. Forlanini 1988: 133-134.

³⁵ See Dercksen 1996: 149.

³⁶ Cf. Forlanini 2004: 264 (n. 11 and 12). On the possibility that some toponyms on the route of the Pyæs had a Sumerian or Semitic root, connected with an early, even prehistoric, trade with

That would explain also the position of Puruşhattum as a silver market and suits the fact of a common Luwian settlement on both sides of the Gates.

Concerning the location of Puruşanda two main proposals have been made in the past: Acemhöyük and Karahöyük near Konya. Acemhöyük is more suitable because of its size and findings, which reveal its importance and international relations.³⁷ Moreover, when Puruşanda is mentioned within understandable geographical contexts it seems closer to central Hatti and to the region of Tuwanuwa than to Konya.³⁸ The objections against the identity of Acemhöyük and Puruşanda are related to the findings at this important archaeological site, because they show that Acemhöyük was in contact with Mesopotamia.

Mesopotamia, Zabarasa as a Nešite derivative (with abstract suffix *-ašar-ašna-*) from *sum-za-bar* (perhaps "the place of bronze") or even *Siñuwanda* (and Mount Siñiyar) from *akk. sum-nu-wanda* (perhaps "the mountain of the tooth"), see Forlanini 2001: 555 (n. 12), 559 (n.34). The name Zabarasa could also come from an apparent etymology, since it occurs as the Akkadian spelling in the Akkadian Treaty with Siñuwanda of Kizzuwatna, KBo 1.5 IV 49 (n. 1) of the Anatolian place name Sabarâşana: the town (and the homonymous mountain) was situated near the southern exit of the Cilician Gates (Forlanini 1988: 139) and of the ancient mining complex of the Bolkardag, where it seems that tin oxide was mined in the third millennium (see Dercksen 1996: 28; Yener 2000), and probably near the copper mine of Kızıka, north of Tarsus (de Jesus 1980: II 261, site no. 125); it is then possible that in the third millennium tin from the mountain above and local copper were sometimes available at Zabarasa for the production of bronze sold to Mesopotamian traders.

³⁷ The seal impressions on bullae of Samsi-Adad and one of his servants (Tunca 1989), of Aplahanda king of Karkamis, one of his servants, and of Naglaj[num ?], daughter of king Yaḥdun-Lim of Mari (Charpin/Durand 1986: 152; Tunca 1993), found at Acemhöyük show the importance of the contacts with Upper Mesopotamia and Syria in a period of the reign of Samsi-Adad, perhaps after his expansion in the Habur area (some years after 1807 BC) and before the death of Yaḥdun-Lim (about 1794).

³⁸ In KBo 12.65 obv. II, a list of personnel for local cults, we find (I.3) four "lion-men" of *La-ki-mi-iš-ša*, a town in the province *Ku-ku-wa-wa* north of Kanesh, and *Pär-ah-hu-an-ta* (9) preceded by [...]go-to-wi-lyja, probably Wargatavi, a town connected with Tawiniya (s. KUB 11.32 III 25). More interesting is an itinerary of the inspectors updating the status of local cults, KUB 40.110. The preserved names of the towns visited during their journey are on the obverse: [...]handa, Yaşanda, Tabatavatta, Arulâša, Åsila, Pja-...-njaša, Kurtaňaşa, [...]jawaša, whereas on the reverse mention is made of Mount Lula. The first place name is very likely to be Puruşanda, the second, Yaşanda, is known from the Deeds of Sâhurmuwa, rev. 24, where one ruined town near Anesa (and/or) Yaşanda is mentioned. Anesa is known from an itinerary of Süppiluliuma's wars against Arzawa: the king smote enemies, who had reached Anisa, then he fought against other enemies near Huwanal [...] Niʃ [...] Sapparanda, Mount Ammina and Tubaziya, before reaching Tuwanuwa (Güterbock 1956: 75-76, Fragm. 15). As we see, Anesa, and with it Yaşanda, were located somewhere to the north-west of Tuwanuwa; in the same region the Greek population still living there at the beginning of the last century had preserved very ancient village names, like Arlasun (from an *Arlassos) and Gurdonos, that remind us of Arulâša and Kurtaňaşa. Mount Lula has been generally connected with the Byzantine fortress of Loulon, west of Tuwanuwa. At the end, if the first name has to be reconstructed as Puruşanda, a location of this city near modern Akçaray would perfectly fit our itinerary.

Kanēs at the beginning of the Level Ib period,³⁹ a fact that would contradict the absence of its name from the Ib archives and from those of Alışar and Boğazköy; a possible solution has been already suggested by Dercksen.⁴⁰ On the other hand the only other candidate for Acemhöyük would be Ullama, a *wabartum* of the Kültepe Level II period, whose importance in the textual evidence hardly corresponds to that of Acemhöyük. Moreover Karahöyük, although an important mound, but insufficient to cover the role that we expect from Puruşhattum, did not yield written documents, only mainly indigenous seal impressions and a few Old Assyrian ones.⁴¹ Its distance of 7 km from the Ala-eddin Tepe in the centre of Konya, whose Hittite name we can safely assume to have been İkkuvanya, shows that we should find in the Hittite texts a frequent connection between İkkuvanya and Puruşhanda, but that does not happen.⁴² On the contrary, the list of towns having a "House of the Seal" in the Decree of Telebinu gives three names after İkkuvanya, the town of Hurutta, whereas Puruşhanda comes only after eight names. Hurutta is very likely the same as Old Assyrian Hudurut, a town mentioned together with Uşşa.⁴³ Hurutta never occurs in late Hittite texts, but a deity of Krota (or Krotada?) is known from a Greek inscription found near Konya. I suggest that Hudurut(ta) > Hurutta > Krota (?) is the ancient name of Karahöyük, whereas Acemhöyük should be Puruşhanda.

³⁹ Cf. Dercksen 2001: 61. On the bullae with the impression of the seal of the City Hall of Assur at Acemhöyük in a layer contemporary with the post-Level II period of Kanēs, see Veenhof 1993; Dercksen 2004: 90.

⁴⁰ Ibid.: "Such a conclusion does not fit with the absence of Puruşhattum from the texts, unless the evidence from Acemhöyük relates to the (undocumented) beginning of Level Ib at Kültepe, and comes to a half somewhere during that period". The bullae of Acemhöyük must date back to the years before the conquest of Mari by Samsi-Adad (cf. Veenhof, o.c.). Hurmeli, the first king of the Level Ib period mentioned only in a later document of the time of Inar, was already king at the death of Samsi-Adad (1776) and, as we will see below, probably sustained the nine years siege of Harrasuna laid by Inar in a period following the conquest of Haşsum by Anumherwa (Zimri-Lim 8 = 1766).

⁴¹ The classification of seal impressions according to Alp (1968: 131-132) is: Old Assyrian style: 3, Syrian style: 24, Anatolian stamp seals: 423.

⁴² An example is given by the Bronze Tablet of the treaty between Tuthaliya IV and Kurunta of Tarhundasa, a land having its centre in the southern part of the Konya plain, where, among more than 120 place names mentioned, the land of İkkuvanya appears together the neighbouring land Ḫurniya (Class. Kome) and with the lands of Pitissa, Kizzuwatna and of the mountain Huwatuwanda (III 47-49; cf. Otten 1988: 22-23), all located (like Uşşa) around Tarhundasa, whereas Puruşhanda is never mentioned. If Puruşhanda were to be located at Karahöyük it would have been included in the land of İkkuvanya, whereas the list of gods in Muwatalli's Prayer shows that the city was still an important centre of the Lower Country (CTH 381 II 38-40; Singer 1996: 16, 37).

⁴³ BIN 4, 45: 9 (CMK no. 187). Sü'e writes to Puzur-Assur to send him *amūtum*-iron, without the *kārum*'s knowledge; he was threatened "here" by the *rabi sikkatum* of Uşşa (*GAL si-ki-tim ū-si-i-um*) and his colleague of Hudurut, both eager for *asīm*-iron supplies; his letter he writes also about barley or textiles to be sent to them from Wahşusana. On the *rabi sikkatum* see Krzyszt 2004: 25-28; his translation of the pertinent passage (o.c., 42) differs from the one given in CMK: "Wein der Kārum denn nicht, dass hier der *rabi sikkitum* von Uşşa und der *rabi sikkitum* von Hudurut gänzlich miteinander im Streit liegen (...)".

The important role played by Puruşhattum/Puruşhanda is connected with the control of the Cilician Gates and their mineral resources (mainly silver,⁴⁴ but also other possible regional products like obsidian or alabaster), but also of the two roads leading from Cilicia to Hatti and from Kanēs to the west (to Luwia/Arzawa and to the Aegean Sea; cf. Garelli 1963: 125). Besides, travellers going from Kanēs to the west had to cross a distance of about 120 km of the arid Lycaonian steppe after Acemhöyük, and were compelled to provision at the market of this site.

The Assyrian merchants travelled also to Uşşa, an independent city conquered by Labarna I after Puruşhanda, and later a Hittite district capital having a Hittite Prince as governor.⁴⁵ Uşşa was on the Hittite side of the northern frontier of Tarhundasa, immediately to the east of the land Pidasa, during the second half of the thirteenth century BC.⁴⁶ The Old Assyrian texts contain useful information on the position of Uşşa. The writer of I 766, 4'-10', asks his addressee to send him tablets with any information he could collect about Kanēs, Puruşhattum, Ullama and Uşşa; he was probably living north of this group of kingdoms. In BIN 4, 187 (EL 168) the writer mentions silver to be sent to him from Puruşhattum (12), the witnesses are listed and he states that he had summoned them in Uşşa: (25-27) *ina Ušša iššibitum aškuššumu*. I would locate Uşşa north of Konya, probably around Kadınhanı.⁴⁷

Still further to the west might be located the land of Şawit, a copper mining district. The protocol AKT 3, 56, refers to a lawsuit about "pure copper of the land of Şawit". The geographical context is given by the mention of Wahşusana and Śalatawur (26-27) as places where the copper should be sent, whereas other place names mentioned in this text (a *kaššum* functionary of Ḫurmaštum⁴⁸ in II 18-19; the *wabartum* of U-pē⁴⁹ II. 31-32)

⁴⁴ As we have seen above, Puruşhattum was a market place supplying good quality silver, probably coming from the Bolkardag mining district or brought by Syrian merchants, and, as a matter of fact, silver ingots were found at Acemhöyük (N. Özgür 1995; Ozan 1997).

⁴⁵ CTH 8-9, KB6 3.34 III 20'-22 (Dardano 1997: 59, 172; Text A). The "son" of Uşşa (rare writing as in KB6 4.13, not Uş-sa) was here an in-law relative (*kainašši*) of the "father of the king" (usually understood as Hattušili I, in my reconstruction rather Labarna I), having right to a special seat and a table at the Hittite court.

⁴⁶ In the Bronze Tablet (I 32-34; Otten 1998: 12-13) and in the treaty with Ulmi-Tesup (KB6 4.10 I 21'-22), the land of Uşşa occurs as a northern neighbour of Tarhundasa/Hulaya to the west of Pidasa and Mount Huwatuwanda.

⁴⁷ Since Pidasa is generally located around Akşehir or north of Lake Beyşehir, and depending from the choice of an expanded or reduced size of Tarhundasa, Uşşa could be placed in the region of Kadınhanı or, south of it, near Karahöyük. In the past I have preferred this second solution, although I also hesitated between the two possibilities (Forlanini 1998: 225-226). Now I would prefer the northern one for the same reasons produced above about Puruşhanda and connected to the position and role of İkkuvanya. This location of Uşşa would fit the reconstruction of Dincöl/Yakar/Dincöl/Tafer 2000 (see map at p. 19), that of Hawkins (1998: 31), and even the identification of Tarhundasa's borders shows (see map p. 103) a salient stretching as far as the Tuz Göltü and a position of Uşşa (in the area of Develi) too remote from Pidasa.

⁴⁸ See perhaps the Hittite place name HAR-pu-uš-ta and the word *burpasta* "leaf".

cannot be localized. In a second occurrence of this place name (CCT 2, 23, 6), we read that *Ennum-Asšur* ordered to send the copper of his brother Aššur-nâda "from the land of Sawit" (*isti milt Sô-wi-it*).⁵⁰ This place recurs as *Sa-na-iw-it* in KUB 58.15 I 9, a document concerning local festivals and mentioning Mount Huwatnuwa and the Hulana river on the western Hittite frontier, together with the king of Kuššar (perhaps Anita).⁵¹ In the list KBo 4.13, Šanawida is among the western territories conquered by Labarna I, together with Salatiwara, Partuwada, Lalanda and the western Ulma (Walma on the Aştarpa). Its name could be connected with Class. Syn(n)ada (today Şuhut near Afyon), a possible market place for the copper produced at Kazıca (Bakırlı, 17 km west of Sandıklı),⁵² but we must notice that Šanawida does not occur in any context related to the late Hittite empire.

Durhumi/Durmitta at the junction of two worlds

During the Karum Level II period, Durhumi, or at least its *kârum*, must have played a leading regional role.⁵³ The Assyrian authorities in Durhumi were delegated for taking the oath of the prince of Tamniya.⁵⁴ They also seem to have held a sort of pre-eminence over Ullama and Tuhpiya,⁵⁵ and the position of these towns is confirmed by the Hittite

⁵⁰ Neither the Mesopotamian town of Upé on the Diyala, nor the land Upi of the Amarna letters, around Damascus, both completely outside of the Old Assyrian Anatolian circuit.

⁵¹ Ichisar 1981: 301.

⁵² See Ünal 1997; Polyan 1998.

⁵³ For Synada see Belke/Mersich 1990: 393-395; for Kızılıca see de Jesus 1980: II 258 (site no. 11; the copper deposit is located in the mountains at 1700 m elevation).

⁵⁴ On Durhumi/Durmitta and its position, see Forlanini 1985: 48-53; Michel 1991.

⁵⁵ See Kt Ek 183 (CMK no. 53). Tamniya and Tawiniya in the Old Assyrian texts are generally considered two spellings of the same place name. Investigations at Class. Tavium (Buyukdereköy, 25 km south of Hattusa) were started recently by Karl Strobel, who identifies this important ancient site with Tawiniya; this Hittite provincial capital was connected with Hattusa by a direct road starting from the Tawiniyan Gate and must be searched in a south-western direction. A problem is posed by the very short distance between Tavium and the Hittite capital, since the two towns were, in the Colony Period, capitals of two independent kingdoms and Tamniya seems to depend more from Durhumi than from Hattusa. See also Michel/Garelli 1996: 283-284. The town must have been located on a transverse long-range road through central Hatti, running from east to west; that would explain the travel of textiles from southern Zalpa and copper from Hurma through Tamniya to Waljusana in ATHE 63 (CMK no. 68) or the presence (?) of the ruler of Tamniya in Karahna in Kt nk 388 (Günbatı 1996: 30-35).

⁵⁶ See Michel 1991: 256. Tuhpiya, between Durmitta and Tawiniya, is likely to be located near Kaman. Apart from Kaman Kalehöyük, Yassihöyük, 30 km east of Kaman and an important mound (diam. 500 m) of this area, where a level yielding typical sherds of the Assyrian Colony Period is attested, is a possible candidate for Tuhpiya (Mikami/Omura 1998).

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texts where we find Ullama as a town of the province of Durmitta⁵⁶ and Tuhpiya attacked by Kaskean enemies coming from Durmitta (see below).

The circular letter of the *kârum* of Kanē Kt 92/k 203, helps us in understanding the territorial division of the Assyrian network and probably also of the ethno-political map of Anatolia in that time; it is addressed to "the *dânum*-payers, Kuliya, our messenger, and the establishments of Durhumi, Hattus, Tamniya and Tuhpiya as far as Nenâsa".⁵⁷ This letter is one of a set of similar documents concerning different parts of Anatolia, from which we understand the existence for the Assyrians of an homogeneous region, starting from Nenâsa and reaching Hattus in the north, including the kingdoms of Tuhpiya and Tamniya (Tawiniya), probably controlled, as far as the merchants were concerned, by the regional *kârum* of Durhumi. This very region corresponds to the southern and central part of Hatti, exactly as this land is outlined in the list of KBo 4.13; the northern part, on the border of the kingdom of Zalpuwa (with towns like Hanaknak, Zimishuna or Kaštama),⁵⁸ was treated by the Assyrians independently;⁵⁹ outside of the area outlined by Kt 92/k 203, was located the *kârum* of Suppiluliyá, a town near Šapinuwa (modern Ortaköy),⁶⁰ north-west of Hattus, and the *wabartum* of Amkuwa and Sinahatum.⁶¹ Nevertheless the Old Assyrian evidence on Durhumi hitherto published generally points

⁵⁶ KUB 48.105 + KBo 12.53, obv. 31' (spelling *U-wa-al-ma*), Archi/Klengel 1980: 144, no. 181. Ullama was on the road Kanē-Durhumi according to ICK 2, 293 (Nashet 1987: 35-36, text no. 18).

⁵⁷ On this and similar documents from the archive of Kuliya and their geographical value, see Çeçen 1997; Dercksen 2004: 115-116; Kryszał 2004: 15. The eponyms table established by Kryszał for the documents of this archive shows that Kuliya was acting in Kanē in the last years of the Level II period (1852-1836 BC, according to the "middle chronology").

⁵⁸ For the occurrence of the *wabartum* of Zimishuna (Kt nk 1601 with Hattus; Hitt. Zim-bišuna) and the principality of Kaštama, see Bayram 1998: 47; Zimishuna and Hattus occur also in TPAK 1, 4 (Kt 90/k 128). For the location of Zimishuna and Hanaknak (also an Old Ass. *wabartum*, Hitt. Hananakka) in the Hittite province of Tabikká, cf. Forlanini 2002: 262-265.

⁵⁹ See the circular letter Kt 92/k 200 (CMK no. 22; see Dercksen 2004: 114-115) sent by Kanē Kanē to "the *dânum*-payers, Kuliya, our envoy, and the *wabartums* of Kuburnat, Hanaknak and Tišmura", three stations on the northern limit of the area travelled by the merchants.

⁶⁰ In the military "itinerary" of KUB 22.51 obv. 10'-16', the king sleeps in Šapinuwa while his army camps in neighbouring Hanziwa, then he starts the campaign going to Suppiluliyá and reaching [Hi]ṣarluwa (on the road Hattusa-Kadaba); this evidence points to a position between Hattusa and modern Ortaköy, a river Suppiluliyá was worshipped in Šapinuwa, according to KUB 36.7, rev. 12', together with the river Zuliyá (modern Çekerek). In AKT 3, 112, Samas-damîq writes to his partners that they have to send the tablet to him, to *Su-pu-lu-li-a* or to Hattus.

⁶¹ My previous doubts about the identity of Amkuwa/Ankuwa with Alışar (for which I proposed Sanahuita as a possible alternative) have been removed by the researches of Gorny (1993). The traditional equation is now almost certain (see Dercksen 2001: 41-42). Ankuwa is mentioned at Alışar almost as many times as at Kültepe, despite the enormous difference between the numbers of text found at the two sites. Moreover, direction and distance from Hattusa perfectly fit the Hittite evidence. For Sinahatum/Sanahuita on the Zuliyá river, see note 115.

to a location not far from the western circuit,⁶² compare JJP 11/12, 117;⁶³ Kt 90/k to 108a/b;⁶⁴ BIN 4, 64;⁶⁵ I 535;⁶⁶ I 750;⁶⁷ VS 26, 18.⁶⁸ This position is further confirmed by "itineraries" like the one in Kt 91/k 424, where Durhumit is on the road from Wahşuşana to Kanes;⁶⁹ the road from Wahşuşana to Durhumit could have been only a section of the long-range transverse road through Central Hatti mentioned above.⁷⁰ Altogether, we gain, through the Old Assyrian evidence published so far, the impression that Durhumit was connected with Anatolian centres east and west of the Halys. And the Halyas should have been the river flowing near Durhumit according to an Old Assyrian text.⁷¹

⁶² Cf. the geography of the copper trade related to individual merchants or trade houses, like Adad-sululli (see Dercksen 1996: 106-107), Al-ahum (*ibid.*, 118), Imdilim (*ibid.*, 129-131), Puzur-Assur (*ibid.*, 138-139), Ušur-Sa-İstar (*ibid.*, 147). Cf. Michel 2001: 284, and Kryszat 2001, for İddin-İstar, a merchant living in the early phase of the Level II period, who lived at Durhumit and travelled to Puruşattum and Wahşuşana.

⁶³ See CMK no. 33: the messengers of the *kârum* of Kanes write to this *kârum* that they cannot buy the textiles in Wahşuşana with the copper of Durhumit deposited in Wahşuşana, since this copper is black and not accepted.

⁶⁴ Bayram Çeçen 1995: 4-5 (text no. 1, envelope): Assur-malik has married [x]hamanamiga, (l. 11); "And Aşsur-malik shall not take (another) wife in Puruşattum, Wahşuşana, Durhumit or Kanes". The tablet was published as TPAK 1, 161a. In the same sentence (lines 9-14) the towns appear in a different order: Kanes, Puruşattum, Durhumit, Wahşuşana.

⁶⁵ See CMK no. 270: İddin-İstar has just arrived at Durhumit and will go to Puruşattum.

⁶⁶ Ennânum summons Su'en-nâda. The latter maintains that he had delivered silver and copper to the representatives of Ennânum in Durhumit; a sworn statement at the *kârum* Wahşuşana confirmed this matter. See also TPAK 1, 181.

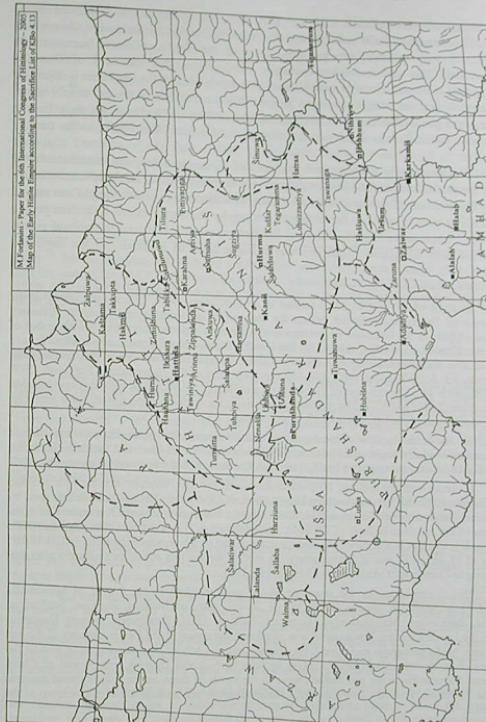
⁶⁷ Lines 17-21: "The two donkeys that Adad-sululli had brought from Puruşattum, Samas-bâni son of Su-İstar brought them forth to Durhumit."

⁶⁸ VS 26, 18 (= VAT 9236): TÜG.HI kâ-la-su-nu 𒊩-aa-na-tim (9) a-na 𒄑-lli-we-da-ku (10) pi-iq-dâ-ma (11) ha-ra-an Dur-ke-wi-mi-it (12) li-is-ri-dam "entrust the whole of the textiles and of the metal kettles?" (zammim) to Il-îwéðâku and let him send them by the road of Durhumit"; further: (17-21, according to EL III 24-25, n. c) a-di té-er-ri i-lâ-ka-ni u-a-ma-am u-e-ra-am a-na Puru-us-ha-tim a-da-gal (...), "bis die Weisung für mich kommt, schaue ich heute (und) morgen [d.i. täglich,] nach Burušadum aus".

⁶⁹ See Dercksen 1996: 12 (n. 32). The intermediate station between Wahşuşana and Durhumit is TUR-pi-ia in the transliteration, but Tüpia in the translation. See also ICK 1, 85, 5-8 (Michel 1991a: 155-156, no. 111) where Aşsur-sululli wrote to Imdilim, that he would go to Wahşuşana and stay there no more than 5 days but he would not go to Durhumit.

⁷⁰ See note 54 above with reference to the itinerary of textiles and copper from the east through Tammya to Wahşuşana (ATHÉ 63, CMK no. 68); in Kt 92/k 207 (Çeçen 1997: 227-229; CMK no. 23) the *kârum* of Kanes asks the messenger Kulya and the *kârum* of Tegarama to let İddin-Aşsur pay the tax that they were not been able to collect from him in Wahşuşana and Durhumit; that could indicate the range of the movements of this individual from east to west, without passing through Kanes.

⁷¹ See Dercksen 1996: 13.



Map 2: Map of the Early Hittite Empire according to KBo 4.13.

Since new unpublished Old Assyrian texts may reopen the discussion about Durhumit's location, I will await their publication before further discussion. At present, Durhumit's location, I will maintain my position, because the Hittite evidence seems to be however, I will maintain my position, because the Hittite evidence seems to be unequivocal. This Hittite evidence clearly demonstrates that the land of Durmitta included on the south Nenaşa and Ullama near the border of the province Waššanya; included on the south Nenaşa and Ullama near the border of the province Waššanya;⁷² Uššina (Uššuna) and Ujhīwāwa were respectively on the two sides of this border.⁷³ Towards the south-west Durmitta bordered on the country of Harziuna, which in its turn reached as far as Sallaba in the west, a fortress on the Arzawean border at the time of Mursili II.⁷⁴

Mallidaškuriya, a town known also in Old Assyrian times, was situated on the border between Durmitta and Kaššiya, a province that on the other side reached the valley of the Hulana river,⁷⁵ but also was connected with Harziuna.⁷⁶ Both the Hulana region and Kaššiya were invaded in the fourteenth century by the northwestern Anatolian people and Maša,⁷⁷ whereas we find the elders of the Hulana country involved in political events connected with Aḥhiyawa.⁷⁸ Hartana was a major town of Kaššiya⁷⁹ in the thirteenth

⁷² In KUB 48.105 + KBo 12.53 (edited in Archi/Klengel 1980), Uššina (or Uššina) is the first town of Durmitta mentioned before the paragraphs of Nenaşa and Uwala (Ullama), whereas Ujhīwāwa is the last town of the province Waššanya reported immediately before that of Durmitta. Ujhīwāwa closes the section of Hatti and Uššina that of Kanes, which should have included also Waššanya, in the list of KBo 4.13. For the geographical value of this fundamental document, see Archi/Klengel 1980: 144-145 (southern part of the Halyss basin); Forlanini 1979: 173-178; 1985: 48-52 (north-east of Tuz Gölü on the Halyss). C. Michel thought the new location was possible (1991: 254 n.7). The previous locations in the northern part of Hatti were based on the unjustified use of the list of KBo 4.13 as an itinerary.

⁷³ Cf. KUB 53.42, a list of local gods in two line paragraphs pertaining to a sequence of towns, where we have (right col. 5'-6') Durmitta (*Dur-mi-it <ka>-as-ki'n*) with the deity Telubuna, (7'-8') *Kam-te-la* with the mountain *Iyal[...]* and HAR-zi-u-na with the mountain *Kam-ma-[l]i-za*.

⁷⁴ It occurs with the spelling *Me-li-da-dš-ku-ri-ri* in the Old Assyrian texts Kt 92/k 513 and 449 (Bayram 1997: 49-50). In this town king Alluwanna and queen Harapseki were banished by the usurper Talburwalli (cf. Carrau 1974: 80-81). In the instructions of king Arnuwanda I for the *bašamni* of the province Kiššiya (CTH 260), Mallidaškuri[ya?]⁷ is a town of that province (KBo 50.266a, 2'), whereas in the thirteenth century it was a part of the province Durmitta (KUB 48.105 + KBo 12.53, obv. 42'), and in this inventory the section for Kaššiya comes immediately after that pertaining to Durmitta; cf. Archi/Klengel 1980: 145, 148).

⁷⁵ This is confirmed by the sequence of the gods invoked in the Prayer of Muwattalli, ordered by geographical groups (CTH 381 II 26-40): gods of Hurniya, Zarvisa, Saḥḥanya, Pahtima, Saḥhuiwa, Mallidaškuriya, Harziuna, Sallaba, Ušša, Parashunda, Mount Huwatnuwanda, the Lower Country. We do not know whether the mention of the Lower Country at the end refers only to the paragraph including Ušša, Parashunda and Mount Huwatnuwanda or also to the previous ones, anyway also Hurniya (close to Ikkunyanaya) and Zarvisa were towns of Class. Lycaonia, whereas Harziuna and Sallaba were to the north of them on the military road towards Arzawa. Therefore, it is very likely that also Mallidaškuriya was understood here as a town of the same area.

⁷⁶ Time of Šuppiluliuma I (Annals BoTU 34, IV 8-14; Gütterbock 1956: 65, Fragm. 13).

⁷⁷ KBo 16.22; Gütterbock 1936.

century; this town occurs in the Old Assyrian text Kt a/k 1956,⁷⁹ together with Waššanya, Durhumit and Purušatum, confirming the relations between Kaššiya, Durmitta and Waššanya⁸⁰ attested during the Hittite period and the connection of both cities with the "western circuit" of the merchants. Towards the east Durmitta was connected with Tuhuppiya and towards the north with a road coming from Zidarpa, a town on the way to Kalasma in north-western Anatolia.⁸¹ Durmitta was located, like Nenaşa, on the river Marašanda,⁸² and probably through its valley Kaškean tribes, whose names were Halija and Tutuska,⁸³ moved upstream and reached the northern part of the province Durmitta where they settled. Later these Kaškeans continued to move in a southern direction, reaching Nenaşa in the years before Šuppiluliuma's reign⁸⁴ and, in the days of Muwattalli II, they were able to devastate a part of the Hittite Lower Country as far as Uppašana and Suwadara (Class. Soatra).⁸⁵ The rebellious territory in the

⁷⁸ See the inventory KUB 48.105 + KBo 12.53, rev. 34-35 (Archī/Klengel 1980: 146, 150) and the oath of the DUGD-functionaries of the province Kaššiya, KUB 26.24, 6' (Von Schuler 1956: 225, copy C). Hartana was a seat of the worship of the god Yarri and Mount Ziwan (see KUB 38.32, obv.).

⁷⁹ Bayram 1997: 45.

⁸⁰ The fragmentary description of Hittite campaign in KUB 23.116, shows Arnuwanda I going front (*parâ*, line 7') to Wašša[an] and then leaving the region of Kiššiya.

⁸¹ Šuppiluliuma I (Annals; Gütterbock 1956: 109, Fragm. 34, 12'-19), while marching from Hattena to Hurna on the Marašanda in the direction of Tarritara and Tumanna in the north, he received in Tuhuppiya a request of help by the people of Zidarpa, which he refused since "[...]mitta" would have let him "turn very much out of his way". KBo 13.73, shows that Zidarpa was on the way to Zülilla and Kalasma; whereas we know from the Annals of Mursili II (5th year, see Del Monte 1993: 67-68) that Zülilla was located between Mount Aşşarpaya (and Pal), the town of Sammaha (attested also as a *nibša* in the Old Assyrian text Kt 83/k 263, see Bayram 1998: 52) and the province of Kaššiya (cf. Forlanini 1977: 206-207).

⁸² See Forlanini 1992: 179; in KUB 55.43, the Marašanda occurs among the "gods of the city" of Durmitta. The same river was worshipped in Nenaşa, according to Muwattalli's Prayer II 12-14 (Singer 1996, 14, 25).

⁸³ Of course these place names (with the determinative URU) could be towns, but since they occur only in the Annals of Mursili II (first year; see Del Monte 1993: 59-60) I prefer to understand them as tribal names connected with encampment places.

⁸⁴ The well-known Decree of Hattusa III (KBo 6.28), in its historical introduction describes the invasion wave suffered by Hatti before Šuppiluliuma I: (obv. 6-8) "In earlier days the Hatti countries were sacked from outside countries (uncertain). The Kaškean enemy came and sacked the Hatti countries and he made Nenaşa his frontier (...)" (translation according to Götz 1940, 21-22). Since, as we have seen, Nenaşa was a town of Durmitta in the following century, I consider it likely that this invasion came from the Kaškean bases of Durmitta.

⁸⁵ Apology of Hattusa III (CTH 81 II 10-13; Otter 1981: 10-11): "The enemy of (=from) the country Durmitta began to strike the country of Tuhuppiya [and ... since] the country of Ippašana was empty they reached further the country of Suwadara". The furthermore point of the advance, Suwadara, has been equated with Class. and Byz. Soatra/Saatra (today Yağlıbayat, 55 km east-north-east of Konya; cf. Belke 1984, 222-223); Ippašana could be probably identified with

northern part of the province was connected with the northwestern regions of Palâ and of the Tahara river (the long valley of the Devrez Çayı).⁸⁶ No mention is made of Durmitta in the 116 texts from Masat,⁸⁷ which contain about 100 place names to be located in the basin of the Çekerek and Yesil İrmak, nor does it seem to play any role in the still unpublished texts from Ortaköy, covering the area immediately to the west of Masat.⁸⁸ Similarly Durmitta does not appear in the itineraries toward Mount Habarwa and Nerik that are known from the archives of Hattusa⁸⁹ or in the list of the northern provinces occupied by the Kaška in the Prayer of Amuwanda I.⁹⁰

In the list of KBo 4.13, which I date to the reign of Labarna, Durmitta with Kalaşmitta and Ulhiwa are the only towns of Hatti west of the Halys and, only starting from them, Labarna could conquer the countries from Harzuña to the border of Arzawa. The region west of the lower Halys and north of Durmitta, appearing under the name Palâ at the end of the list, only followed there by Parşuhunta and Ussa, was conquered later, perhaps also with a campaign starting from Durmitta.

To summarize, the position of the city Durmitta must be on a crossing over the Halys and as far to the north as possible. A location near Karakeçili fits these requirements excellently, although an even northern one, at Kırıkkale, could be possible if new evidence requires this.

Uppâšana on the border of Tarhundaša between Zarnusa and Zarwiša, again a town connected with Hurnia, hence not far from İkkuwaniya/Konya (see Forlanini 1998: 227–230).

⁸⁶ In the fifteenth year of Mursili II, taking advantage of the plague that had hit Hatti, the Kaškeans from different places began to invade the country and among other directions the king mentions: "from Durmitta against [the town of ...] the land of Durmitta and against the valley of the Tahara river in the territory of Tababunuwa" (KBo 14.20 I 11–12; Houwink ten Cate 1966: 169; del Monte 1993: 114). In KBo 54.106, an oracular fragment, we read (obv.) (3) ZAG KUR Dur-mi-[ta ...] (4) URU Pa-a-ru IR-ri-[...]. Since the Tahara valley (modern Devrez Çayı) and Tababunuwa were in the area of Palâ, this evidence fits together. As a confirmation we can also produce here the Old Assyrian text Kt b/k 261 (Bayram 1997: 53), which registers a verdict by the *kârum* of Durjum, where we read: "Sô-béüm and Sâlali seized us as witnesses against Aïssur-tâb son of Awannâhus in Tahara". This geographical connection with other countries on the left bank of the Halys, but further in north-western direction, could explain why in the inventory KUB 48.105 + KBo 12.53, only the towns of the provinces Durmitta and Kašsiya, and not those of the provinces Waššanya and Tabikkâ, receive donations from the king of Tummanni, clearly in charge of helping the reconstruction of local shrines in the provinces bordering with (or close to) his territory (including Palâ); other authorities, like individuals, palaces (Gazzimara or that of Sulubâsi) and even the Hittite king shared similar functions in the other provinces.

⁸⁷ Cf. Alp 1991: xxviii–xxxii.

⁸⁸ Cf. the place names frequently attested at Ortaköy, mentioned in various articles of Suel (see Forlanini 1995, 1997, 2005).

⁸⁹ Like the oracular texts KUB 5.1, KUB 22.25, KUB 40.106; cf. also Forlanini 1992b.

⁹⁰ CTH 375 A II 21–25 (Lebrun 1980: 136, 144–145).

Zalpuwa and Hatti

One of the most vexing questions of the Old Assyrian and Hittite historical geography concerns the number of different towns known as Zalpa.⁹¹ I do not believe we are faced here with towns having the same name, what frequently happens in an homogeneous linguistic area (as in Luwian Anatolia or in the west-Semitic areas of Syria and Mesopotamia). If we restrict ourselves to the Old Assyrian geography, we have to leave out of consideration Zalpah on the Lower Balih near Tutul⁹² and Zalwar/Zarvar/Zalbar near modern İslahiye and north of Alalab, probably Tilmen Höyük,⁹³ because they were outside the area reached by the Assyrians.

We frequently find a Zalpa in the Cappadocian tablets and, where the context gives some clues to its location, we are almost always oriented towards an area on the right bank of the Euphrates, somewhere north of Samosata.⁹⁴ How to cope then with the Hittite texts, from which we know the important historical and religious city of Zalpa/Zalpuwa on the Black Sea coast, a place connected with the ideology of the Hittite Kingdom, probably origin of one branch of the Hittite dynasty (the "Great Family")?⁹⁵ The matter is still more complex, because the Hittite scribes of later periods, transcribing Old Hittite documents when the northern Zalpuwa was lost and the Syrian Zalwar destroyed, could have taken Zalpuwa for Zalbar, or even Halpa for Zalpa, because of the similarity of the cuneiform signs ZA and JA.

The attempts to find a compromise by placing the Hattian Zalpuwa on the Tuz Gölü or even in Southern Anatolia had no success, because they went against the Hittite evidence on Anatolian geography. That leaves us with a southern Zalpa, one of the most important trade stations of the Old Assyrian net, but absolutely absent from the Hittite texts, and a northern Zalpuwa, seat of Hattian cults and dynastic legitimacy, whose king Ulha destroyed Kanesh (the city and *kârum* of Level II at Kültepe). Huzzuya, another king of Zalpuwa, had the same name as the first Hittite king, and was captured after a war by Anita. Zalpuwa was finally destroyed by Labarna I after a long conflict with the central

⁹¹ See recently on this question: Dercksen 2001: 59–60; Miller 2001: 70–74.

⁹² See Córdoba 1990: 376, with reference to M. van Loon: for Ahunâ he proposed Tell es-Seman and for Zalpah Hammâm al-Turkumân. Zalpah is mentioned also in the texts from the neighbouring Tutul (Tall Bi'a), see Krebernik 2001: 70, 154–155 (nos. 92 and 373). See also Meijer 2001: 335–338.

⁹³ The identity of Zalwar/Zaruar with Tilmen Höyük was first proposed by me (Forlanini 1985: 55) and accepted by Miller (2001: 77, n. 30), Duru (2003: 78), Charpin (2004: 378), Charpin/Durand (2004: 107). This Zalwar is written Za-al-bar in the Akkadian version of Hattusili's Annals (KBo 10.1 obv. 4), but as Zalpa in the Hittite translation (Devecchi 2005: 34–36). The spelling Za-al-ha-ur occurs also at Mari in a letter of Yassi-Dagan to Sammetâr concerning mainly the exile of king Bunu-Estar of Kurda, an enemy of Samsi-Adad, who took refuge in Zalbar in order to escape the death (A.1215, 16, 17, 23; Charpin/Durand 2004).

⁹⁴ See Forlanini 2006: 164–167.

⁹⁵ For northern Zalpa/Zalpuwa, see: Otten 1973; Haas 1977; Forlanini 1984; 2004a: 374–380.

Hittite power⁹⁶ and whose presence in the Old Assyrian texts in most cases cannot be proved, apart from a few exceptions.⁹⁷

This apparent incongruity can be explained if we suppose that northern Zalpuwa was at least in some periods outside the range of the Assyrians, perhaps because of some agreement with Kanesh and the hostility between the two powers, and that southern Zalpa, a trading station at a nodal point of the Old Assyrian network, disappeared or lost its role after the end of the Assyrian trade. Its absence from the existing Hittite texts, which contain very scanty information on the area of later Commagene,⁹⁸ does not need a special explanation.

The role of Harsamma

C. Günbattı discussed the letter Kt 01/k 217, at the Fifth International Congress of Hittitology.⁹⁹ This very important document was sent to king Hurmeli of Harsamma and contains a reference to the death of Samsi-Adad (1774 BC). It changes our knowledge of the history of the beginning of the Karum Level Ib period. As far as we know, Hurmeli, who previously was supposed to be king of Mama or of Kanesh,¹⁰⁰ here appears as a (great) king of Harsamma, and his activity can be dated in the years before the death of

⁹⁶ The History of Zalpa ends with the words (KBo 22.2 rev. 13'-15'; Otten 1973: 12-13): "The king came (back) to Hattusa in order to worship the gods, but he let there (at the siege of Zalpa) the 'old king', who went up against the town with the words: «I am your king!». And the army was with them (him!) and he took the town". Probably Hattusili (the "king") did not want to be responsible for the destruction of Zalpa, the origin of his own dynasty, and let the duty to Labarna I (the "old king"), who was of the southern/Kaneshite branch. In the cult of Zalpa preserved in the text assembly CTH 733, the city does not seem to play a role, whereas the cult performances of the "son" find place in different villages or towns of its country (cf. Forlanini 1984).

⁹⁷ Dercksen 2001: 43-44 (n. 23), 62, shows that the Zalpa of OIP 27, 63, must be the northern one, because of the mention of sea food (that reminds me of the sea fishes offered in the cult of Zalpuwa, cf. Forlanini 1984: 254); whereas in my opinion it is not necessarily so for the Zalpa mentioned in Kt nk 10, since it is possible that lapis lazuli was sent from Mama through Zalpa (of Commagene) to Hattus, in order to use the road of Tegarama. The wife of Inar from Sammaha (a town near Mount Aşharapaya in Palâ) is mentioned in Kt 83/k 263 (Bayram 1998: 52); Inar is the son of Aba, the woman from Hîlî and son of Hurki from Zalpa, perhaps here the northern one because of the context. See also ICK 2, 156 (Forlanini 1985: 62 n. 62).

⁹⁸ Arnuwanda I transferred members of the Ismeria tribe from Mittani/Hanigalbat in this part of Kizzuwatna; later the area was probably invaded by the tribe of Armadana. Hâkka, Timiliyya and Halium are mentioned only in early Hittite historical texts; probably Hâbhum (last mention in an annalistic text attributed to Telebinu), if identical to Samosata/Samsat, was renamed Kummaha ("holy city").

⁹⁹ See note 2 above.

¹⁰⁰ V. Donbaz, who published (1989: 75-77) Kt nk 32, thought that Hurmeli was a king of Mama; I proposed that he was a king of Kanesh (Forlanini 1995: 124-125). Cf. Michel 2001: 119-120.

Samsi-Adad, who helped his enemy, the king of Zalpa. This new evidence seems to contrast with all we knew before; as a matter of fact Hurmeli was known only as the authority certifying an agreement mentioned in Kt nk 32, an *iqqâti*-tablet certified by king Inar of Kanesh, but his *rabi similitum* Harpatiya appears in three other *iqqâti*-documents from Kültepe and Alışar.¹⁰¹ Besides, Harsamma is known among the documents from Kültepe only from the letter of Anum-herwa, where he mentioned that Inar had besieged Harsamma for nine years, and elsewhere only in the Mari correspondence. This means that a few documents throw light on this city for a very short time only, before it suddenly disappears. Last but not least, we have to understand which Zalpa was helped by the mighty king of the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris.

We have to place Hurmeli into the historical sequence. Kültepe Level II was destroyed in 1836 BC ("middle chronology"), and according to Anitta's Deeds, this was the work of Ulma king of Zalpuwa.¹⁰² About one century later Anitta revenged his new capital by overcoming Zalpuwa and taking its king Huzziya prisoner. Hurmeli comes after the destruction of Kanesh and its subsequent reconstruction, and he was even the overlord of Kanesh, acting there through his minister Harpatiya. The name Hurmeli can be considered a Kaneshite name derived from a toponym, the neighbouring and probably dependent city of Hurrajma. It would not be surprising to discover that his enemy was the king of Zalpuwa. After the destruction of the Karum Level II, the king of Zalpuwa should have tried to control the region and to divert the Assyrian trade for his own interests. Subsequently Hurmeli, having his residence in Harsamma, succeeded in liberating the country, rebuilt Kanesh and established himself as overlord in its region. We can guess that, for some reasons, Samsi-Adad went on maintaining good relations with Zalpuwa and helping its king, what resulted in increasing problems with the new power in Kanesh. By that time Harsamma was a very important political centre, known in Mesopotamia for its horses and luxury products; a reflex of this importance survived in the *lipšur*-litannies.¹⁰³ After that Harsamma disappeared or was reduced to a mere village.

The kingdom of Zalpa supported by Samsi-Adad can hardly be Zalwar, a town without importance in the time of Samsi-Adad, whose King Anum-herwa began his career by submitting Haşsum (and Mama, if they were not one and the same town)¹⁰⁴ and

¹⁰¹ OIP 27, 53, 14 (from Alışar); Kt rk 19, 21 (Donbaz 1989: 80-81, no. 5) and Kt 99/k 139, B 21 (Donbaz 2004: 276-279). Hurmeli must have been also overlord of Ankawa.

¹⁰² CTH 1.

¹⁰³ Cf. Forlanini 2004: 369-370, n. 22.

¹⁰⁴ For this problem and the questions raised by my suggestion (1985: 55) that Mama was the Old Assyrian and Haşsum the Old Babylonian/Syrian name of one and the same town, cf. the exhaustive treatment of Miller (2001: 81-84), with a survey of Astour's objections. I recognize that the identity is still under discussion but I must also point again to the fact that Kt k/k 4, used as an argument against it, is not an Old Assyrian text and that the letter of Anum-herwa comes years after the occurrences of his name at Mari. Therefore the sequence of Anum-herwa's titles as king of Zalwar, later of Haşsum (the most prestigious title) and finally of Mama, could be accepted only by supposing that (1) he lost Haşsum before his letter to Warsâuma or that (2) Haşsum is Mama. Moreover, the argument that Haşsum is not mentioned at Kültepe because it was outside the range of the Assyrians is inconsistent, since Ursum, located to the south of Haşsum (see for example the

becoming a neighbour of Kanesh only after year 7' (= 1767 BC) of Zimri-Lim king of Mari. From his new capital he did not take part in the struggle between Hurmeli, or his successor, and the new king of the independent Kanesh, Inar, that he mentioned in his well-known letter to Inar's son Warsa/uma.¹⁰⁵ We cannot take into account the trade station of Zalpa in Commagene, whose political importance is unknown and which could have no interest in fighting Kanesh, the place of destination of almost all the goods passing through its territory. If this long-range link, between a kingdom on the Black Sea coast and the great king of Upper Mesopotamia, who anyway was able to impose his interests also in northern Syria, may seem strange, we have to call to mind the letter of Mari A.266, reporting the message of the king of Qatna, pledging submission to the *sukkal* of Elam and asking for his help.¹⁰⁶

The location of Harsamma cannot be determined from the texts available. The only possible hypothesis is based on the similarity of its name with that of the village Harsumma of the Late Hittite province of Kuguvawa, situated between Kanesh and Ankuwa. I have proposed a location near Felahiyte, north of Kanesh,¹⁰⁷ but this remains hypothetical.

Hattum and Kanesh

The meaning of Hattum in the Old Assyrian texts has been exhaustively treated by Dercksen.¹⁰⁸ Starting from that article I want to reconsider the Hittite sources, in order to show that they confirm the conclusions reached by Dercksen. In my already mentioned paper at the Sixth International Conference of Hittitology in Rome, devoted to the list of towns of the ritual KBo 4.13, and the development of Labarna's empire, I demonstrated

sequence of the western enemies of the writer of ARM 1, 1, 4'-6': Haššum, Ursum, Karkamis and Yamhad; cf. Garelli 1963: 107), is attested in the Old Assyrian texts; moreover, the Hittites, while besieging Ursum, used a battering ram from the mountain of Haššum (CTH 7 obv. 16').

¹⁰⁹ For the career of Anum-herwa see Guichard 1993; Miller 2001. The words of Anum-herwa to Waršama (Kt g 35, 29-34; Balkan 1957: 8; CMK no. 62) "While your father Inar was besieging for nine years the city of Harsamma, did my land invade your land and did it kill an ox or a sheep?" have a meaning only if at the time of the siege Anum-herwa had already a common frontier with Kanesh and, since it is improbable for Zalwar, they must postdate the conquest of Haššum in 1767 (if this town is Mama) or even its loss (if it is different from Mama).

¹¹⁰ Durand 1997: 466-467 (LAPo 16, 298). The distance from Susa to Qatna is considerably longer than that from Tell Leilan to the estuary of the Marashanda.

¹⁰⁷ Forlanini 2004a: 370 n. 24. For the location of Harsamma we may consider the evidence from Mari, where this town is mentioned between Kanesh and Hatusa in the letter M.8426 + M.9046, perhaps in geographical order, or where it appears as place of origin of horses of a particular quality (a characteristic kept by the lexicographic tradition in the *lipsur* litanies after the demise of the town). I would like to point out that Central Cappadocia was renowned in Classical times for its horse breeding. To sum up, all we can say is that the land of Harsamma bordered on that of Kanesh.

¹⁰⁸ 2001: 57-60. See also Garelli 1963: 115, whose treatment of this question is still cogent.

that this list consists of a sequence of different sections, independent of the lines dividing the paragraphs.¹⁰⁹ The first section is formed by Hurma and Salahšuwa, the towns of the original principality granted by Huzziya I to the father of the "old king", according to the "History of Zalpa" (i.e., to the father of Labarna I). The second one by the towns of Hatti; only this section finds a parallel in the list of VBoT 68 III 4-9, both of them ending with Uhhiuwa.¹¹⁰ The third section starts again from Hurma and Sallahšuwa to which follow Sugiyra in the Antiaurus and Karahna on the Upper Zuliya river on both sides of the Halys basin; immediately after this we find a list of towns along the Halys valley, Samuha,¹¹¹ Zaminuwa, Kanesh and Uššuma; the whole of this section corresponds to an area larger than the Hittite Upper Country and including Kanesh (and Waššaniya) as far as Uššuna, a town that was included in the thirteenth century in the province of Durnitta as the first mentioned, coming from the border with Waššaniya. This section seems to include the Kaneshite area of influence or the Hittite/Nesite speaking area.¹¹²

The next sections contain the western conquests as far as the Arzawean/Luwian border (Harziuna, Salabla, Salatiwara, Tabalka, Šaluhwaliya, Laland, Samawida, and the western Ulma/Walma), followed by the eastern conquests in the direction of the Euphrates (Haššuwa, Hatra, Šinuwa and Tawanaga) and finally by large external lands/kingdoms: Halpa, Palä, Paršuhunda, Ussa.

If my reconstruction is correct, the second and the third sections give us the two geopolitical and linguistic areas of Hatti and Kanesh, related to the two branches of the Hittite dynasty, that is the two lands inherited by Labarna at the death of Huzziya I. Is it possible that such a distinction goes back to the Old Assyrian period? Among the towns of the second section (I 20-33) are included all the kingdoms and colonies of Old

¹⁰⁹ See Forlanini, forthcoming. The list goes back to an archaic Hittite original; only in this text among all the other Hittite documents *Kab-bur-na-on-da* is mentioned, the well-known Kuburnat of the Old Assyrian records. Also Salatiwara and Šaluhwaliya only appear in documents relating to the early Hittite history, whereas some towns are hapax. Besides, the uncertain use of the geminates (e.g., *Tu-hu-pi-ka*, *To-pi-ka* or *Ma-la-zu-va*) and the strange spelling *U-i-sa*, attested only in early Hittite texts, confirm my assumption.

¹¹⁰ The Hatti section of the list (I 20'-33) starts with Hatti (the town) and includes the Old Assyrian establishments in this country: Hatti (= Hatusa), Tawinya, Akuwa, Durnitta, Tuhupiya, Sanahuita.

¹¹¹ The recent discoveries made at Kayalipinar by A. Müller-Karpe show that this archaeological site corresponds to an important ancient town having an Old Assyrian settlement with archives and to an imperial Hittite religious city yielding texts in Hittite and in Hurrian; hence the identification of Kayalipinar with Samuha (see Wilhelm 2002) is probable.

¹¹² On the language spoken at Kanesh, see Alp 1993 and Goedegebure (this volume). On the area of diffusion of this language, cf. Melchert 2003: 21-22: "We are thus lead to a scenario by which the speakers of the prehistoric dialect that became Hittite were located not in north central Anatolia but in an area between the Hittians to the north and the pre-Luwian population to the south and west. This means roughly in a band of territory stretching to the northeast along the upper course of the Halys, centering on Nesa/Kanish, the only site for which we have direct evidence for a strong early presence of Hittite speakers". On the local cults and the tradition of the singers of Kanesh, see Archi 2004.

Assyrian Hattum: Ḫattusa, Tawiniya, Tuhuppuya, Durmitta and northern Zalpa plus Ankuwa and Sanahittua, that in the past had rebelled against Ḫattusa. The third section, that of the Kanešite area, can be defined if one looks to the main axes of its territory: the Halys valley from the Upper to the Lower Country (from Pittiyariga to Uššuna), the trade axis through the passes of the Antitaurus in the direction of the Euphrates' crossings (from Kanes to Salahsuwa, Hurma and Sugziya) and finally the northern frontier on the Zulya river with Karahna. Kaneš could try to take Ankuwa, Kapitra and Sanahittua from Ḫatti only by controlling Karahna and Samuha. The name of the Hittite Lower Country originated from that structure of the Kanešite world,¹¹³ but the corresponding territory reached its final size only with the conquest of Purušanda. That Ḫatti and Kaneš were considered two main divisions of the Anatolian territory is shown also by the presence of the kings of both countries in the Hittite version of the list of the enemies of Narām-Sin, where no other Anatolian power is mentioned. If we also take Purušattum into consideration we get a tripartite political and even ethnic division of central Anatolia with Kaneš representing the Nešite, Ḫattum the Hattian, and Purušattum the Luwian population.¹¹⁴

Towns, kingdoms and dynasties

The most straightforward interpretation of the Old Assyrian evidence connects each independent town to a prince/king, as if each independent town had its own dynasty. From other historical periods, which are better documented, we know that dynasties could rule many towns and even different kingdoms, bearing different titles together; dynasties could become related to each other, succeed one to the other in the same kingdom, or even change kingdom. These are possible events also in Anatolian history and for the Old Assyrian period too we cannot rule out these developments, although the lack of evidence hinders us in recognizing them. Some inconsistencies that came to light in the historical reconstruction can however caution us.

We could mention Hürmeli, Great Prince and Prince of Harsamma, but also overlord in Kaneš, or Anita in Ankuwa, king of Kušsar in the later tradition but also prince of Kaneš and Ankuwa; Zuzzu ruled Kaneš with the mysterious title Great King of Alahzina. The first king of "Hatti", bearing the Zalpean name Huzziya, gave Hurma to the father of Labarna I, whereas the future Labarna II/Hattusili I must have received, perhaps through

¹¹³ In my opinion the use of the geographical terms of Upper and Lower Country originated in Kaneš with the meaning of "upstream or downstream from Kaneš along the Marasanda". Since the Luwian speaking area was already reaching Kaneš from the south and the towns on the road to the Euphrates were in the following centuries subject to the Hurrian cultural influence and ethnic diffusion, the true Nešite region remained the Upper Country. When the Kaškeans coming from İshubitta and Mariita (around Tokat) crossed the Marasanda near modern Sivas in the time of Mawattalli II (CTH 81 II 5-6; Otten 1981: 10-11), they invaded the "Land of Kaneš" according to Hattusili III.

¹¹⁴ See Michel 2001: 43.

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his father Pawahtelma, the town of Ḫattusa. Huzziya adopted Labarna in Sanahittua, perhaps his residence,¹¹⁵ and Labarna probably remained in his personal capital, Hurma, where most of the events of the Palace Chronicle are located. Both Labarna and Hattusili Huzziya, the grandfather of Hattusili is more likely to be a descendant of Huzziya, king of Zalpuwa and enemy of Anita.

The letter of Anum-herva shows that the kings of Kaneš and Mama were the overlords of vassal princes of dependent towns, exactly like the Hittite kings, who used to appoint blood relatives or in-laws as rulers of the main cities of the empire. The well-known revolt against Ḫattusili I of the princes of Ankuwa, Šinahutum and Kapitra¹¹⁶ or the instructions sent by the queen of Kaneš to Luhuzzadiya, Hurma and Salahsuwa in order to prevent the smuggling¹¹⁸ demonstrate the possible extent of the hegemony of the larger kingdoms also in the Colony Period.

I think that the creation and the growth of the Early Hittite kingdom (or empire) naturally developed from the structure of the Anatolian territorial states and their elites in the eighteenth century (during and after the Level Ib period at Kültepe). The acceleration of this process must have been related to the end of the Assyrian commercial network and the loss of this profitable trade for the local rulers.

¹¹⁵ Sanahittua was located probably to the east of Kadaba and on the left bank of the river Zuliya, since a recently published fragment, KBo 50.51, 8°, mentions the town immediately after the difficult crossing of the river by the *nibkanti* Tuthaliya, son of Hattusili III and future Tuthaliya IV, while he sustained an attack from the Kaškeans who had descended from the mountains and blocked the bridge (on this text see Riemenschneider 1962: 111-113). Troops of Sanahittua are included in the army of the Upper Country according to the Maşat letter no. 96. Hence, the city was at the border between Ḫatti and the Kanešite world and that can explain the choice of Huzziya I.

¹¹⁶ See already Garelli 1956: 116, with regard to VS 26, 22 (= VAT 13484) 9-10, but cf. the commentary by Veenhof to this text in VS 26, p. 19. The territory of Kušara bordered on that of Luhuzzadia/Luh(u)zzandiya according to Kay 1830 (Hecker 1996: 150; edited CMK no. 59). Kušara must have been located between Hurma and Tegarama, north of Luhuzzadia and probably on a crossroad leading towards the north to Samuha. In the Testament of Hattusili I the king was dictating the text while, being ill, he was residing in Kušara, and in Kušara we find the "father of the king" (Labarna in my reconstruction), at the beginning of CTH 8/9 (the "Palace Chronicle"), a text that has so much to do with Hur(r)fama; but that does not mean that the "father of the king" in CTH 8/9 must be identified with Hattusili I.

¹¹⁷ According to Steiner (1992) this revolt could have preceded or brought about the war between Anita and Piñuti of Ḫattusa.

¹¹⁸ ATHE 62 (CMK no. 207), 28-37. Also CCT 4, 19c (CMK no. 103) is likely to refer to the same situation, where the princess is again that of Kaneš, and not of Luhuzzadiya.

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THE GEOGRAPHY OF TRADE ASSYRIAN COLONIES IN ANATOLIA c. 1975 – 1725 BC AND THE STUDY OF EARLY INTERREGIONAL NETWORKS OF EXCHANGE*

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In an attempt to explain how the human mind works up the raw materials of sensation into the finished product of thought, Immanuel Kant distinguished two separate stages in the cognitive process. First, he claimed, sensation needs to be coordinated according to our underlying perception of space and time. Only thereafter, the input based on our senses can be synchronized and applied to conception. Accordingly, all primary data must be oriented in space as well as in time to reach the level of coordinated deliberation, and so on the level of academic discourse. Kant maintained that history has no meaning without regard to its spatial component, geography.

In recent years, the study of "historical" and "human" geography has forcefully reintroduced the importance of spatiotemporal and landscape into our analysis of society, emphasising, among other things, the interplay between physical surroundings and the individual's perception of his environment.¹ Plainly, in dealing with topics such as trade and colonial encounters in the ancient world, an understanding of the fundamental geographical framework of the system of exchange lies at the very heart of analysis. Two essential questions underlie the interpretation, namely: "where?", in order to find out how things are arranged in space, and: "why there?", in order to appreciate the arrangement found.² Firstly, the study of distribution is of fundamental importance because it reveals the variation between one place and the next. Most things are not scattered over an area at random but show definite arrangement in space – a geographical pattern. Secondly, an in-depth analysis of each local pattern, as well as the comparison between such patterns, serves to bring out the characteristic features of each place and establishes its individuality and geographical unity.

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¹ For a comprehensive introduction to the field of historical geography, its current theories, and perspectives, see Baker 2003.

² See the programmatic statements made by Mitchell 1954: 5-7, in her classic work on the subject.

In this paper, I hope to demonstrate how an underlying geography – evidenced through a group of texts written by a community of Assyrian traders in Anatolia 4000 years ago – can be approached, explored, and employed to gain some fundamental insights into the general character of ancient long-distance trade and cultural exchange. In other words, to show how a comprehensive understanding of the fundamental geographical reality into which the trade was embedded can lead us to appreciate, at a much deeper level, the passive mechanisms and active processes underlying the way in which trade and contact was organised and played out.

The system of Assyrian trade in Anatolia during the early Middle Bronze Age is exceptional in the greater perspective of interregional exchange. Not because the merchants from Assur (located in modern-day Iraq) were unique in sending regular caravans of men and donkeys with large amounts of tin and woolen textiles to a network of resident agents in extraterritorial colonies in Central Anatolia several thousand kilometres away. Other traders plied similar routes at other times and in other places. Rather, the activities of this particular group of merchants happens to be very well attested owing to the exceptional conditions of preservation, excavation and publication of the evidence of an Assyrian merchant settlement located at the site of Kültepe. In fact, the material from Kültepe is so detailed that it permits a level of reflection and analysis that is difficult to undertake elsewhere, and it allows us even to suggest some of the principles that may have regulated interregional exchange in pre-modern societies on a more general level.

The political geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period was characterized by a number of small states, each focussed upon a single urban centre and ruled by a royal couple. The main enterprise of the Assyrian traders was to manoeuvre in this complex political landscape of mutually competing local polities in the search of profit on marketed goods. For this purpose each Assyrian company relied upon a network of agents and business associates spread out among the main cities of Anatolia, and for the most part, our written sources consist of the correspondence exchanged between the various members of such firms. On a local level the sources allow us to study the physical and social organisation of the Assyrian trading houses as well as that of their Anatolian consumers. Families and household structures, the legal and judicial system, the structure and finance of the trade, bureaucracies, political institutions, and the spiritual and material reality of life, are all topics that are currently being investigated by historians and archaeologists.

However, the entire geographical backdrop of the trade – the physical topography and the infrastructure – has so far only been poorly understood. To appreciate the way in which trade was organised, the impact the Assyrian merchants had upon local Anatolian society, and the sheer volume and range of Assyrian dealings in Anatolia, we require a thorough understanding of its geography. Over the years a number of scholars have engaged with the problem of reconstructing a historical geography of the period. But although one might easily think that traders' archives, full of business letters, accounts and memoranda, constitute an excellent tool for the reconstruction of the active geographical horizon of those merchants, the material only hands over such information in a very ungenerous way. Letters exchanged between agents and financers, along with private notes and judicial records, all presume a common knowledge of the geography,

markets and resources that is now lost to us, and the actual degree of detail in the available documentation varies enormously.

In recent years the formation of the Old Assyrian Text Project has meant that a vast amount of hitherto unpublished sources have been made available for study inside the group, effectively quadrupling the total number of texts available in relation to what was there just a few years ago. In addition, a growing number of Hittite texts have been edited and made available to scholars outside the discipline, and the past two decades or so have seen a number of detailed archaeological and archeometallurgical surveys of large areas in Central Turkey that had formerly been almost entirely unknown to us. Works by scholars such as Bahar, Bilgi, Dönmez, Kapitan, Omura, Öksüz, Ozbal, Ozsait and Yener add crucial information and much needed data about settlement patterns and population density during the period in question, and the total increase in source material plainly has to affect what we know about the ancient geography of Anatolia. As such, it forms the empirical underpinning for the following observations.

In addition to lack of sources, a major obstacle for dealing with the historical geography has been the need for a suitable method of how to approach the actual analysis of available data. A fundamental aim in my work on the historical geography of Anatolia in the Assyrian Colony Period has therefore been to suggest a consistent approach to extracting the required information from the written record, and to attempt to relate this data to the available archaeological evidence and the physical topography of Central Turkey.³ Until now the approach to the study of the historical geography of Anatolia has often been somewhat disjointed. In general, it has dealt with particular regions rather than the big picture, and often it has focussed on a specific historical period instead of taking the broader record into account. Yet, plainly the geographical system forms an inseparable whole in which all elements are interdependent, and so the failure to consider the system in its entirety can easily lead to faulty conclusions. All pertinent information should first be identified and registered, and only then the connections between toponyms can be evaluated and analysed.

One accepted way of approaching historical geography has been to isolate a given toponym in an ancient text, and then to identify it with a modern place-name that sounds similar, or for which one may reconstruct a feasible linguistic evolution from the ancient to the modern form. By this procedure, one would identify a number of fixed points on the map, and then relate such points to connected toponyms in various available itineraries. In areas where the toponymy has remained relatively unchanged through time, for instance in certain parts of Syria and Iraq, this approach has in fact produced relatively good results. However, Anatolian history contains several significant breaks in political and cultural continuity, and thus the linguistic approach to reconstructing the geography has proven less useful. With surprisingly few exceptions, even the largest Hittite cities have never been securely identified, and with literally thousands of toponyms to choose from in any given region of Turkey, there is always bound to be a place-name similar to the one sought for. It therefore proves very difficult to know

³ Barjamovic 2005.

whether a suggested match is genuine, or whether it derives from an ancient homonymy, a common root, or even simple coincidence. I would argue that the linguistic approach is notoriously unreliable when it is not heavily supported by other data, and the method easily deteriorates into what Landsberger termed as *Gleichklangspielerei*.

Adding insult to injury, several cities bore identical, or near-identical names, which naturally leads scholars into extensive debates about likely interpretations of a particular set of data, and whether it might relate to one or several localities. On the one hand, we may have an intuitive reluctance towards assuming the existence of two homonymous settlements each time a reference does not fit a given geographical model. On the other hand, homonyms in Anatolia would have been as common as everywhere else, and when we try to conflate information that in fact relates to two identically named locations we often end up creating even more confusion.

Instead of relying upon linguistic matches between ancient and modern toponyms, my attempt has been to outline a broader statistical approach in which recurring strings or clusters of place-names are identified in order to gain a basic notion about the physical proximity between various places. Thereupon, the commercial bias of each source is taken into account. As one might suppose, two cities may regularly appear side by side in the sources, not because of their geographical proximity, but due to their terminal positions on a trade route. In order to compensate for the statistical anomalies it is therefore necessary also to consider each and every relevant text and its *Sitz im Leben*. For various reasons, some sources simply list "panoramas" that fail to record the toponyms according to any known geographical principle, while several others only bother to mention the main stations visited during a business trip. Such sources must be identified and analysed to exclude a bewildering number of "false" connections. Only then can the sources become part of a meaningful statistical analysis that arranges statistical clusters into geographical grids.

In addition to the statistical analysis one should obviously take the local topography into account – not only as a guideline but at the very root of the model. Already in the 19th century, the British classicist Sir William M. Ramsay asserted that a key to understanding Anatolian geography was the fact that there have always been only a rather limited number of routes crossing the country.⁴ He therefore advanced the theory that local centres of trade and political power could shift through time, but that they were invariably tied to one such route. The topography decided the position of such "lines" in the landscape, and only the population density would fluctuate along them. At places where the main routes intersected, cities invariably grew to facilitate and protect trade and traffic in a "road knot". Such "road-knots", Ramsay predicted, would invariably have fostered a dominant city, and where one could identify them, this would also be the place to look for a major ancient settlement.

The approach of combining statistics, a detailed philological analysis, and relevant data from various archaeological, archaeometallurgical and topographic surveys produced a map (Map 1) that turned out to be quite different from its predecessors. If one begins by

⁴ Ramsay 1890.

looking at the way the historical geography of Anatolia in the Middle Bronze Age has been reconstructed so far, a striking feature is the apparent concentration of all the main Assyrian centres of trade inside a relatively small area only some 200 km across. The overall impression one gets of the range, the impact, and the purpose of the Assyrian trade in Central Anatolia is related to this dense cluster of consumer cities in which the merchants would distribute substantial quantities of imported tin and textiles for the benefit of a wealthy local élite. The system exists in relative isolation from the surrounding areas, and any wider interregional systems of exchange seem beyond the Assyrian capacity of interaction.

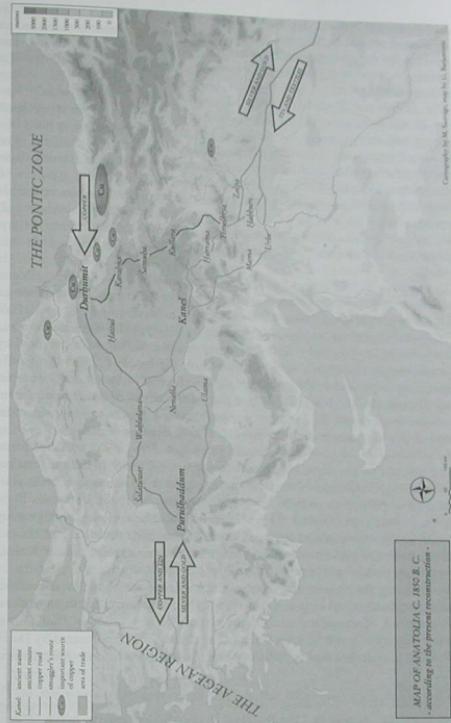
Likewise, the voluminous local trade in copper and wool that the Assyrian merchants conducted as a supplement to their trade in imported goods would have stretched across an area that can be covered in less than five days of travel. On the basis of this reconstruction, the main ambition of the traders from Assur would therefore appear to have been simply to reach the Anatolian highlands, to distribute the imported tin and textiles, sometimes increasing the turnover by trading in some local goods, before returning to Assyria for another circuit. The dense group of Assyrian colonial communities is located inside a relatively restricted area, and the general impact of the exchange conducted by the Assyrian traders upon the territory of modern Turkey as a whole seems limited. The key ports of trade, Durhümít and Purushattum, were thought to have been situated at a distance of 120 km, or only about three days travel from one another, and in spite of the truly vast amounts of copper transported from one city to the other, the market forces were assumed to have been strong enough to generate a demand and a price gap that would make the Assyrian endeavour worthwhile.

If one compares this picture to the result of my own analysis (Map 2), one notes how the perspective on Anatolia changes – not only in simple geographical terms, but also as an economic and political landscape. The area covered by the exchange system is seen to have been significantly larger, and ultimately to extend from the foothills of the Black Sea region to the westernmost parts of Lycaonia. The situation is no longer that of a small, densely settled region with an enormous appetite for consumption, but rather one in which the Assyrian traders marketed their imports across a wide horizon of economic zones, connecting different environmental and cultural systems from the copper-producing Pontic Zone around the city of Durhümít to the gateway of the Mediterranean at Purushattum.

Furthermore, the map emphasises the fact that there were regions, which appear to have been off limits to the Assyrian traders even if they formed lucrative markets in their own right. Most conspicuous is the total absence of Cilicia in the merchant records. Being on one of the possible routes from Assur to Anatolia, one might easily find good reasons why the Assyrian caravans should have frequented the region, yet the fact that no mention of any Cilician toponym occurs in the sources suggests that the region may have belonged to another – perhaps competing – system of trade and somehow excluded Assyrian presence. In comparison, one may note absence of Assyrian trade in the North-Syrian area *en route* to Turkey. A few minor transactions are witnessed in the sources, being mostly a trade in trinkets, yet the traders never opened the sealed shipments of tin and textiles before the Euphrates had been passed and no significant trade took place



Map 1: Map by C. Michel with overlay: zones of interaction and the model of M. T. Larsen.



Map 2: The map of the author with overlay of routes and resources.

before the caravans reached Hahhum on the Anatolian side of the river. One may judge this conduct in relation to the protectionist agenda voiced in a recently published treaty-text between the Assyrian merchants and an Anatolian ruler. One stipulation requires the local prince to extradite any "Akkadian" trader passing through his land to the Assyrians so that they may kill him.⁶

The way in which we reconstruct the ancient geography greatly affects also the manner in which we interpret the organisation and the impact of the trade itself. In accordance with this perspective on the geography, the trade carried out by the Assyrians inside Anatolia represents a considerably larger financial and logistic challenge. Plainly, the process of the gradual establishment and permanent upkeep of an extensive network of inns, bridges and well-kept roads, which we know marked the turning point of early medieval trade in Europe, must have had a similar precursor in Anatolia in the Middle Bronze Age. Memoranda listing the fees paid by Assyrian merchants at bridges and inns abound in the corpus, offering a compelling impression of the extensive physical infrastructure and intricate political landscape needed to support a trade of this magnitude.

Conversely, our understanding of the mechanisms of trade also affects our perceptions of geography. It is hard to envisage a trading system based upon profit gained from the transport of goods between markets with wildly fluctuating prices if all the markets in that system are to be located inside a small physical space. Furthermore, this reconstruction of the geography allows us to appreciate how the routes preferred by the individual Assyrian merchants were determined on the basis of a variety of different priorities. Convenience and safety on the road was obviously of great importance for the conduct of trade, yet both are susceptible to change through infrastructural improvements and political development. Two additional parameters have proved to be important for the Assyrian choice of routes, namely the individual specialization of each trading company and the avoidance of tolls and taxes. Certain firms specialized in the traffic of particular commodities, and set up offices and agencies along specific routes to cater to their precise needs. The previous state of Old Assyrian studies, with the main corpus of texts available for our study coming from jumbled up archives excavated illegally by local villagers at Kültepe a century ago, masked this regional specialization of the various Assyrian companies and its topographical consequences. Likewise, the realization that tax evasion led certain traders to prefer a network of less secure routes running east of Kanis, and leading directly to the copper markets in the Pontic zones, is new.

By analysing the geographical scope of the trade, one can show that a considerable part of the imported tin and textiles went to the city of Durhunit, either through Kanis, or via the network of smugglers' roads to the east of it. The location of Durhunit in the immediate vicinity of a rich source of copper has already been emphasized by Dercksen, who was first to underline the key function of the Assyrians in the inter-Anatolian copper

⁵ Kt n/k 794, 11-15: ¹¹ ... a-ki-di-i ¹² lá nū-sé-lá-ní / šu-ma ¹³ a-na ma-ti-ká / e-ti-qú-nim ¹⁴ lu ta-dh-nu-ni-a-ti-ma ¹⁵ lu ni-du-ku, "You should not let any Akkadian come up to you – if he comes to pass your land, you are to hand him over to us so that we may kill him". The text is published and discussed in Çeçen and Hecker 1995.

trade.⁶ However, the role of Durhunit as a regional market for the trade in copper, rather than at a centre of metal production and distribution, has not previously been suggested. Partially at least, this was due to the previous location of Durhunit only a few days travel from Kanis and Purushattum. As it turns out, Durhunit probably was not located in the immediate vicinity of the copper ores, and rather, it appears that the importance of the city in relation to the Assyrian trade was due to its strategic position as a central marketplace for the exchange of copper deriving from several areas of extraction.

In Durhunit, the Assyrian merchants would sell their imported tin and textiles and buy copper with the proceeds. Metal bars were then laden onto donkeys, and after passing km to the west. In Purushattum the copper was sold and payment was received in silver, this being the standard currency for exchange in Anatolia as well as in Mesopotamia. Earlier attempts to look for Purushattum in a region controlling an important source of silver falls besides the point, and instead of being an unusually wealthy centre of silver extraction eager to consume vast amounts of copper in a relatively short time-span, Purushattum, like Durhunit, appears rather to have been a central marketplace oriented toward a region into which the Assyrians had no access. With the suggestion that Purushattum is to be located much further to the west than one had previously thought, and that it was located on the main route between Central Anatolia and the Mediterranean coast, it now seems highly tempting to interpret this as strong circumstantial evidence for a commercial link into the regional systems further west.

One may back up the notion that the Assyrian trade formed a link to the regions further to the west with several further observations. First, one may argue on the basis of the revised chronology of the *limmu*-dates recently published and discussed by Veenhof,⁷ and take into account the apparent developments in the Assyrian trade in a diachronic perspective, which allows us to suggest its general stages of expansion and contraction:

- 1) Before 1757 BC,⁸ the king Ilusuma of Assur declared the city of Assur a free-trade zone for copper coming from the south. His son, Erišum I, extended this to include all marketed goods, including silver, gold, copper, tin, barley and wool and everything else down to ... and "chaff".⁹
- 2) In 1774 BC Erišum I instituted the system of annual *limmu*-officials, who acted as eponyms for the year and held a central position in the city-state bureaucracy, in particular in relation to the organisation and support of the city traders.¹⁰
- 3) The Assyrian merchants, presumably on the basis of an earlier system of venture trade, began establishing a network of permanent agencies in the cities of Northern

⁶ For the Assyrian trade in copper, see Dercksen 1996.

⁷ Veenhof 2003.

⁸ For the sake of convenience, all dates in the following section follow the middle chronology.

⁹ For a discussion of this important passage, see Larsen 1976: 63-80.

¹⁰ Veenhof 2003, and Dercksen 2004.

- Syria and extending it as far as the city of Habbum on the Euphrates. This appears to have been the terminus of the Assyrian merchants some two generations prior to the dawn of the main period of trade attested in our sources.¹¹
- 4) In the years prior to 1900 the Assyrians established themselves in Kaneš on the Anatolian plateau and obtained exclusive rights over the trade of tin and textiles.
 - 5) In a generation or two the Assyrians came to dominate not only the import of tin and textiles, but also the regional exchange in copper and wool in Central Anatolia, extending their agencies from Durhümít in the northeast to Puruşhatum in the west. This is the heyday of the trade, and the best attested period in the texts.
 - 6) Some time before 1820 the system suffered a partial collapse. Kaneš was destroyed during a time of general political upheaval in Anatolia.
 - 7) Around 1800 the Assyrians resettle at Kaneš. Trade appears to have been organised slightly differently. There is a much smaller number of sources available for this period, and the texts date mainly to its very end. Importantly, the entire western section of the trade appears to have fallen out of the Assyrian orbit.¹²
 - 8) Around 1725 the system collapses completely.¹³

Of particular importance for the present discussion of interregional networks, the fine-grained chronology of the Assyrian sources now allows us to observe how the overall system of exchange in Anatolia never remained stable. Rather, it underwent constant and swift shifts in its political, economic and geographical scope. Specifically, the fact that the western extension of the trade fell away during the later stages of the trade becomes crucial when coupled with the revised image of the historical geography. If a key objective of the Assyrian merchants was to connect the copper markets of north-eastern Anatolia to a western circuit of consumers, then the later shift in geographical priorities may reflect a change of economic rather than political nature.

The fact that the western city of Puruşhatum carried on for centuries after the last Assyrian trader left Anatolia, and that it continued to be a powerful player in the following formative period of the Hittite Kingdom, excludes any simplistic historical solution to the problem. Rather, I believe one might feasibly link the apparent collapse of the Assyrian trade in Pontic ores with a development in the forces of market and price. As pointed out by David Warburton in his recent book on ancient economy, it is hardly a coincidence that the last mention of import of copper from Oman in a Babylonian context coincides with the first appearances of Cypriot copper on the markets in Syria between 1785 and 1765 BC.¹⁴ As Warburton emphasized, the access to written documentation

¹¹ An impression gained particularly on the basis of the detailed evidence found in the texts of the archive of Salim-Aşşur, which is currently being prepared for publication by M. T. Larsen. The first volume, which details the early history of the family, is set to appear in 2008.

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¹⁴ Warburton 2003: 59–62.

allows us to appreciate how this change happened inside a much shorter time-frame than we are accustomed to consider when dealing with the archaeological evidence alone.

Numerous recent works have reasserted the importance of the Eastern Mediterranean region as a single zone with permeable frontiers of interaction already in the Early Bronze Age.¹⁵ However, physical evidence is still lacking for actual indicate. Archaeometallurgical surveys and ore sampling are still in their infancy given the vast size of Central Anatolia, and although the number of published analyses of bronze implements is steadily growing, much remains to be done. One compelling piece of evidence is found in the presence of Anatolian obsidian on Crete in the proto-palatial period, which Tristan Carter recently linked in a convincing manner to the Anatolian copper trade on the basis of an assemblage recovered at the Minoan settlement at Malia.¹⁶ This dovetails nicely with the isotope-analysis of objects excavated at the site, which shows that a surprising number of the bronze artefacts contain isotope-ratios of an unusually high proportion of Pb^{208}/Pb^{206} . This particular profile does not fit with the known copper mines of the Aegean and Western Anatolia, but goes very well with the recently analysed sources of native copper recovered in the Corum-Merzifon area.¹⁷

To sum up, the reinterpretation of the historical geography in Anatolia takes our focus away from core resource producing areas and consumer cities – at least as the driving force behind the Assyrian trade. Metal, textiles and wool were not simply transported and sold inside an isolated system of cities for the benefit of local consumption. Rather, a characteristic feature of the Assyrian trade appears to have been its capacity to act as a link between several Anatolian networks in a much larger interregional system of exchange. How the Assyrians managed to secure this role remains unclear, but one might speculate that the combination of a strong commercial technology, coupled with the neutral role of the foreign merchants in a politically fragmented and potentially volatile region, gave the foreign traders an exceptional position in Anatolian community.

The growing awareness of the astounding volume of trade conducted by the Assyrian merchants supports this notion, and emphasizes that we are not simply dealing with vendors catering to a narrow circle of local consumers. Instead, the gradual process leading to an establishment of regional markets in medieval France and the Flanders that sparked early medieval trade may represent a much more attractive line of interpretation for our understanding of what went on in Anatolia at the time when the Assyrians arrived. The Assyrian trade in bulk was usually destined for a limited number of large markets, mainly Kaneš, Durhümít and Puruşhatum, linking the three regional economic and ecological systems rather than forming a system in itself. None of these three main ports

¹⁵ Three important recent contributions are: Leštakov 2002, Şahoglu 2005, Rahmstorf 2006.

¹⁶ See Carter and Kiliçoglu 2007.

¹⁷ Poursat and Loubet 2005: pl. XVa, and compare to the samples listed in: E. V. Sayre et al. 2001: 107, nos. 26–30.

- Syria and extending it as far as the city of Hahum on the Euphrates. This appears to have been the terminus of the Assyrian merchants some two generations prior to the dawn of the main period of trade attested in our sources.¹¹
- In the years prior to 1900 the Assyrians established themselves in Kanēs on the Anatolian plateau and obtained exclusive rights over the trade of tin and textiles.
- In a generation or two the Assyrians came to dominate not only the import of tin and textiles, but also the regional exchange in copper and wool in Central Anatolia, extending their agencies from Durhümít in the northeast to Puruşhüttam in the west. This is the heyday of the trade, and the best attested period in the texts.
- Some time before 1820 the system suffered a partial collapse. Kanēs was destroyed during a time of general political upheaval in Anatolia.
- Around 1800 the Assyrians resettle at Kanēs. Trade appears to have been organised slightly differently. There is a much smaller number of sources available for this period, and the texts date mainly to its very end. Importantly, the entire western section of the trade appears to have fallen out of the Assyrian orbit.¹²
- Around 1725 the system collapses completely.¹³

Of particular importance for the present discussion of interregional networks, the fine-grained chronology of the Assyrian sources now allows us to observe how the overall system of exchange in Anatolia never remained stable. Rather, it underwent constant and swift shifts in its political, economic and geographical scope. Specifically, the fact that the western extension of the trade fell away during the later stages of the trade becomes crucial when coupled with the revised image of the historical geography. If a key objective of the Assyrian merchants was to connect the copper markets of north-eastern Anatolia to a western circuit of consumers, then the later shift in geographical priorities may reflect a change of economic rather than political nature.

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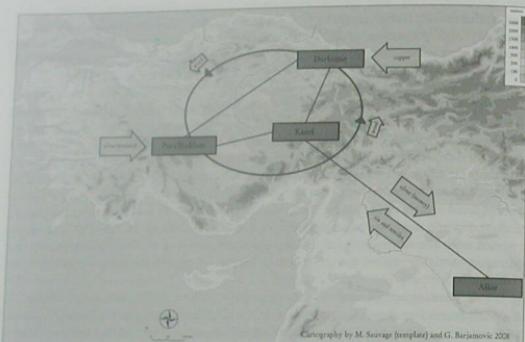
The growing awareness of the astounding volume of trade conducted by the Assyrian merchants supports this notion, and emphasizes that we are not simply dealing with vendors catering to a narrow circle of local consumers. Instead, the gradual process leading to an establishment of regional markets in medieval France and the Flanders that sparked early medieval trade may represent a much more attractive line of interpretation for our understanding of what went on in Anatolia at the time when the Assyrians arrived. The Assyrian trade in bulk was usually destined for a limited number of large markets, mainly Kanēs, Durhümít and Puruşhüttam, linking the three regional economic and ecological systems rather than forming a system in itself. None of these three main ports

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¹⁷ Poursat and Loubet 2005: pl. XVa, and compare to the samples listed in: E. V. Sayre et al. 2001: 107, nos. 26–30.

are located in the centre of the network, but lie at their periphery. If we follow the same line of thought back along the likely route by which the tin reached Anatolia from its probable sources in the Turan,¹⁸ it hardly comes as a surprise to note that the community which organised the part of the trade we are in a position to follow, namely Assur, also held the geographical position as a mediator situated on the margins of a larger area of production and consumption. If the organisation of the tin-trade on the road from Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan to Assur was anything like the Assyrian part of system, we may suggest that a whole string of polities, each holding monopoly on a certain part of the route and interconnecting comparable regional systems of exchange, formed the link that ultimately carried the tin to Anatolia and bronze further on into the Aegean and the Balkans.



Map 3: The Old Assyrian trade network.

On a wider level, a reassessment of the historical geography of Anatolia during the Assyrian Colony Period adds to the growing pressure on the already dubious hypothesis of an autochthonous Aegean culture and the creation of a specific European identity four millennia ago. During the past few decades scholars from a range of disciplines continue to challenge this basic premise of a divide between Anatolia and the Balkans, particularly

¹⁸ Parzinger and Boroffka 2003.

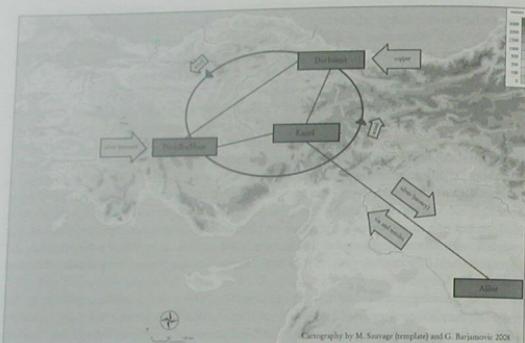
along the modern national borders of Greece and Turkey. A growing understanding of the Assyrian metal trade, its geography, social structures, institutions and economic premises may add to this critique with its evidence for the existence of an extensive interregional exchange in tin between Central Asia and the Eastern Mediterranean.

Moreover, if the Assyrian model of trade can in any way be taken as a general example of Bronze Age exchange, then the entire notion of simple bi-polar *world-systems* with corresponding centres and peripheries seems unwarranted. Commodities can travel very far and undergo various transformations (tin and copper into bronze, and wool into textiles), and our definition of a centre and periphery depends entirely upon perspective, production, and whom you define as the final consumer. By 1800 BC we are able to follow a system of exchange that had its origin in Turan close to the Chinese frontier, and which crossed Iran and Iraq into Turkey, presumably to fan out into the Aegean and the Balkans via the bronze trade. A complex interface of suppliers and consumers, production and demand, which interacted with social mechanisms and political institutions across vast distances to generate and maintain a flow of goods, wealth, and people is reflected in a small but significant case, by the texts written by the Assyrian merchants four millennia ago.

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A GENERAL LOOK AT THE CENTRAL BLACK SEA REGION OF TURKEY DURING THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE AND A NEW APPROACH TO THE ZALPA PROBLEM IN THE LIGHT OF NEW EVIDENCE*

Şevket Dönmez**
Aslıhan Yurtsever Beyazıt

Archaeological Finds

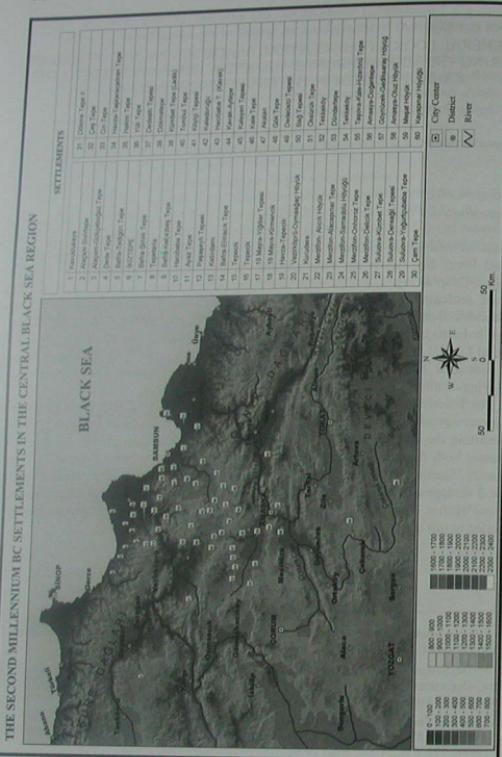
Earliest archaeological evidence regarding the second millennium BC cultures of the Central Black Sea region has been gathered, to date, from Bafrça-Ikiztepe in Samsun İkiztepe settlement not only provides us with the uninterrupted stratigraphy from Late Chalcolithic through Hellenistic period for the coastal part of the Central Black Sea region but also is a leading site reflecting the Middle Bronze Age pottery development, and contained both the Proto-Hittite pottery and Early Bronze Age vessels, thus displaying continuity.¹

The Transitional Period has been identified on Tepe (Hill) I of İkiztepe in six phases and it corresponds to layers IV and III of Kültepe-Kaneš Karuš as well as layers II and Ib representing the Old Assyrian Trade Colonies Period. The earliest phases, i.e. 6 and 5, contained both the Proto-Hittite pottery and Early Bronze type pottery almost in equal frequency. Starting with phase 4, Early Bronze type vessels decreased in number and in phase 3 disappeared entirely whereas examples reflecting full features and development of Proto-Hittite – named as 'Er-Hitit' by the late Prof. U. Bahadir Alkim – pottery prevailed in this phase.

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¹ For the Transitional Period of İkiztepe, see Alkim/Alkim/Bilgi 1988: 5-6, 77-79, 84-87; Bilgi 1998: 64; Alkim/Alkim/Bilgi 2003: 1-5, 109-112, 125-126; Bilgi 1999a: 143, Çiz.3/1-3; Bilgi 1999b: 172, Çiz.2A/1-2; Bilgi 1999c: 200; Müller-Karpe 2001: 432.



THE CENTRAL BLACK SEA REGION

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In the building with foundations uncovered in Trench V of Boyabat-Kovuklukaya (Fig. 3), the early phase contained only hand-made Early Bronze Age III pottery while its later phase which had a deposit of c. 0.50 m thickness contained both hand-made Early Bronze type pottery similar to those of the early phase and wheel-thrown Middle Bronze Age pottery with finely strained fabric.

The fact that the late phase of the Kovuklukaya building contained both pottery types together recalls the Cultural Layer I of İkiztepe. This situation and the parallelism between the potteries suggest that both settlements could be contemporaneous.²

The characteristic potteries of Kovuklukaya and İkiztepe for this period are mostly wheel-thrown and have a slip mostly in shades of red and finely burnished. Parallels of this pottery are also found in the relevant layers of the following sites: Dündartepe (Fig. 4),³ Tekkeköy (Fig. 5), Maşal Höyük/Tapıggı (Fig. 6) building layer V,⁴ Kültəpe/Kanç Vf-a⁵ and Büyükkale Northwest Slope 8a-9a,⁶ Alacahöyük, Alışar,⁷ Polatlı, Athlabil,⁸ Beycesultan and Yumuktepe.

Apart from İkiztepe, Dündartepe (Fig. 4) and Tekkeköy (Fig. 5), the above mentioned pottery types have also been uncovered at 31 other sites in Samsun region, namely Kel(e)bey Tepe,⁹ Azay Tepe,¹⁰ Tepe Tarla,¹¹ Tedigün Tepe,¹² Elmakçı Tepe,¹³ Bafrta-Tepecik,¹⁴ Paşaçay Tepeş (Map & Figs. 7–10),¹⁵ Şirlek Tepe (Çırık Tepe,

² For Kovuklukaya, see Dönmez 2004b: 38–82; Dönmez 2005b: 261–263; Dönmez 2005c: 5–10.

³ Kökten/Özgür/Özgür 1945: 382–384; Özgür 1948: 408.

⁴ Özgür 1982: 14.

⁵ Emre 1963: 87–99; Emre 1989: Figs. 111–128.

⁶ Emre 1963: 87–99; Özgür 1986: 49–53.

⁷ Fischer 1963: Taf. 51, 60, 62, 97/884.

⁸ Orthmann 1963: Abb. 3; Orthmann 1984: Abb. 1, 3–4, 10–11.

⁹ Schirmer 1969: Taf. 21–29.

¹⁰ Osten 1937: 209–271.

¹¹ Alkim 1972: 426; Alkim 1973a: 8; Dönmez 1999: 514, Res. 3–4; Dönmez 2000b: 331; Dönmez 2001: 303; Dönmez 2002a: 878, Res. 4; Dönmez 2002b: 251, Fig. 4.

¹² Alkim 1973b: 436; Alkim 1974a: 24; Kızıltan 1992: 219; Dönmez 1999: 514; Dönmez 2000b: 331; Dönmez 2001: 303.

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¹⁵ Alkim 1973b: 8; Alkim 1973b: 436; Alkim 1974a: 24; Kızıltan 1992: 219; Dönmez 1999: 514; Dönmez 2000b: 331; Dönmez 2001: 303; Dönmez 2002a: 879, Res. 6; Dönmez 2002b: 253–254, Fig. 6.

¹⁶ Alkim 1973b: 436; Alkim 1974a: 24.

Kuşcular Tepe, Hosakadem Tepe),¹⁸ Bafrta-Hacıbabası Tepe,¹⁹ Sıvı Tepe,²⁰ Dede Tepe,²¹ Gökcəboğaz Tepe (Ali Osman Tepe),²² Bağ Tepe,²³ Gök Tepe,²⁴ Akalan,²⁵ Çam Tepe,²⁶ Hayza-Tepecik (Belalan Tepe),²⁷ Çeş Tepe,²⁸ Dökme Tepe II,²⁹ Hakim Tepe,³⁰ Tepe,³¹ Taşkaracaoren Tepe,³² Tombul Tepe,³³ Kümbet Tepe,³⁴ Köyüç Tepe Cin Tepe,³⁵ Yük Tepe (Salur),³⁶ Kavak-Hacıbabası Tepe,³⁷ Kaleyeri Tepe,³⁸ Yurtteri Tepe),³⁹ Yuk Tepe (Salur),⁴⁰ Kavak-Hacıbabası Tepe,⁴¹ Kudure (Habib Faki).⁴¹

¹⁷ Alkim 1972: 426; Alkim 1973a: 8.

¹⁸ Kökten Özgül-Ozgül 1945: 394; Gökgölu 1952: 40-41; Burney 1956: 179-203; Kızıltan 1992: 219; Dönmez 1999: 513-514, Res. 1-2; Dönmez 2000b: 331; Dönmez 2001: 303; Dönmez 2002a: 877-878, Res. 3; Dönmez 2002b: 250-251, Fig. 3.

¹⁹ Alkim 1973b: 436.

²⁰ Kökten Özgül Özgül 1945: 394; Burney 1956: 179-203; Alkim 1973a: 8; Kızıltan 1992: 217; Dönmez 1999: 515-516; Dönmez 2000b: 331; Dönmez 2001: 303; Dönmez 2002a: 876-877, Res. 1; Dönmez 2002b: 248-249, Fig. 1.

²¹ Alkim 1972: 426; Alkim 1973a: 8; Kızıltan 1992: 217; Dönmez 1999: 515; Dönmez 2000b: 331; Dönmez 2001: 303.

²² Burney 1956: 182, Figs. 3, 8, 15-18, 26, 33; Alkim 1973a: 8; Kızıltan 1992: 217; Dönmez 1999: 515; Dönmez 2000b: 331; Dönmez 2001: 303; Dönmez 2002a: 877, Res. 2; Dönmez 2002b: 249-250, Fig. 2.

²³ Alkim 1974b: 556; Kızıltan 1992: 226; Dönmez 1999: 516; Dönmez 2000b: 331; Dönmez 2001: 303.

²⁴ Alkim 1973a: 8.

²⁵ Macridy 1907: 167-175; Osten 1929: 31-32; Dönmez 1999: 517; Dönmez 2000b: 331; Dönmez 2001: 303; Bilgi/Atasoy/Dönmez/Summerer 2002: 282-284; Bilgi/Atasoy/Gökçe/Dönmez 2003: 43-44; Bilgi/Atasoy/Dönmez/Ulugergerli 2004: 89-90; Dönmez 2004: 67-91; Bilgi/Atasoy/Dönmez/Summerer 2005: 393; Bilgi/Dönmez/Ulugergerli 2005: 115-117; Dönmez 2005a: 70-71; Dönmez/Dönmez 2005: 157; Dönmez 2006a: 26-29; Dönmez 2006b: 151-153; Dönmez 2007: 221-222.

²⁶ Alkim 1974b: 554.

²⁷ Alkim 1974b: 554; Kızıltan 1992: 229-230; Dönmez 2000a: 233; Dönmez 2000b: 331; Dönmez 2001: 303; Dönmez 2002a: 880, Res. 10; Dönmez 2002b: 256-257, Fig. 10.

²⁸ Alkim 1973a: 8.

²⁹ Alkim 1974a: 25.

³⁰ Alkim 1973b: 437; Alkim 1974a: 24.

³¹ Alkim 1972: 426; Alkim 1973a: 8.

³² Alkim 1973b: 437; Alkim 1974a: 24; Kızıltan 1992: 230; Dönmez 2000a: 233, Res. 13; Dönmez 2000b: 331; Dönmez 2001: 303; Dönmez 2002a: 880, Res. 11; Dönmez 2002b: 257-258, Fig. 11.

³³ Alkim 1974b: 555.

³⁴ Alkim 1973b: 437.

³⁵ Alkim 1974a: 25; Alkim 1975: 6; Dönmez 2005a: 65-109.

³⁶ Alkim 1974b: 555; Kızıltan 1992: 233.

THE CENTRAL BLACK SEA REGION

Among these settlements, Paşayeh Tepe stands forth with the highest number and form variety of second millennium BC potsherds collected from its surface (Figs. 29-32). Southwest of Bafrta. Eroded badly, the settlement was discovered in 1972 by U.B. Alkım during his extensive surveys in Samsun Province and then presented to the world of archaeology.⁴² It was re-explored by Ş. Dönmez during his surveys for the PhD thesis from 1997 to 1999.⁴³

Paşayeh Tepe measures c. 150 x 100m and rises 25m. The potsherds collected have shown that the site was settled, in addition to the Middle Bronze Age, during the Early Bronze Age as well as Middle and Late Iron Ages.

A high amount of Middle Bronze Age potsherds belonging to a variety of forms has been collected on Paşayeh Tepe. Majority of them were made on the wheel, well fired and well burnished; their fabric may be in shades of red, orange, buff and beige. Fragments collected belong to pots, bowls, teapots and pithoi.

Bowl fragments from Paşayeh Tepe have oval body with inward rim (Pl. 1/1-4), or oval body with straight rim (Pl. 1/5), or carinated (Pl. 1/6), flaring rim or oval body (Pl. 2/1-2). Those with an S-profile constitute another group. Such bowls too have an oval (Pls. 1/7-8; 2/3-7) or globular body (Pls. 2/8-9). Another bowl form has an inward rim and a flaring body (Pl. 3/3).

Pots have five types as with inward rim, with lips thickened out, with straight rim, with outward rim and with everted rim. Pots with inward rim have either oval (Pl. 3/1-2) or flaring body (Pls. 3/3-7; 4/1). One example has a relief decoration like a nozzle (Pl. 3/2). Pots with lips thickened out have oval body (Pl. 4/2-3). Pots with straight rims have narrow and long necks (Pl. 4/4). Some of the pots with outward rims have very short necks but oval body and thin walls (Pls. 4/5-6; 5/1-6). Some examples, on the other hand, have long and narrow necks (Pl. 6/5-6). Large pots have lips thickened out and oval bodies (Pl. 6/1-4). Examples with everted rims have thinned lips and oval bodies. Large pitos fragments have either outward rims (Pl. 7/1-2) or everted rims (Pl. 7/3-4).

Tea pots, a characteristic vessel form for MBA, were produced in big amounts at Pasayeh settlement as understood from high number of spouts found (Pl. 8/1-5).

Identifiable amorphous pieces include handles. Among handle fragments are vertical examples (Pl. 9/1-3) or horizontal examples (Pl. 10/1-4).

³⁷ Alkim 1974a: 25.

³⁸ Alkim 1973b: 437.

³⁹ Alkim 1974b: 555; Kızıltan 1992: 233; Dönmez 1999: 517; Dönmez 2000b: 331; Dönmez 2001: 303.

⁴⁰ Dengate 1978: 248-249; Alkim 1974a: 25; Alkim 1975: 6; Dönmez 2002a: 880-881, Figs. 12-13; Dönmez 2002b: 258-260, Figs. 12-13.

⁴¹ Alkim 1974a: 25; Alkim 1975: 6.

⁴² Alkim 1972: 426; Alkim 1973a: 8.

⁴³ Dönmez 2002a: 886.

Among bottom fragments, goblets are noteworthy for their circular marks indicating wheel-production (Pl. 11/1-2). These goblets are either with flat bottom or stemmed type (Pl. 11/8). Parallels of such goblets were found in high quantities in the layers, of especially İkiztepe, dated to the first quarter of the second millennium BC. In addition to goblets, there are also bottom fragments with ovoid (Pl. 11/3), flat bottom (Pl. 11/4-5) or with ring-base (Pl. 11/6-7).

The most important reason for U. Bahadir Alkim to initiate excavations at İkiztepe while his surveys were still going on was the fact that the site had extensive second millennium BC finds on the surface as did Pasayeh Tepe. A tablet uncovered at Boğazköy/Hattusa⁴⁴ pointed out that the Kızılırmak (Fig. 28), then called Marasantiya, flowed into the Black Sea at the location⁴⁵ of Zalpa.⁴⁶ Starting off from this geographical evidence, U. Bahadir Alkim initiated the excavations at İkiztepe, which is located where the Kızılırmak/Marasantiya joins the sea, with the hope of finding Zalpa. However, the excavations further developed by Ö. Bilgi later on have not brought to light any evidence for the identification of İkiztepe as the capital of the country Zalpa. Therefore, based on the lack of written evidence, seals or bullae, lead figurines or their moulds, and other material evidence such as Alışar III painted pottery for Assyrian Trade Colonies Period and also based on the difficulty of the geographic conditions, Ö. Bilgi concluded that İkiztepe could not be Zalpa. He added that Zalpa should be looked for in the interior of the Black Sea Mountains and that Oymaağac Höyük near Vezirköprü is an ideal location for it.⁴⁷

Written Evidence

Rich copper and arsenic ores of the Central Black Sea region added to Zalpa's importance in the first half of the second millennium BC. As a matter of fact, in a period when local kingdoms ruling over small regions and also taking other kings as vassals based on their forces defined the political structure of Anatolia, we know especially from Anitta's Text that the kingdom of Zalpa was recognised as a political power in Anatolia of the second millennium BC.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Otten 1973: 21; Haas 1977: 18-22.

⁴⁵ Zalpa has been localised to various sites to date. For example, in Central Anatolia, at Alaca Höyük (Cornelius 1958a: 377; Cornelius 1958b: 5; Gurney 1973: 240), nearby Alışar (Balkan 1957: 36), between Boğazköy and Merzifon (Goetze 1957a: 72), near to Çorum (Goetze 1957b: 97; Schuler 1965: 20), near to Yozgat (Garstang/Gurney 1959: 16, Map 2).

⁴⁶ According to the written evidence, there are indeed two cities called Zalpa. The other Zalpa is thought to be in North Syria. One Zalpa had a *körüm*, and the other had a *wabartum*, this being the most important distinction between the two. Although not certain yet, the Zalpa with *wabartum* is believed to be in the Central Black Sea Region and the other with *körüm* in North Syria (Orlin 1970: 38). [See also the pertinent remarks by Forlanini, this volume, pp. 75-76. – Ed.]

⁴⁷ Bilgi 1998: 69.

⁴⁸ Neu 1974: 117-120; Haas 1977: 20-21.

Written evidence puts it forth clearly that the Zalpa Kingdom and the Hittites had close relations. Even from some written evidence,⁴⁹ it is possible to infer that Zalpa at one time was even stronger than Hattusa and that the traditional origins of the Hittites should be looked for at Zalpa. This thought is further supported by the fact that one Hittite king had himself buried at Zalpa.⁵⁰

Conclusion

Evaluating the situation in the Central Black Sea region for settlements during the second millennium BC based on the surveys conducted to date, it is observed that the number of settlements decreased considerably from the third to the second millennium BC. The BC comes from, as mentioned above, Samsun Province. Some of the settlements within this province were abandoned at the end of the third millennium BC and not settled again. Yet, settlements at many sites continued as understood from the Middle Bronze Age potsherds collected.

Taking into consideration the other provinces that make up the Central Black Sea region, namely Amasya, Tokat and Sinop, brings forth a clearer view. Until recent years, the number of known third and second millennium BC settlements within Amasya Province⁵¹ was very limited. Three of the known sites were in Suluvia, namely Kümbet Tepe (Alevi Tepe), Kilise Tepe and Kurmaz Tepe and had been reported by I. K. Kökten.⁵² The other was Mahmatlar⁵³ located to the south of Amasya. All these settlements have in common the fact that they were strong Early Bronze Age settlements. However, later surveys, first conducted by M. Özsaat and then by the author, show that Amasya was densely settled through Early, Middle and Late Bronze Ages that is, until 1200 BC when the Iron Age starts. Nonetheless, an overall look at the Bronze Age settlements shows that Amasya too, like Samsun, was settled less in the second millennium BC than in the third millennium BC.

⁴⁹ Haas 1977: 24.

⁵⁰ Haas 1977: 25.

⁵¹ For surveys in Amasya Province, see Bilgi 2001: 1-35; Çevik 1995: 55-60; Dönmez 1999: 513-536; Dönmez 2000a: 229-244; Dönmez 2000b: 330-334; Dönmez 2001: 302-307; Dönmez 2002a: 873-903; Dönmez 2002b: 243-293; Kökten/Özgür/Özgür 1945: 361-400; Özsaat 1989: 287-300; Özsaat 1990a: 367-380; Özsaat 1990b: 124-130; Özsaat 1991: 45-54; Özsaat 1998: 143-162; Özsaat 2000b: 335-341; Özsaat 2001: 307-312; Özsaat 2003: 127-140; Özsaat 2004: 273-284; Özsaat/Dündar 1997: 171-192; Özsaat/Koçak 1996: 273-292; Özsaat/Özsaat 1998: 457-468; Özsaat/Özsaat 2002: 527-552.

⁵² Kökten/Özgür/Özgür 1945: 396; Çevik 1995: 55-56.

⁵³ Koşay/Akot 1950: 481-485.

When the surveys conducted in Tokat Province⁵⁴ are evaluated together with the Horoztepe excavations, the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Ages settlements in this province are seen to have concentrated in Erbaa Plain or the Kelkit basin.

It has been many times discussed whether or not the Central Black Sea region, and especially its coastal part, was within the Assyrian Trade Colonies Period's trade system during the Transitional Period. Naturally, İkiztepe (Fig. 1), Dündartepe (Fig. 4) and Tekkeköy (Fig. 5) have taken their places in the focus of this discussion. In the light of the evidence available at hand to date, the fact that nothing other than a few metal items has been found pointing to the presence of Assyrian Trade Colonies Period's trade system indicates that İkiztepe was outside this commercial network. On the other hand, and unlike İkiztepe, the few stamp seals uncovered at Dündartepe (Fig. 11) suggest that this settlement was perhaps one of the northernmost terminals of the Assyrian Trade Colonies Period's trade system and may have contained a commercial settlement like a *wabartum*.

In contrast to the Samsun region, Sinop Province has not been considered as part of the Assyrian Trade Colonies Period's trade system; however, recent evidence has shown that this trade reached the Black Sea coast not only in Samsun but also in Sinop. Spearheads (Figs. 13-14) and headed-pins (Fig. 16) of Central Anatolian type were recovered at Hidirli Necropolis (Fig. 12) on the Boyabat-Gerze township border, and prove that Assyrian Trade Colonies Period's trade reached up to Sinop region. In addition, three spearheads dug up illicitly at Hidirli Necropolis and then sold to Sinop Museum⁵⁵ (Figs. 13-14) are typologically parallel to the inscribed spearhead⁵⁶ (Figs. 17-18) mistakenly known as 'Anitta's dagger';⁵⁷ this parallelism verifies the strong ties between Sinop region and Central Anatolia during the Assyrian Trade Colonies Period. Typological features of especially the metal finds from Hidirli Necropolis suggest a date just after those of Early Bronze Age necropolis of İkiztepe. In addition, the spearheads (Figs. 13-14), socketed javelin-heads (Fig. 15), razorblades and headed-pins (Fig. 16) indicate that the strong metallurgical industry of the region was interactive with Central Anatolia. The presence of such a strong interaction and trade suggests that Keçi Türbesi Höyük (Fig. 19), which is thought to be the settlement of Hidirli Necropolis necropolis, contained a *wabartum*-type settlement. As Boyabat-Kovuklukaya (Fig. 2) is only 10 km of bird's flight away, Keçi Türbesi Höyük is understood not to be the only settlement in the region dating to the Assyrian Trade Colonies Period.

In the period that followed the Transitional Period, that is, in the Old Hittite Period, especially the coastal part of the Central Black Sea region is understood to be under the control of Gaška (Kaška) people mentioned in the Hittite texts. The fact that Gaškas were nomadic peoples is inferred both from the texts and scarce archaeological remains.

⁵⁴ For surveys in Tokat Province, see Burney 1956: 179-203; Dönmez 2000b: 330-334; Dönmez 2001: 302-307; Durbin 1971: 91-124; Özsaat 1994: 113-117; Özsaat 1999: 89-107; Özsaat 2000a: 73-88; Özsaat 2000b: 335-341; Özsaat 2001: 307-312; Özsaat/Özsaat 2001: 541-556.

⁵⁵ Bilgi 2001: Table 19/120-122.

⁵⁶ Özgür 1999: 55-56, Lev. 107/1a-c, Şek. E/15.

⁵⁷ Sevin 2003: 137.

Indeed, the Hittite texts suggest that Gaška people depended on plundering and animal breeding, that they did not lead a sedentary way of life but followed a nomadic way. It is also known that the Hittites named the Gaškas as barbarians, pig herdsman and weavers.

In this period, it is understood from the presence of large and important settlements such as Vezirköprü-Oymaağac Höyük (Fig. 20), Amasya-Oluz Höyük (Figs. 21-22), Doğantepе (Fig. 23), Göymaçek-Ayvalıpmar 1 (Fig. 24), Gediksaray Höyük (Fig. 25), Merzifon-Hayrettin Tepe U/Alacapınar Tepe (Fig. 26), Zile-Maşat Höyük/Tapigga that the Hittites tried to hold on in the interior part of the region such as south part of Samsun Province and Amasya and Tokat. The fact that the Gaška people disturbed the important fires identified at excavation sites like Maşat Höyük/Tapigga (Fig. 6).

New evidence from recent researches has shed light onto some vague points in the second millennium BC chronology of the Central Black Sea region. In the Transitional Period, that is the period contemporary with the Assyrian Trade Colonies Period, the coastal parts of the Central Black Sea region were densely settled; however, with the Hittites emerging as a political power, these settlements, above all İkiztepe, were abandoned, and only in the interior parts of the regions settlements continued. In this period, Vezirköprü-Oymaağac Höyük (Fig. 20) and possibly Ladık-Salur Yüktepe were the northernmost settlements of the Hittites. Two important cities mentioned in the sources of the second millennium BC and believed to be in the Central Black Sea region are *Nerik* and *Zalpa*, and both have not been localised precisely yet.

Frequently mentioned in the Hittite texts and understood to be an important Hittite cult centre, *Nerik* was under Hittite control at times and under Gaška people control at other times.⁵⁸ Therefore, the localisation of *Nerik* bears utmost importance for identifying the territories of sovereignty of either land. Possible locations for *Nerik* have been proposed as follows to date: to the north of Amasya/Hakmiş(?)⁵⁹ (Fig. 27), to the southeast of Boğazköy/Hattusa, around Kargı,⁶⁰ to Vezirköprü-Oymaağac Höyük,⁶¹ and on the coast to the east of İkiztepe.⁶²

Nonetheless, the most detailed studies for the localisation of *Nerik* have been made by A. Dinçol and J. Yakar, who came to the conclusion that *Nerik* could not be localised in the area of Kargı-Oşmançık-Gümüşhacıköy-Gümüş due to the scarcity of settlements during the third and second millennia BC in this area. As the Hittite texts contained many other locales supposed to be near *Nerik*, both scholars tended to look for *Nerik* in a more densely settled area. Although A. Dinçol and J. Yakar do not give a precise name, they claim that *Nerik* should be located in the region between Vezirköprü and Bafrा, which was densely settled in the second millennium BC.⁶³

⁵⁸ Garstang Gurney 1959: 6.

⁵⁹ Goetze 1957b: 92-96.

⁶⁰ Güterbock 1961: 93.

⁶¹ Macqueen 1980: 181.

⁶² Mellaert 1993: 421, Map I.

⁶³ Dinçol/Yakar 1974: 567-571.

As mentioned above, for the localisation of *Zalpa* in the recent years two names came to the fore: first İkiztepe, then Oymaağac Höyük. Based on evidence from our recent surveys, we are of the opinion that a third name should be taken into consideration for the possible localisation of *Zalpa*. Presented above and in the catalogue with its rich finds from the Middle Bronze Age, the geographic location of Paşayeh Tepeşti also has features that can be identified with those of *Zalpa*. Paşayeh Tepeşti is only 10 km of bird's flight away from the Kızılırmak/Maraşantiya (Fig. 28) and it is also situated on the terraces of a lesser tributary (Fig. 10) to this river. Besides, it is about 20 km away from İkiztepe which is known to have been located on the Black Sea coast close to the mouth of the Kızılırmak/Maraşantiya in the first quarter of the second millennium BC. As inferred from these geographic data, Paşayeh Tepeşti, which is located at half a day's walk to the Kızılırmak/Maraşantiya and at a day's walk to İkiztepe, is a possible candidate for ancient *Zalpa*.

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CATALOGUE OF PLATES

Plate 1 (p. 125)

- 1: Bowl rim sherd. Di: 17 cm H: 3.7 cm Th: 0.3 cm. Buff paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. Slightly burnished. Moderate fired. Wheel made.
- 2: Bowl rim sherd. Di: 17 cm H: 4.2 cm Th: 0.2 cm. Light brown paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. No burnish. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 3: Bowl rim sherd. Di: 13 cm H: 4 cm Th: 0.2 cm. Buff paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. No burnish. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 4: Bowl rim sherd. Di: 16 cm H: 4.1 cm Th: 0.5 cm. Light brown paste. Fine mineral and fine vegetal tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. Slightly burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 5: Bowl rim sherd. Di: 18 cm H: 4.9 cm Th: 0.3 cm. Light brown paste. Fine mineral and fine vegetal tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. Slightly burnished. Moderate fired. Wheel made.
- 6: Bowl rim sherd. Di: 16 cm H: 6.4 cm Th: 0.5 cm. Dark grey paste. Medium vegetal and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in brick red. No burnish. Bad fired. Hand made.
- 7: Bowl rim sherd. Di: 16 cm H: 3.9 cm Th: 0.2 cm. Dark grey paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in red. No burnish. Moderate fired. Hand made.
- 8: Bowl rim sherd. Di: 16 cm H: 6.9 cm Th: 0.3 cm. Buff paste. Medium vegetal and fine mineral tempered. Slipped in brick red. No burnish. Moderate fired. Hand made.

Plate 2 (p. 126)

- 1: Bowl rim sherd. Di: 14 cm H: 5.7 cm Th: 0.5 cm. Light brown paste. Fine mineral tempered. Inner surface slipped in same color as paste, reddish brown colored on outer slip. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 2: Bowl rim sherd. Di: 28 cm H: 9.4 cm Th: 1 cm. Dark grey paste. Medium mineral tempered. Slipped in buff. Moderately burnished. Moderate fired. Wheel made.
- 3: Bowl rim sherd. Di: 23 cm H: 3.5 cm Th: 0.3 cm. Buff paste. Medium mineral and fine vegetal tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 4: Bowl rim sherd. Di: 22 cm H: 2.9 cm Th: 0.3 cm. Buff paste. Fine mineral and fine vegetal tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 5: Bowl rim sherd. Di: 23 cm H: 2.9 cm Th: 0.4 cm. Dark buff paste. Fine mineral and fine vegetal tempered. Inner surface slipped in same color as paste, red colored on outer slip. Moderately burnished. Moderate fired. Wheel made.
- 6: Bowl rim sherd. Di: 25 cm H: 3.7 cm Th: 0.2 cm. Orange paste. Fine mineral and fine vegetal tempered. Slipped in light red. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 7: Bowl rim sherd. Di: 17 cm H: 4.8 cm Th: 0.2 cm. Light buff paste. Fine mineral tempered. Inner surface slipped in same color as paste, reddish brown colored on outer slip. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 8: Bowl rim sherd. Di: 23 cm H: 3.8 cm Th: 0.5 cm. Light buff paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in reddish brown. Slightly burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 9: Bowl rim sherd. Di: 25 cm H: 3.8 cm Th: 0.3 cm. Dark grey paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in red. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.

Plate 3 (p. 127)

- 1: Jug rim sherd. Di: 17 cm H: 4 cm Th: 0.3 cm. Buff paste. Fine mineral and fine vegetal tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 2: Jug rim sherd. Di: 15cm H: 4.7 cm Th: 0.2 cm. Dark grey paste. Medium mineral tempered. Slipped in buff. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 3: Jug rim sherd. Di: 9cm H: 3.3 cm Th: 0.2 cm. Orange paste. Medium mineral and medium vegetal tempered. Inner surface slipped in same color as paste, red colored on outer slip. Slightly burnished. Moderate fired. Wheel made.
- 4: Jug rim sherd. Di: 27 cm H: 2.4 cm Th: 0.3 cm. Dark buff paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in red. No burnish. Moderate fired. Wheel made.
- 5: Jug rim sherd. Di: 30+ cm H: 6 cm Th: 0.5 cm. Light buff paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. No burnish. Moderate fired. Wheel made.
- 6: Jug rim sherd. Di: 25 cm H: 3.6 cm Th: 0.7 cm. Light buff paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. Moderately burnished. Moderate fired. Wheel made.
- 7: Jug rim sherd. Di: 24 cm H: 6.7 cm Th: 0.7 cm. Orange paste. Fine mineral and fine vegetal tempered. Slipped in reddish brown. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.

Plate 4 (p. 128)

- 1: Jug rim sherd. Di: 30 < cm H: 7.6 cm Th: 0.6 cm. Brick red paste. Medium mineral and fine vegetal tempered. Inner surface slipped in same color as paste, buff colored on outer slip. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 2: Jug rim sherd. Di: 19 cm H: 3 cm Th: 0.2 cm. Light buff paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. No burnish. Moderate fired. Wheel made.
- 3: Jug rim sherd. Di: 22 cm H: 2.4 cm Th: 0.3 cm. Dark brick red paste. Medium mineral and fine vegetal tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 4: Jug rim sherd. Di: 12 cm H: 6.2 cm Th: 0.5 cm. Red paste. Medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 5: Jug rim sherd. Di: 19 cm H: 5.8 cm Th: 0.3 cm. Orange paste. Fine mineral and fine vegetal tempered. Slipped in buff. No burnish. Moderate fired. Wheel made.
- 6: Jug rim sherd. Di: 25 cm H: 4.4 cm Th: 0.6 cm. Dark buff paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.

Plate 5 (p. 129)

- 1: Jug rim sherd. Di: 18 cm H: 4.9 cm Th: 0.3 cm. Buff paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 2: Jug rim sherd. Di: 17.4 cm H: 6 cm Th: 0.3 cm. Light buff paste. Fine mineral and fine vegetal tempered. Slipped in orange. Slightly burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 3: Jug rim sherd. Di: 15.6 cm H: 5 cm Th: 0.4 cm. Light grey paste. Medium mineral tempered. Slipped in light buff. No burnish. Moderate fired. Wheel made.
- 4: Jug rim sherd. Di: 24 cm H: 6 cm Th: 0.4 cm. Red paste. Fine mineral and fine vegetal tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 5: Jug rim sherd. Di: 16 cm H: 4 cm Th: 0.3 cm. Brick red paste. Fine mineral and fine vegetal tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.

THE CENTRAL BLACK SEA REGION

- 6: Jug rim sherd. Di: 24 cm H: 3 cm Th: 0.4 cm. Dark buff paste. Medium mineral tempered. Slipped in brick red. No burnish. Hard fired. Wheel made.

Plate 6 (p. 130)

- 1: Jug rim sherd. Di: 33 cm H: 6.7 cm Th: 1 cm. Brick red paste. Medium mineral tempered. Slipped in light buff. No burnish. Bad fired. Wheel made.
- 2: Jug rim sherd. Di: 35 cm H: 7 cm Th: 1 cm. Buff paste. Coarse mineral and coarse vegetal tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. No burnish. Moderate fired. Wheel made.
- 3: Jug rim sherd. Di: 28 cm H: 6.4 cm Th: 0.7 cm. Dark buff paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in light brown. No burnish. Moderate fired. Hand made.
- 4: Jug rim sherd. Di: 22 cm H: 5.2 cm Th: 0.6 cm. Buff paste. Fine mineral tempered.
- 5: Jug rim sherd. Di: 14 cm H: 5 cm Th: 0.4 cm. Buff paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 6: Jug rim sherd. Di: 10.4 cm H: 6.3 cm Th: 0.3 cm. Light red paste. Medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. Slightly burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 7: Jug rim sherd. Di: 27 cm H: 6.6 cm Th: 0.6 cm. Orange paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in reddish brown. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 8: Jug rim sherd. Di: 20 cm H: 4 cm Th: 0.5 cm. Dark grey paste. Fine mineral and medium vegetal tempered. Slipped in dark buff. No burnish. Moderate fired. Wheel made.

Plate 7 (p. 131)

- 1: Pithos rim sherd. Di: 30 cm H: 7.5 cm Th: 1 cm. Dark buff paste. Medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. Slightly burnished. Moderate fired. Wheel made.
- 2: Pithos rim sherd. Di: 30 cm H: 8.3 cm Th: 1.2 cm. Brick red paste. Fine mineral and medium vegetal tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. No burnish. Moderate fired. Wheel made.
- 3: Pithos rim sherd. Di: 30 cm H: 8 cm Th: 1.2 cm. Orange paste. Coarse mineral and medium vegetal tempered. Slipped in brick red. No burnish. Moderate fired. Wheel made.
- 4: Pithos rim sherd. Di: 30< cm H: 6.7 cm Th: 1.3 cm. Light brick red paste. Medium mineral and medium vegetal tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. No burnish. Moderate fired. Wheel made.

Plate 8 (p. 132)

- 1: Spouted sherd. L: 5 cm Th: 1 cm. Grey paste. Fine mineral and fine vegetal tempered. Slipped in red. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Wheel made.
- 2: Spouted sherd. L: 7 cm Th: 1.1 cm. Light brown paste. Fine mineral and fine vegetal tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Hand made.
- 3: Spouted sherd. L: 5 cm Th: 0.5 cm. Orange paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. No burnish. Moderate fired. Hand made.
- 4: Spouted sherd. L: 4 cm Th: 0.6 cm. Grey paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in red. Slightly burnished. Hard fired. Hand made.
- 5: Spouted sherd with drainboard. W: 7 cm Th: 0.4 cm. Dark grey paste. Medium mineral tempered. Slipped in red. No burnish. Moderate fired. Hand made.

Plate 9 (p. 133)

- 1: Handle sherd. L: 8.6 cm Th: 0.4 cm. Yellowish buff paste. Fine mineral and fine vegetal tempered. Slipped in light brown. Moderately burnished. Moderate fired. Hand made.
 2: Handle sherd. L: 8.8 cm Th: 0.4 cm. Orange paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in brown. No burnish. Hard fired. Hand made.
 3: Handle sherd. L: 10.2 cm Th: 0.5 cm. Red paste. Medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. Slightly burnished. Moderate fired. Hand made.

Plate 10 (p. 134)

- 1: Handle sherd. L: 15 cm Th: Dark brown paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. No burnish. Bad fired. Hand made.
 2: Handle sherd. L: 9 cm Th: 0.6 cm. Brown paste. Medium mineral and fine vegetal tempered. Slipped in dark red. Slightly burnished. Hard fired. Hand made.
 3: Handle sherd. L: 10 cm Th: 0.3 cm. Dark buff paste. Medium mineral and fine vegetal tempered. Slipped in light orange. No burnish. Hard fired. Hand made.
 4: Handle sherd. L: 8 cm Th: 0.5 cm. Orange paste. Medium mineral tempered. Slipped in red. Slightly burnished. Moderate fired. Hand made.

Plate 11 (p. 135)

- 1: Goblet bottom sherd. Di: 2.5 cm H: 4.9 cm Th: 0.3 cm. Light red paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. No burnish. Hard fired. Wheel made.
 2: Goblet bottom sherd. Di: 2.3 cm H: 2.2 cm Th: 0.5 cm. Light brown paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. No burnish. Moderate fired. Wheel made.
 3: Bottom sherd. H: 3 cm Th: 0.5 cm. Brick red paste. Fine mineral tempered. Inner surface slipped in same color as paste, red colored on outer slip. Moderately burnished. Hard fired. Hand made.
 4: Bottom sherd. Di: 4 cm H: 3 cm Th: 0.4 cm. Light brick red paste. Fine mineral tempered. Slipped in buff. No burnish. Hard fired. Hand made.
 5: Bottom sherd. Di: 4 cm H: 3 cm Th: 0.4 cm. Light buff paste. Fine mineral tempered. Inner surface slipped in same color as paste, red colored on outer slip. No burnish. Hard fired. Hand made.
 6: Bottom sherd. Di: 8 cm H: 2 cm Th: 0.8 cm. Brown paste. Coarse mineral and medium vegetal tempered. Slipped in red. No burnish. Bad fired. Hand made.
 7: Bottom sherd. Di: 13 cm H: 4 cm Th: 0.9 cm. Brick red paste. Medium mineral tempered. Slipped in same color as paste. No burnish. Moderate fired. Hand made.
 8: Stemmed goblet bottom sherd. H: 6.4 cm. Grey paste. Fine mineral and fine vegetal tempered. Slipped in buff. No burnish. Hard fired. Hand made.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 6.

Fig. 1: İkitzetepe. — Fig. 2: Kovuklukaya from the Northwest. — Fig. 3: The building in Trench 5 at Kovuklukaya from the North. — Fig. 4: Dündartepere from the North. — Fig. 5: Tekkeköy. — Fig. 6: Maşat Höyük.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.

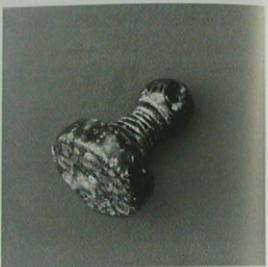


Fig. 11.



Fig. 10.



Fig. 12.



Fig. 15.

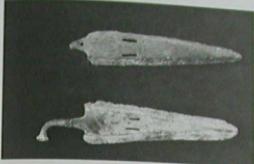


Fig. 13.

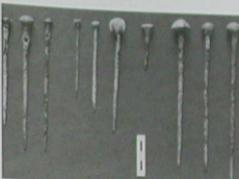


Fig. 16.



Fig. 14.



Fig. 17.

Fig. 7: Paşaçeh Tepesi from the West. — Fig. 8: Paşaçeh Tepesi from the Southwest. — Fig. 9: Paşaçeh Tepesi from the South. — Fig. 10: Paşaçeh Tepesi from the Southwest with the tributary of the Kızılırmak/Maraşlıantı. — Fig. 11: A stamp seal from Dündartepe.

Fig. 12: Hidrlı Necropolis. — Figs. 13-14: Bronze spearheads from Hidrlı Necropolis. — Fig. 15: Bronze javelinheads from Hidrlı Necropolis. — Fig. 16: Bronze headed-pins from Hidrlı Necropolis. — Fig. 17: Anitta's Dagger from Kültepe/Kaneš (after Özgür 1999: Lev. 107).



Fig. 18.



Fig. 19.



Fig. 20.



Fig. 21.



Fig. 22.

Fig. 18: Anita's Dagger from Kültepe/Komeş (after Özgür 1999: Lev. 107). — Fig. 19: Keçi Türbesi Höyük from the Northeast. — Fig. 20: Oymaağac Höyük. — Fig. 21: Oluz Höyük from East. — Fig. 22: Oluz Höyük from the Northeast.



Fig. 23.



Fig. 24.



Fig. 25.



Fig. 26.

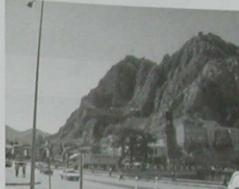


Fig. 27.



Fig. 28.

Fig. 23: Doğantepe from the North. — Fig. 24: Ayvalıpmar I from the South. — Fig. 25: Gedikşaray Höyük from the North. — Fig. 26: Hayrettin Tepe II/Aiacapnar Tepe. — Fig. 27: Amasya Kalesi/Yakmış (?). — Fig. 28: The Kızılırmak/Maraşlıantıya near Kamil Osmancık.



Fig. 29.



Fig. 31.



Fig. 30.



Fig. 32.

Figs. 29-32: Pasajeh Tepesi; potsherds (second millennium BC).

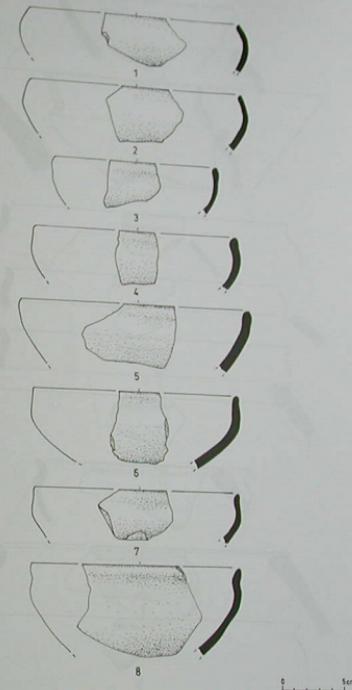


Plate 1.

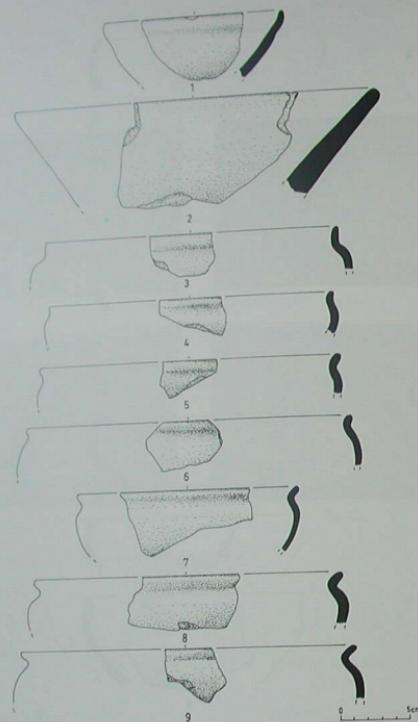


Plate 2.

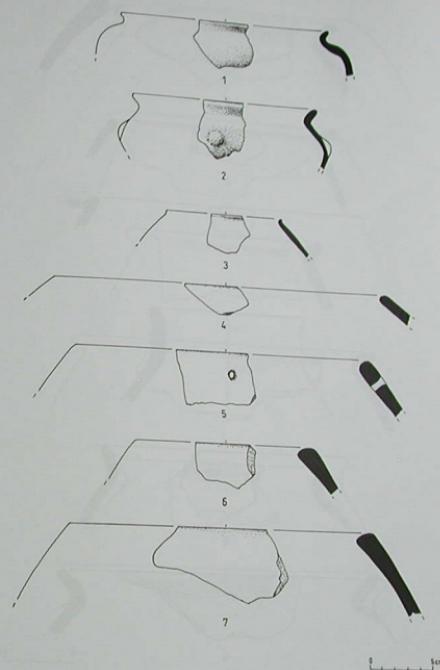
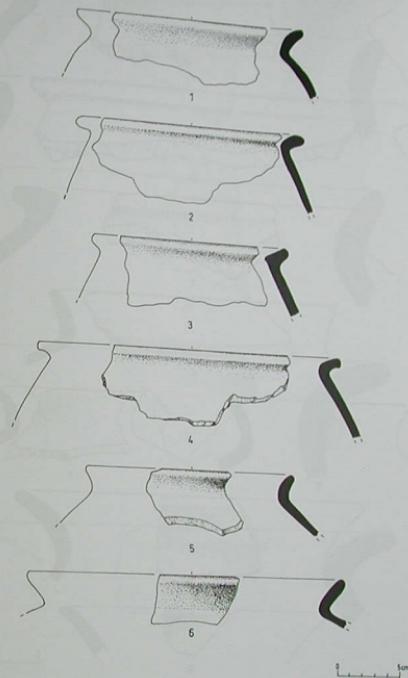
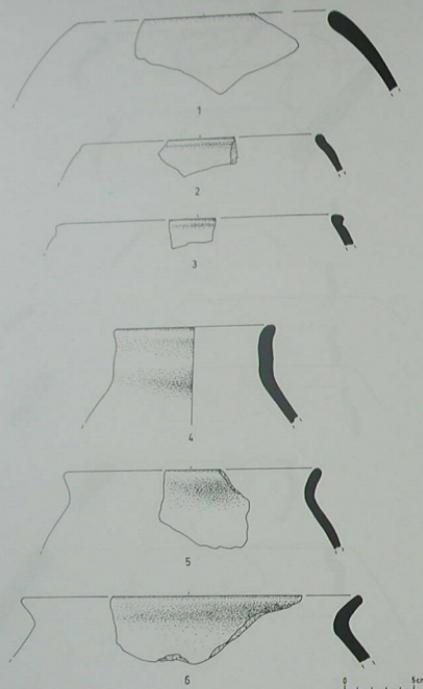


Plate 3.



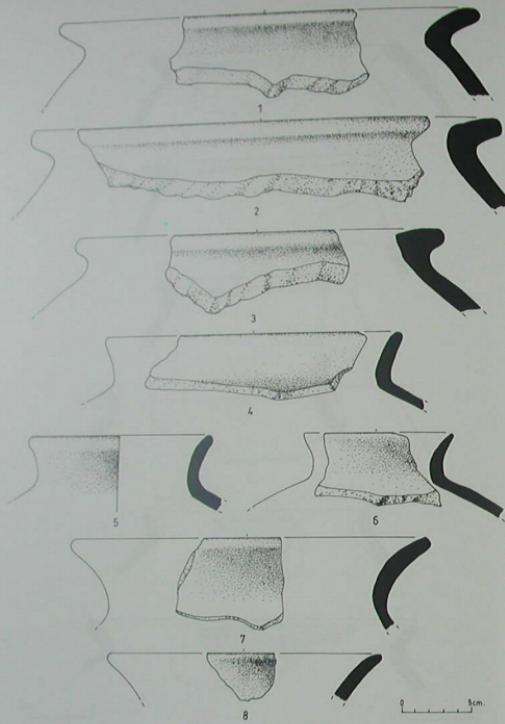


Plate 6.

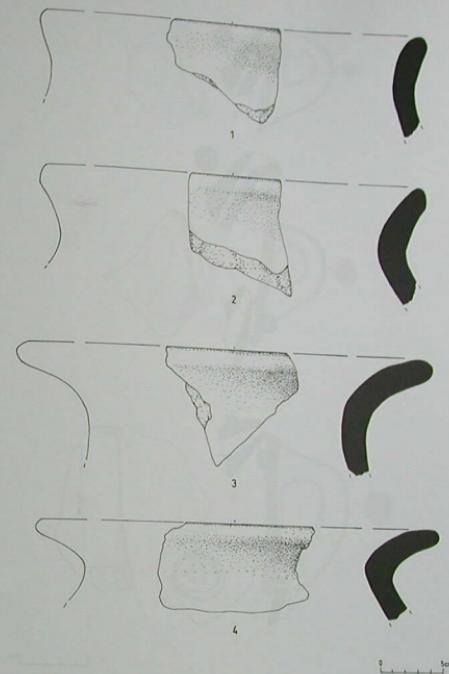
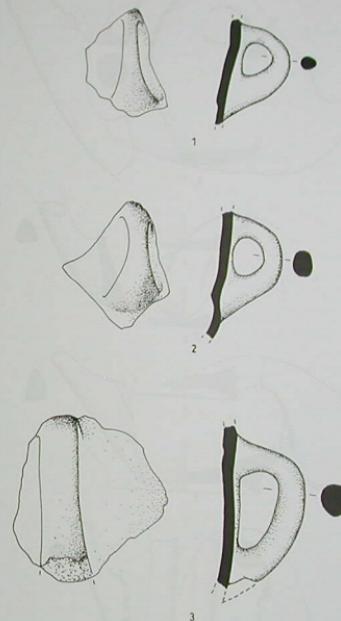


Plate 7.



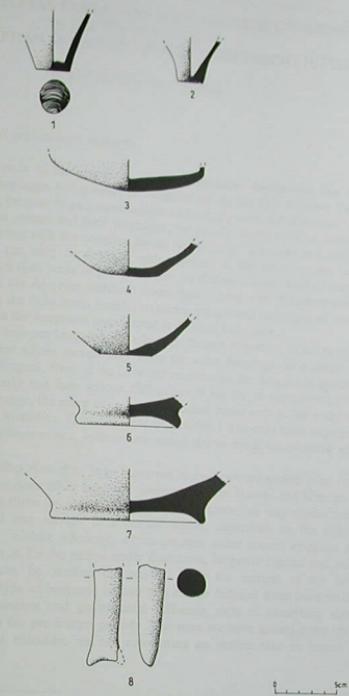
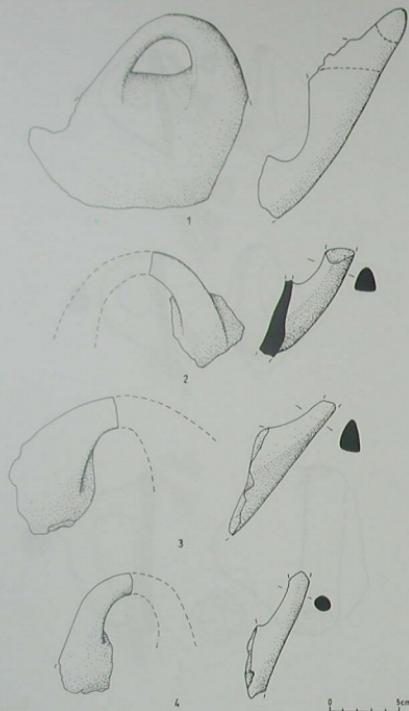
0 5cm.

Plate 8.



0 5cm.

Plate 9.



CENTRAL ANATOLIAN LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES
IN THE COLONY PERIOD:
A LUWIAN-HATTIAN SYMBIOSIS AND THE INDEPENDENT HITTITES*
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1. Introduction and preliminary remarks

This paper is the result of the seemingly innocent question "Would you like to say something on the languages and peoples of Anatolia during the Old Assyrian Period". Seemingly innocent, because to gain some insight on the early second millennium Central Anatolian population groups and their languages, we ideally would need to discuss the relationship of language with the complex notion of ethnicity.¹ Ethnicity is a subjective construction which can only be detected with certainty if the ethnic group has left information behind on their sense of group identity, or if there is some kind of ascription by others. With only the Assyrian merchant documents at hand with their near complete lack of references to the indigenous peoples or ethnic groups and languages of Anatolia, the question of whom the Assyrians encountered is difficult to answer.

The correlation between language and ethnicity, though important, is not necessarily a strong one: different ethnic groups may share the same language, or a single ethnic group may be multilingual. Even if we have information on the languages spoken in a certain area, we clearly run into serious difficulties if we try to reconstruct ethnicity solely based on language, the more so in proto-historical times such as the early second millennium BCE in Anatolia. To avoid these difficulties I will only refer to population groups as language communities, without any initial claims about the ethnicity of these communities.

Hittite and the other Anatolian Indo-European languages were spoken in an area that also hosted languages from other language families, such as Hattian and Hurrian. Since the populations using those languages did not live in isolation, we may expect that these languages influenced one another to a certain degree, depending on the nature and intensity of contact. Unlike ethnicity, which requires other textual evidence than is currently available to us for the period under discussion, language contact and influence is something that can be studied independent from the content of the available documentation. The type of language contact that can be deduced from these texts, such as vocabulary replacement and grammatical influence, tells us something about the linguistic situation in the pre-literate period. And once we have gained some insight in the linguistic contact situation, we can reconstruct an outline (but no more) of the

¹ For ethnicity in ancient societies, see especially Emberling 1997 and Van Soldt 2005.

sociopolitical situation that might have caused this linguistic situation. Adding archaeological evidence might then eventually lead to a reconstruction of ethnic groups.

One of the language contact situations that has generated much scholarly discussion, is the interaction between Hattian and Hittite. Around 2000 BCE, the situation encountered by the Assyrians, the Hittians lived in the area that became the core land of the later Hittite kingdom and Empire. So unless we assume that the Hittians were annihilated when the Hittites began conquering this area in the 18th century BCE, the languages of especially these two population groups are expected to have influenced each other, at least from that moment onward.

Until now, all attention has been directed towards the influence of the alleged substrate Hattian on Hittite, but surprisingly no one —as far as I know— has ever considered the reverse: possible influence of Hittite or another Anatolian Indo-European language as a substrate of Hattian. If one can build a case for this reversal, then the map of Anatolia of 2000 BCE drastically changes, with some dramatic consequences for the sociopolitical position of the Anatolian Indo-European language communities.

The whole argument of this paper is based on the assumption that the Hattian texts from Bogazkoy were not composed by Hittite scribes with only moderate knowledge of Hattian, influencing its syntax, even though it is very likely that Hittite scribes were the first ones to write these texts down. Their unacquaintedness with the phonemes of Hattian may have caused the fluctuations in orthography so often observed in Hattian documents,² but I do not expect them to have altered the word order of the texts that were dictated to or copied by them. I therefore assume that the Hattian texts are reflexes of a once spoken language, instead of being a scholarly concoction.

There are a few arguments to support my assumption. The most important one is provided by the bilinguals. As Table I shows, almost without exception the word order in the Hittite clauses of the largest bilinguals follows the word order in the Hattian clauses, even when that violates the word order rules for Hittite.³ This makes it virtually impossible that the Hittite scribes altered Hattian word order: it is Hittite that underwent immediate interference in these texts, not Hattian. What is especially interesting is that the only Old Hittite bilingual text for which the Hattian column can be reconstructed⁴ shows a different pattern. Here the Hittite version shows the word order patterns expected for Hittite, even when that opposes the word order observed in Hattian. This again strongly implies that the word order phenomena observed for Hattian are not to be attributed to the Hittite scribes.

Another issue that is related to the question of whether the scribes themselves influenced Hattian syntax is the extent to which Hattian may be considered a living language, still spoken by part of the population, or whether it had become a sacral language, only to be used in certain ritual contexts. In the latter situation we would be dealing with Hattian as a learned language, studied or spoken by native speakers of Hittite at the court.

² For references see fn. 20.

³ See Kammenhuber 1969: 430 on the "unhethitischen Syntax".

⁴ KBo 17.22 (OS), with NS duplicate KUB 28.8+KBo 37.48.

		Hittite translation has same word order as Hattian		Hittite translation has different word order from Hattian	
		against Hittite word order	following Hittite word order	against Hittite word order	following Hittite word order
KUB 2.2+KUB 48.1	rules	11	14	—	1
KUB 24.14	—	—	1	—	—
KUB 28.6	—	1	2	—	—
KUB 28.8+KBo 37.48	—	—	4	—	3
// KBo 37.49	—	—	—	—	—
KBo 37.1	—	15	5	—	—

Table 1: Comparison of Hittite and Hattian word order in bilingual texts

There is however some evidence that Hattian was still alive. Soysal mentions two texts outside a purely cultic context which may point at the use of Hattian by people who probably did not belong to the court (Soysal 2004a: 14-16). I would like to add that the number of bilinguals is rather low compared to the numerous New Script monos on Soysal 2004a: 52-68, with dating of the texts following the Konkordanz. It is of course possible that we are yet unaware of translations of Hattian monolingual texts on separate tablets, but it seems to me that knowledge of Hattian was more widespread over a longer period of time than previously assumed.⁵ A final observation is that most Hittite translations should probably be dated to Middle Hittite at the earliest, and not to early Old Hittite as Kammenhuber proposed (1969: 430). Hattian was certainly still alive in the Old Hittite kingdom, but for the later period there is simply no positive evidence that it died out, even though it may have been replaced by Hittite and later Luwian as a vernacular.⁶

In all, the word order phenomena of Hattian, which play such an important role in this article, have to be ascribed to speakers of Hattian and not to the scribes.

Past and current views on the situation in Anatolia and Hattian-Hittite linguistic interactions are discussed in section 2 and 3, respectively. In section 4, I will discuss Hattian and Hittite word order phenomena and other linguistic features, and assess the contact situation from a typological point of view. This section on the syntactic and typological description of Hattian, a language which is wholly unknown to many scholars in ancient near eastern studies, constitutes a large part of this article. If one should wish to skip the linguistics of section 4, and focus on the sociopolitical part of my model, I recommend reading only the introduction, which presents the method used to establish language contact and interference (4.1), the initial paragraphs of 4.3, and the conclusion (4.5). In section 5 I will use certain socio-linguistic methods to explain the contact

⁵ See for example Klinger (1996: 756) who assumes that knowledge of Hattian was almost completely lost in the post-Old Hittite period.

⁶ For Luwian as a vernacular see Van den Hout 2006.

phenomena as illustrated in section 4 and propose a hypothetical model that might explain the cultural and linguistic situation in the early second millennium. And finally, in sections 6 and 7, I will provide further evidence that hopefully supports my model for the peoples and languages of Central-Anatolia of 2000 BCE. The paper concludes with a few words on the ethnonym *nuwa'um*.

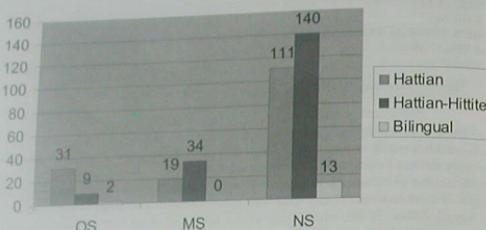


Figure 1: Chronological distribution of Hattian texts, Hittite texts containing untranslated Hattian, and Hattian-Hittite bilingual texts.

2. Previous scholarship on the ethno-linguistic situation in Anatolia

From the beginning of Hittitological studies, Hittite has been thought of as a mixed language, as the result of a long symbiotic relationship between an invading Indo-European language and the indigenous substrate language, Hattian. The sociological correlate is, not surprisingly, that of superior aristocratic warriors conquering a peaceful, matriarchal Hattian society. To cite Klinger (1996: 93):

Vor allem im Bereich der zeitgenössischen Geschichtswissenschaft dominierte das Bild eines aus heiterem Himmel über Kleinasiens hereinbrechenden, überlegenen Kriegerstamms.

But even though this social model is generally no longer supported, the linguistic counterpart still exists: the Hittite newcomer becomes the dominant language, or language of prestige, heavily influenced by the conquered Hattian substrate.

Stefanini (2002: 788–789) pictures the following development of the Indo-European languages in Anatolia of the third millennium BCE. The Indo-Europeans that later

became the Anatolians crossed the Caucasus⁷ and were therefore first exposed to Hurrian type (i.e., East-Caucasian) languages. At the beginning of the third millennium they entered Eastern Anatolia, spreading out on a substrate of Hattian type (i.e., West-Caucasian) to the North, and again on a Hurrian type substratum to the South. In the course of several centuries the dialect that landed on the Hattian type substrate became Luwian. To the North and the South-East there remained zones of the unassimilated languages, proto-Hattian and proto-Hurrian respectively.

Then, in the early second millennium when the Assyrians appear on the scene, the Anatolian languages. Besides the language communities that have disappeared without a trace, we find the proto-Hattians in Central Anatolia within the bend of the Kızılırmak Kültəpe/Kaneš/Neša as one of their main cities,⁸ and further to the South and to the West we find the proto-Luwians. The proto-Hittites are therefore wedged between these two neighbours. The South and East further away is the domain of the proto-Hurrians.¹⁰ Whereas most scholars agree that the zone of the Hattians did not extend beyond the Kızılırmak bend, Soysal seems to hold a different opinion. He assumes that upon arrival in around 1800–1750 BCE the Hittites gained control with the conquests of Piñhāna and Anitta, but before that time they were an integral part of Hattian society (Soysal 2004a: 6).

When the literate period starts, views again differ, this time on the position of Hittite. Rosenkranz (1938: 281f.) for example sees Luwian as the vernacular, with Hittite, descendant of the dialect of Kaneš, as the chancellery language.¹¹ Steiner on the other hand, assumes that Hattian was the vernacular, while Hittite was the chancellery, scholarly and trade language (Steiner 1981: 162ff.). According to Stefanini, Hittite is even a literary language, based on the dialect of Kaneš/Neša and developed on foreign models, such as Hattian, Akkadian and Hurrian (Stefanini 2002: 789).

⁷ Stefanini's description of the interaction between Indo-European and the Caucasian type languages is not invalidated in case the Indo-Europeans entered from the West, across the point of entry by Melchert (2003b: 23ff., and especially p. 25 n. 29). These groups still moved to Central Anatolia, where their language(s) came in contact with the precursors of Hattian and Hurrian.

⁸ Although the Hattians are often referred to as the indigenous people of Anatolia, all that is meant is that they were already present before the arrival of the Anatolian Indo-Europeans (Kammenhuber 1969: 42ff.; Soysal 2004a: 2 n. 3).

⁹ For a historical overview of the often contradicting views on the ethnicity of the population of *Karum* Kaneš see Alp 1997.

¹⁰ Melchert 2003b: 9; Klinger 1996: 182ff.; Singer 1981: 119ff.; Stefanini 2002: 790.

¹¹ For some critical remarks see Melchert 2003b: 12–13.

To summarize, Hattian type languages seem to have acted both as substrates and as adstrates for Hittite and proto-Hittite. How much of these claims are substantiated by linguistic evidence will be discussed in the next section.

3. Previous scholarship on Hattian-Hittite language contacts

The assumption that Hittite was heavily influenced by the language of a proto-Hittite population was already expressed by Hrozný (1915: 40). Although he did not further explain or exemplify his views, we can safely assume that the non-Indo-European appearance of the lexicon was the trigger. The 'alien' outlook of the Hittite vocabulary led scholars like Puhvel and Kammenhuber to believe that Hittite, but also Luwian, was under heavy substratal influence (Puhvel 1966: 237f.) and "in hohem Maße überfremdet" (Kammenhuber 1969: 266, 429).

On the other hand, there is general agreement on the fact that Hattian influence on syntax, morphology and phonology was less far reaching. In the domain of morphology we find references to the borrowing of the Hattian morpheme *-il* (as in the name *Hattušil* "He of Hattus"), as the nominal suffix *-ili* of appurtenance and the genitive ending *-el* in the pronominal paradigm (Puhvel 1966: 237; Kammenhuber 1969: 270).

Regarding syntax, Kammenhuber (1962: 17) mentions the parallel genitive constructions between Hattian and Hittite (also see Klinger 1996: 632). According to her this confirms her earlier assumption that the Hattian substrate was in part responsible for the proliferation of the Hittite genitive function (Kammenhuber 1960: 23). Puhvel (1966: 238) blames the absence of adjectival comparison on substratal influence.

A different position is taken by Watkins. He does not treat Hattian as a substrate of Hittite, but sees Anatolia as a linguistic area with diffusional convergence and innovations in both the Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages, in the domains of phonology¹² and morphosyntax (Watkins 2001: 52-55).

Watkins explains the three syntactic isoglosses which set the Anatolian languages apart from the other Indo-European languages, —the split ergative system, the use of enclitic pronouns and particle chains after the first accented word of the sentence, and the nearly obligatory use of sentence connectives—, as the result of diffusional convergence in Hittite, Hattian and Hurrian (2001: 54). Given Watkins' dating of these innovations between 2200 and 1900 BCE (or 1700 BCE at the latest) (2001: 55), these innovations are probably not the result of the Hittite conquests of Pitana and Anita. We may infer from this time frame that they are the side-effects of the rather peaceful and unifying contacts in the Assyrian Colony period, with its elaborate trade network, that is, if Watkins' views are correct (but see below).

On the other hand, Melchert has very recently minimized the influence of Hattian on Hittite and has given Luwian influence a more prominent position (Melchert 2003b: 16):

This supposed impact of Hattian on Hittite language and institutions has been consistently overestimated (...), and the prehistoric (author's emphasis) influence of Luwian on Hittite seriously underestimated.

But already Tischler's lexical studies show that the influence of Hattian on the Hittite lexicon is far less than scholars usually assume: there are about 30 assured Hattian loans in Hittite¹³ (Tischler 1979: 257; see section 4.2). We can therefore safely conclude that Hattian did not heavily influence the Hittite lexicon.

Hattian influence on morphology was already considered minimal, but Melchert from *-il*, Oettinger (1999) has shown that *-el* has an Indo-European origin, whereas the Hattian derivational suffix *-ili(-)* occurs only in personal names or in lexical borrowings in Hittite.¹⁴

But we should also reconsider the similarities in syntax between Hattian and Hittite as observed by Watkins. To begin with syntactic alignment, even though it is true that both languages show morphological ergativity,¹⁵ direct comparison of Hittite with Hattian is not possible. Hittite split ergativity is found in the nominal system, whereas Hattian ergativity is expressed in the prefix chain of the verb.¹⁶

Watkins also mentions the use of enclitic pronouns and particle chains after the first accented word of the sentence. According to him these pronouns and particles follow the sentence initial verb in Hattian (Watkins 2001: 55). This is evidently not the case, for two reasons: (a) Hattian is mainly a prefixing language, so most affixes precede their host as far as the pronominal elements are concerned. There are a few particles, often with

¹³ This low number is probably due to the scarcity of sources and our relative lack of knowledge of Hattian (Melchert 2003b: 17).

¹⁴ Melchert 2003b: 16; see especially Rieken 1999: 429-430, with references to older literature on the subject.

¹⁵ I follow Taracha's analysis of the Hattian personal prefixes and Hattian as an ergative language (see Taracha 1988: 60-63, 1989: 266, 1998: 15-16; also see Schuster 1974: 106 on the ergativity of Hattian, without using this terminology however). For arguments against an ergative-absolutive alignment of Hattian see Klinger 1994: 36ff., with references and Girbal 2000: 369. Also see Girbal 1986: 137-140. I will elsewhere counter their arguments and provide some additional material in favor of Taracha's analysis.

¹⁶ Hittite neuter nouns require ergative case marking when they are the subject of a transitive clause, but absolute marking for object and intransitive subject function. Common gender nouns on the other hand always receive nominative-accusative marking. Whereas Hittite distinguishes between neuter and common gender, Hattian only distinguishes between masculine and feminine gender (Soysal 2004: 183-184). Because the Hattian nominal subject is always unmarked, intransitive and transitive nominal subjects cannot be distinguished by case marking alone. An additional complication is the fact that direct objects are only optionally marked on the noun by means of an oblique marker *-su/-tu*, which also covers other functions (Girbal 1986: 137-138; Soysal 2004a: 184, 186). Instead, syntactic relations are marked on the verb (see fn. 28).

¹² Kammenhuber (1969: 267f.) assigns the phonological features shared by these languages, such as the absence of word-initial *r* and the presence of the laryngeal *h* in Hittite, Palai, Luwian, Hattian and Hurrian, to substrate influence in the whole area towards the Tigris. According to her, the retention of the laryngeal *h* in the Anatolian languages is the likely result of language contacts with Hattian and/or Hurrian.

unclear function, that are suffixed to the verb, but they certainly do not appear in a particle chain; (b) Unlike the Hittite pronoun and particle chain, which is restricted to Wackenagel's position and has barely any functional relation with the word in initial position,¹⁷ the Hattian morpheme chain is an integral part of the verb. If the Hattian verb is placed in other than sentence initial position, the pronominal and other prefixes remain attached to the verb instead of being prefixed to the first accented word.

Watkins' last observation on the nearly obligatory use of phrase connectors in Hittite and the semantic and syntactic identity between Hattian *pala* and Hittite *nu* is incorrect as well. Watkins claims that both connectors are restricted to absolute initial position (2001: 55). This is true for Hittite, but not for Hattian. The Hattian connective *pala* is both a sentence and a phrase connector, whereas Hittite *nu* is only a sentence connector. As sentence connector *pala* is often translated by Hittite *nu*, but as phrase connector it is matched by the Hittite conjunction *ja* "and, also". There is therefore neither semantic nor syntactic identity of these connectors. Besides, Hittite phrase connectors only become obligatory in the 15th century BCE, whereas Watkins claims that the convergent innovations were completed by about 1900 BCE (Watkins 2001: 55).

After the dismissal of most of the alleged grammatical similarities between Hattian and Hittite and with the rather few Hattian loan words in Hittite in mind, we may conclude that the influence of Hattian on Hittite was quite limited as far as language is concerned. According to Melchert, this points at adstratum effects, not at substratal influence (Melchert 2003b: 21).

Still, it is beyond doubt that the speakers of these languages were in close contact, as our historical sources amply testify. The regal terminology of the Old Kingdom was mainly Hattian, the Old Hittite pantheon was almost completely Hattian, the mythology is clearly adopted, if not directly translated, from Hattian, and Hattian was the main language of the cult. And, finally, as Oettinger notes,¹⁸ Hittite literary style is highly influenced by Hattian stylistics.

In view of the strong influence of Hattian culture on Hittite culture, it is inevitable that contact-induced language change occurred. The direction and degree of linguistic interference will be addressed in the next section, where I will try to resolve the contradiction between strong Hattian cultural influence and the near lack of Hattian linguistic interference.

¹⁷ There are indeed a few Hattian particles that are suffixed to the first accented word, which is not always the verb. The most important ones are the quotative particle *-hu* (the equivalent of Hittite *-wars-*) and the semantically contrastive conjunction *-pi* (a partial equivalent of Hittite *-ma* "and, but, while"). The early position in the clause of exactly these particles can hardly be surprising.

¹⁸ Oettinger 2004: 359 n. 6; 2005: 468-470.

4.1. An algorithm

In this section I will present the evidence for contact-induced language change in both Hittite and Hattian. I will use the method and model developed by Sarah Thomason and determine the extent, the direction and the type of language interference. In the end this observed language contact effects.

Thomason (2000: 316) lists four requirements which help one detect language interference. X is the proposed receiving language, and Y the proposed donor language:

- (1) Establish that there was contact intimate enough to permit contact-induced change.
- (2) Find several independent shared features in X and Y – ideally, features in different grammatical sub-systems. That means, look at the whole language, for structural interference will not be isolated.
- (3) Prove that the shared features were not present in pre-X. You thereby prove that X has changed.
- (4) Prove that the shared features were present in pre-Y. You thereby prove that Y hasn't changed.

I will apply this algorithm to lexicon, morphology and syntax. Phonology must be excluded for the following reasons. First of all, it is very well possible that Hittite scribes did not have a scribal tradition for Hattian texts, but had to rely on oral tradition and therefore attempted to write the dictates phonetically instead of phonemically. This could have led to the frequently observed alternations in Hattian orthography. These alternations might also be caused by the mismatch between the cuneiform syllabary and the Hattian phoneme inventory, or just by scribal errors or misunderstandings. The result is that we do not yet have a satisfying description of the Hattian phoneme inventory, thus excluding a reliable comparison of Hittite and Hattian phonology.¹⁹

4.2. Shared features

As noted above, all scholars agree that Hattian lexical elements found their way into Hittite. In sharp contrast, loan words from an Anatolian Indo-European language have not been found in Hattian, with the possible exception of the regal terms *tabarna* and *tawanamma*.²⁰

¹⁹ Also see Thomason 2001 for a concise overview of the main results of their work.

²⁰ See Girbal 1986: 15, Soysal 2004a: 69 (with further references in fn. 1), and especially Klinger 1996: 615ff. and Soysal 2004a: 27ff.

²¹ For these terms as Hattian but without etymology, see for example Kammenhuber 1969: 432. Soysal (2005: 196-197) analyses *tabarna* as *ta-par-na* "nominal prefix-1000-noun = the

Not considering the numerous divine and geographical names, there are less than 30 assured loans from Hattian into Hittite (Melchert 2003b: 17). These loans do not belong to the basic vocabulary but can be assigned to restricted cultural domains, as the following overview shows. This overview is based on Soysal (2004a: 142-155) and contains only those words that Soysal listed as ascertained loans from Hattian into Hittite, either because they are attested in Hattian texts or because they have a clear Hattian etymology; a few additional words are taken from the list in Tischler 1998: 679-680.²² The original Hattian words are added in brackets. Words reconstructed for Hattian are marked as such (*), and followed by an analysis.

Government and kingship

regal onomastics	¹³ <i>tuh(u)kanti-/tuhukanti-</i> "crown prince" (-)
attributes of kingship	¹³ <i>balmasšti-</i> "throne" (<i>hanfasiūt</i>)
court officials ²³	¹³ <i>Tränker-</i> ("Tränker") ²⁴ (¹³ <i>haggaziwašši-</i> "Tränker")
architecture	¹³ <i>uddukushiyalla-</i> (" ¹³ <i>uddukushiyall</i> ")
administrative units	¹³ <i>halentwa-</i> "palace" (<i>halontiū</i>); ¹³ <i>kaikastipa-</i> "gate building" (" ¹³ <i>kaikasti</i> "); ¹³ <i>kašnupa-</i> "boudoir of the king" ²⁴ (" ¹³ <i>kašni</i> "); ¹³ <i>talipuri</i> "district" (* ¹³ <i>tel-fur-i</i> "great land")

Religion

cultic officials	¹³ <i>sahtarili-</i> "singer-priest" (¹³ <i>sahtaril</i>)
cultic festivals	EZEN ₄ , <i>parulli-</i> "spring festival" (* <i>fur-sulli</i>) ? "Earth (?)")
cultic tools	¹³ <i>halpuit</i> "?" (<i>halpuitl</i>); <i>kurkuuen(a)-</i> "?" (<i>kurkuenna</i>); <i>zinar</i> "lyre" (<i>zinar</i>)
(cultic) food	NINDA ₄ <i>zippulašne</i> "kind of bread" (<i>fulasine</i>); NINDA ₄ <i>teparfasu-</i> "thick bread of the Stormgod" (* <i>ta-par-fasu</i>) "nominal prefix-1000-abundance = "thousandfold abundance")
Other	<i>zahamittena-</i> "holy location" (<i>fuhamettinni</i>)

thousand *na-*), and *tawannama* "the woman *na-*", with *wanan* and *na* as unknown lexemes, for *tabarna* and *tawannama* as Luwian lexemes see most recently Melchert 2003b: 18-20, Melchert (2003b: 19 with references) analyses *tabara-na* as "(the) powerful one" and *tawana-nna* as "(the) righteous (one)", both with the suffix -*nna*, derived from the Proto-Indo-European ruler suffix *-h₁-no-. See further Soysal 2005: 190 n. 7 for an overview of the literature on the etymology of *tabarna* and *tawannama*.

²² Also see Kammenhuber 1959: 41-47; 1969: 432-438.

²³ These words are most likely Luwian adaptations of Hattian words. Derivations with -*alla-* are Luwian (Melchert 2005: 455), and ¹³*haggaziwašši-*, attested as ¹³*haggaziwašši-* (nom.s.c.) in BoT 1.36 iv 37 (ed. Güterbock and Van den Hout 1991: 38-39), is a Luwian -*alli-*-genitival adjective formation on the Hattian stem *haggazue-* (*kazue* means "cup"), see Güterbock and Van den Hout 1991: 58. This would mean that the Luwians were aware of the composition of the Hattian word ¹³*haggazuel* "he of the cup" (just as *Hattušil* means "he of Hattus"), parsed it correctly in stem + derivational suffix -*il* and replaced the latter with their own suffix -*alli-*. The rejection of this Luwian formation in HW² H: 15 is based on the *a priori* assumption that Luwian was never in close contact with Hattian.

²⁴ Listed in Tischler 1998: 679 ("ein Gebäude bzw. Raum zum Waschen und Umkleiden für den König"). Hattian *šup* means 'root', or possibly 'stem', and is used in connection with the body of the king.

Other

metals	¹³ <i>hapalki-</i> "iron" (<i>hapalki</i>)
flora	¹³ <i>parnilli-</i> "aromatic wood or plant" (<i>parnilli</i>); ¹³ <i>šabi-</i> "aromatic wood or plant" (<i>šabi</i>)
illness	¹³ <i>parnika-iš-</i> "an eye disease" ²⁵ (<i>parnika-iš</i>)

There are no similarities in inflectional morphology between Hattian and Hittite, and the only ascertained borrowing of derivational morphology from Hattian to Hittite is the suffix -*ili*, thematicized as -*ili²⁶*. However, as noted above, this suffix is only productive in names and appears only in Hattian loans.

Syntax however is far more rewarding for our search for similarities between the two Hittite, noted by Kammenhuber (1962: 17) and Klinger (1994: 34-35; 1996: 632). In both addition, in Hattian and Old and Middle Hittite the possessed noun can be accompanied by a possessive clitic. In Hattian the possessive is prefixed to the possessed noun, and in suffixing respectively. With the 'genitivus possessivus'²⁷ see for example 1a and b.²⁸

1a Hattian KBo 37.1 i 18 (NS) =

fi-šhp-a-ši[n]

Hittite KBo 37.1 ii 18-19

ifā-fa-škel

DINGIR.MES-*nas*

ŠA=ŠUNU

²⁵ See Soysal 2002a.

²⁶ This borrowed suffix is distinct from the Luwian suffix -*ili* in for example *hantili-* "first" (KUB 35.1.23 iv 9), which has a Proto-Indo-European etymology (see Melchert 2001: 266-267).

²⁷ Hattian possessive prefixes are not always matched by Hittite possessive suffixes alienable possession in Hittite (see Garrett 1998) lies behind the 'irregular' translation of means of a possessive prefix (Soysal 2004a: 186). Hittite possessive suffixes are only attested with kinship terms, bodyparts and a few other concepts, indicating inalienable possession. We therefore only find them when the Hattian possessive noun phrase expressed inalienable possession. If my interpretation of the difference between Hittite and Hattian possessive marking is correct, the possessive prefix *le-* is not to be analyzed as a plural marker in those cases where the Hittite possessive suffix is lacking (see already Kammenhuber 1969: 477, expressing doubts about *le-* as plural marker).

²⁸ In my analysis of Hattian morphemes I heavily rely on Soysal (2004a). However, my analysis of the 3rd person markers on the verb is different. Instead of segmenting *ān-* and *ās-* in *a* (a 3rd person subject marker) and *-n-/-s-* (3rd person object markers), I take *ān-* and *ās-* as unitary morphemes for the 3rd person sg. agent and 3rd person pl. patient respectively, with zero-morphemes for both the 3rd person sg. patient and 3rd person pl. agent. In other words, the singular subject of a declarative transitive clause is marked by means of *an-* (or *ān-*), the singular intransitive subject and object are unmarked (i.e., they can be represented by a zero-morpheme). The plural transitive subject is unmarked, but the plural intransitive subject and object are expressed by means of *as-*/*es-* and *-s-*. The fact that the intransitive subject and the object receive the same marking points at morphological ergativity. I will provide the evidence supporting these views elsewhere.

	COLL-god-GEN ²⁹	their-COLL-soul	god.PL-GEN.PL	Soul-their
1b	KUB 28.104 obv. iii 9' (NS)			"The souls of the gods"
	<i>fur-un-li-mu</i>			
	earth-GEN-her-mother			
	"Mother of the Earth (epithet of the Sungoddess of Arinna)"			
	The 'genitivus materiae' occurs without possessive clitics in both languages:			
2	Hattian KBo 37.1 i 23 (NS) = <i>hapak(i)-an</i>	Hittite KBo 37.1 ii 23 AN.BAR-a ^s iron-GEN.S	GUNNI Hearth	
	great-hearth	"The hearth of iron"		
	"The great hearth of iron"			

Hattian and Hittite question words appear in initial and non-initial position (for Hittite interrogatives, see Hoffner 1995, Goedengebuure fc). With the Hittite question word in initial position see 3a, for preverbal position see 3b:

3a	KUB 48.99: 6'-7' (OH/NS)
	<i>kui-š-war-an</i> <i>hara-n</i> ^a <i>Pirwā[-i]</i> ^{uš} <i>Haššuw-až</i> <i>uwate-z[zi]</i> Who=QUOT=him eagle-ACC.S dat ^s <i>Pirwā[DAT.S]</i> c ^o <i>Hassu-ABL</i> bring-3S.NPST "Who will bring him, the eagle, from the city of Hassu [to] Pirwa?"

3b	HKM 55 obv. 16-17 (MH/MS)
	<i>nu ap-ē</i> <i>NUMUN^{IR.A}</i> <i>kuwapi</i> <i>p[ai]-s</i> CONN EMPL.PRON-N.ACC.PL seed ⁿ whereto give-2S.PST "whereto have you g[iven] those seeds instead?"

For the Hattian question word *ük* "how, what"³⁰ in initial position, see for example 4a. Compare with 4b, which is similar to 4a but with *ük* in final position, and 4c:

4a	KUB 28.4 obv. I. col. 14 (NS)
	<i>ük-hū=ba</i> <i>itā</i> Q-word=QUOT=but this way

²⁹ The ending -n is actually a marker of the oblique. Although it mostly marks the genitive, it is sometimes also found as a dative marker (Soysal 2004a: 195).

³⁰ As subordinator *ük* means "just as (< how)".

"But what is this (lit. but how (is it) this way)?"³¹

- 4b KUB 28.86 + KUB 48.23 iii/v 5 (NS)
itā-hū=pi *ük*
this way=QUOT=but Q-word
- "But what is this?"
- 4c KBo 37.9 obv. 9'-10' (MS), dupl. KUB 28.1 iv 25' (ed. Soysal 2004b: 80, 82, 88-92 (differently))
- | | | | | | |
|-------------|---------------------|-----------|-------------|---------------------------|-----------|
| <i>pala</i> | <i>än-k[ü]ar=pa</i> | <i>ük</i> | <i>pala</i> | <i>än-ha-u(ö)ar=pa</i> | <i>ük</i> |
| and | 3S.AG-fight=but | Q-word | and | 3S.AG-INCHIATIVE-SOUR=but | Q-word |
- "Why³² does he pick a fight, and why does he turn sour?"

Both in Hittite and Hattian, subordinate clauses precede their main clause.³³ Compare the clauses of comparison 5a and 6a, and the temporal subordinate clauses in 5b and 6b:

³¹ Soysal (2004a: 203) analyses the sequence *ük-hū=ba* differently ("spricht aber wie es ist"). Boldface is used in this paper to indicate the verbal stem.

³² As Soysal (2004b: 88) notes, the parallel expressions in KUB 28.1 iv 35' do not employ *ük*. But if we consider the Hittite translation of KBo 37.9 obv. 9'-10'/KUB 28.1 iv 25' and KUB 28.1 iv 35', it becomes clear that these passages are not really parallel. Hittite KUB 28.1 iv 26'-27" (the translation of KBo 37.9 obv. 9'-10'/KUB 28.1 iv 25'), reads [...]at [not la, coll] ša-am-ma-al-či-ma-as / [...]at (not la), while the Hittite translation of the Hattian clause "a-a-ha-a-u-e-et in KUB 28.1 iv 35" is na-as ša-am-ma-al-li-ja-zt (KUB 28.1 iv 37'). Just as *ük* lacks in the Hattian clause KUB 28.1 iv 35", the word [...]at is absent in the Hittite version KUB 28.1 iv 37". Instead of emending the second *at* in KUB 28.1 iv 26' to *la* with Soysal, in order to read twice *apatala* "himself", I prefer restoring the question word *kuwat* "why". The lexeme *ük* is therefore not part of a verbal expression based on the nominal comparison **swit* *ük* "like an apple", as suggested by Soysal (2004b: 88), but is simply a free-standing general question word. The question word *ük* covers several functions for which Hittite requires separate words. As marker of clausal comparison "just as", which is derived from the manner question word "how", it matches Hittite *mashhar* "just as, how", and when *ük* means "what", Hittite uses an inflected form of *kui* "who". We may now add "for what reason" to the semantics of *ük*, for which Hittite has *kuwat* "why" and the more general *kuit*. The larger context, KBo 37.9 obv. 3'-10', now reads: "Lady [Estan?] and [Lord] Taru speak as well: [...] and we made him [our] priest, we treated him well, and we also assigned his land to him. (So) why does he pick a fight, and why does he turn sour?".

³³ Kammenhuber (1969: 543) doubted the existence of subordinate clauses ("wohl keine Subordinierung der Sätze").

5a KBo 15.10+ ii 5-6 (MH/MS), ed. Szabó 1971: 20-21, CHD P. 314a

<i>k[ʃ]</i>	<i>Na-peru</i>	<i>mâbhan</i>	<i>ukn̩ri</i>
this.NOM-ACC.N.	rock.S.NOM- ACC.N.	just as	everlasting:S.NOM-ACC.N
<i>BELU</i> <i>U</i> DAM-ZU	DUM[U.MES-Ş]U	<i>QATAMMA</i> <i>ukn̩ri-eš</i>	<i>aš-andu</i>
lord and wife-his	son.PL-his	likewise everlasting:PL.NOM.C	be-3PLIMP
"Just as this rock is everlasting, so may the master and his wife (and) child[dren] be everlasting."			

5b KBo 14.13 iv 33-34 (NH), ed. Güterbock 1956: 98

<i>[n]ju=imak=tam</i>	<i>mâbhan</i>	<i>tuppi</i>	<i>peran</i>	<i>balz-er</i>
CONN=them=PTCL	when	tablet	before	call-3PL.PST
<i>[n]jamma=šmal</i>	<i>ABU=YÄ</i>	<i>kışan</i>	<i>IQB</i>	
them=them	father=my	as follows	he said	

"And when they had read the tablet aloud before them, my father then said
to them as follows."³⁴

6a KUB 24.14 iv 11a'-17a" (NS)

<i>im-ä-l-en</i>	<i>zar-du</i>	<i>ük</i>	<i>fa-o-kä-pudd-u</i>	<i>kä-nau</i>
this-MASC ^{7,2}	sheep-OBL	just as	1S-3PAT-on-be-PRS	on-?
<i>fa-o-to-ha-zi</i>	<i>fah-tu</i>			
1S-3PAT-INTO-3DAT-PUT	2-OBL			
<i>pala</i>	<i>a-sah-du</i>	<i>lē-i-zzurwātu</i> ³⁴	<i>lē-i-pinu</i>	
also	DET'-evil-OBL	his-PL ³ -wife	his-PL ³ -child	
<i>pala</i>	<i>lē-pa-zizintu</i>	<i>intā</i>	<i>te-ş-pat³⁵</i>	
and	his-COLL-offspring	thus	MD-3PL.PAT-he	

³⁴ The transcription of this word follows the duplicate KUB 28.78 iv 6'.

³⁵ The transcription follows the duplicate KUB 28.78 iv 8'.

"Just as I stretch this sheep out on the pedestal/ground", (and) fasten (lit. put) "it children and his offspring be likewise."

<i>anna</i>	<i>e-ş-kä-her-pi</i>	<i>tabarna[-?]</i>	<i>kattē</i>	<i>lē-fil</i>
When	1PL-3PL.PAT-on-appoint=but	Tabarna[-?]	king:DAT	his-house
<i>n-i-e-pu=pē</i>		<i>zili</i>	mountain	
?-1PL-3PAT-make=but				
<i>palaz</i>	<i>(i-)yūğ-a</i>			
and	(1PL-)give-MD	<i>i-malhip</i>	[p̪lp̪]	
		PL-good	[stone]	

"Once we both (=pi) have appointed his estate to Tabarna, the king, and (=pē) his house."

As far as can be concluded from the limited number of ascertained attestations, Hattian text-initial clauses with lexically expressed subject and object show SOV order example:

³⁶ The analysis and translation from *känau* to *fah-tu* is conjectural, but, in my view, finds some support in the preceding Hittite description of a ritual act, KUB 24.14 iv 9'-10' *ta' nomma ground* [and] fastens [...] (and speaks as follows in Hattian). It is reasonably certain that *puddu* = *palzpuhd* = "stretch". However, the element *puhd* is perhaps better analyzed as a verb *put* with the present tense (?) marker *u* (Soyalis 2004: 304). In that case nothing prevents taking *put* as the verb "be". In order to retain the meaning of *palzpuhd*, "Stretch out on a flat surface", we need a locative expression to further specify the general phrase *ka-put* "be on". I believe this could be *ka-nau-ju* "on-the-pedestal/ground" ". There seems to be room for more signs after *palzpuhd* in KUB 24.14 iv 12', perhaps a short clause with *tarmazi* "I fasten/hail down", parallel to *tarmazi* "he fastens/nails down" in KUB 24.14 iv 10', to match my analysis of *palzpuhd*. While the Hittite translation KUB 24.14 iv 13b'-14b' continues with *n=a-kan pedi duwān* / *duwan-a U[IL] ninikar*] "and it does [not] move [hither] and thither [on the spot]" , the Hattian part would leave no room for an equivalent clause. This is not problematic because KUB 24.14 iv 16b'-17b' *n=at-k[on]* / *pedi duwan duwan-a lē nimirat* "eat", requires that we accept the misplacement of the Hittite translation (suggested by Laroche 1950: 177), which I do not think is necessary. For a completely different analysis, see Girbal 1986: 112-114.

³⁷ Absent in KUB 2.2+KUB 48.1 ii 46.

7a KBo 19.162 obv. 4 (MS), dupl. KUB 2.2 ii 40, somewhat differently Schuster 1974:

<i>fa-^{3sg}-hp̄-ma</i>	<i>el-für</i>	<i>a-^{3PL}-d-^{3PL}{a-^{3PL}-bh̄ir-a}</i>
COLL-god=?	PL-land	PAT-on-distribute-PST

"The gods distributed the lands."

7b KBo 37.1 i 3-4 (NS), ed. Klinger 1996: 638, 650-651; Schuster 2002: 156

<i>Elat̄m</i>	^{1SG} <i>Lahz̄an</i>	<i>lē-^{3PL}l</i>	<i>ān-a-teb-a</i>
Estan	onLahzan	his-house	3S-AG-3S.PAT-build-PST

"Estan built her¹ house in Lahzan."

Because most Hittite clauses show SOV order, as all preceding Hittite examples can confirm, Hittite text-initial clauses have this order as well.
We can now isolate a few shared features from different grammatical sub-systems
(step two in the methodology of Thomason):

HITTITE	DIRECTION OF INFLUENCE	HITTITE
Content words	30	→ 30
Syntax of noun phrase possessor - possessed	N _{Gen} (poss.+) _N	?
Clause syntax position of question word text initial clauses	initial and non-initial	?
Sentence syntax clauses of comparison temporal clauses	SOV	?

4.3. Typologies of Hattian and Hittite

Having established several shared features in different sub-systems of Hittite and Hattian, it is now time to turn to steps 3 and 4 of Thomason's algorithm:

- (3) Prove that the shared features were not present in pre-X. You thereby prove that X hasn't changed.
- (4) Prove that the shared features were present in pre-Y. You thereby prove that Y hasn't changed.

The catch is of course that we do not have any evidence of the precursors of attested Hittite and Hattian. But despite this lack of evidence for proto-Hittite and proto-Hattian, what these languages would have looked like in their prehistory. In order to do this, we need to turn to language typology. I will focus on two strands of typological research, one that is concerned with preferences for word order patterns and another one that deals with preferences for marking.

After that, I will investigate whether the shared features noted above are consistent or not with respect to the language types of Hittite and Hattian. If it turns out that one of these languages shows inconsistencies, it may be the case that that language is typologically disrupted. That is, it may be moving from a more consistent, prehistorical, structural influence from the other language.

4.3.1. Word order typology of Hattian and Hittite

If we can establish the dominant word order of the main clausal elements in Hattian and Hittite, we may then use the linguistic universals correlated with these word orders to predict other word orders, such as ordering within the noun phrase.

The dominant word order in a given language is often equated with the surface position of the agent-like element (henceforth subject), patient-like element (henceforth object) and verb in transitive declarative clauses. This might lead to the assumption that the subject of an intransitive clause shows the same position with respect to the verb as the subject in a transitive clause. That this is not always the case is shown in Dryer 2005: 334-335. Another objection to only considering clauses with lexically expressed subjects and objects is that these clauses are actually not very common: most clauses in natural discourse contain at least one pronominal element.

I will therefore discuss all types of intransitive and transitive clauses, with lexically and pronominally or clitically expressed elements. Because word order in Hittite is well investigated³⁸, it is not necessary to provide further support for the basic word order SOV. Hattian however has not been studied from a more fine-grained perspective.³⁹ There is reasonable agreement on the basic VSO word order of Hattian when both subject and object are expressed (Berman 1977: 458-459; Klinger 1994: 34), but other clause types, such as intransitives and clauses with pronominal elements have not yet received much attention.⁴⁰

³⁸ Luraghi 1990: 73ff.

³⁹ Berman (1977) studied clauses with expressed subject and object, with only a subject, and with only an object, but his corpus was restricted to the clauses of KUB 2.2 + KUB 48.1. Although his observations are correct, his conclusions will require some modification once the other bilingual texts are taken into account.

⁴⁰ Kammenhuber (1962: 18; 1969: 543) claimed that word order in Hattian varies freely, and that the verb can take any position in the clause (1969: 503, 543). This is only true if one does not distinguish between transitive and intransitive clauses.

In most Hattian transitive declarative clauses with lexically expressed subject and object the verb occupies initial position (see the Appendix for the counts). With the order VSO:⁴¹

- 8a KUB 2.2 iii 45 (NS), ed. Schuster 1974: 74
 3S-AG-3S-PAT-take-PST ^aSulinkatti kattē lē-fa-elī⁷ a-nu
 "Lord Sulinkatte took his tools."

- 8b KBO 37.49 rev. 14'-15' (NS), ed. Girbal 2000: 367-369, Klinger 2000: 159-161
 [o-]ā-^a-mīB-o tabarna li-fur o-ñā-o-[mīR-o] [ta]barna lē-lis
 3-7-3S-PAT-take-PST Tabarna his-land 3-7-3S-PAT-take-PST Tabarna his-year
 "Tabarna took his land, Tabarna took his year(s)"

The order VOS is also attested, see for example:

- 9a KUB 2.2 + KUB 48.1 iii 14-15 (NS), differently Schuster 1974: 70
 3S-AG-3S-PAT-into-open-PST kātip ^a[Zilipurē]u katti
 "Lord [Zilipurj] opened the gate"

- 9b KBO 37.1 i 26-27 (NS), differently Schuster 2002: 158
 3S-AG-3S-PAT-take-PST zilāt ^aKatahzifuri
 "Katahzifuri took the throne"

However, as expected in narrative discourse, most subjects in mid-text transitive clauses simply continue the subject from the preceding clause. We therefore usually find clauses without lexically expressed subject. The word order in these clauses is overwhlemingly VO. A few examples:

- 10a KBO 37.1 i 7-8 (NS), ed. Klinger 1996: 638, 656-657
 pala ān-a-^araš-a-^ama ^dKatahzifuri-^abu
 and 3S-AG-3S-PAT-call-PST=? Katahzifuri-OBL
 "Then she called Katahzifuri"

⁴¹ Without taking the relative position of subject and object into account, verb initial word order preference for declaratives has been observed by Girbal (1986: 23).

- 10b KUB 2.2 + KUB 48.1 iii 19 (NS), dupl. KBO 21.110 obv. 4⁷, ed. Schuster 1974: 70

- ān-a-tub-o lē-zūh lē-sterah bala f(ē-šepf)ep
 3S-AG-3S-PAT-take-PST his-clothes his-fell cover and his-shoe; shoe
 "He took his clothes, his fell-cover and his shoes"

- 10c KUB 28.4 i 10a (NS), ed. Schuster 2002: 384
 [(o-)u-^a-b-a-^a-kul-o rūmin o-^a-u-a-b-^a-kul-o
 3-7-3S-PAT-3DAT⁴²-into-let go-PST rain 3-7-3S-PAT-3DAT-into-let go-PST fi-pizil
 "He (Taru) released Rain after him, he released the Winds after him."

- 10d KBO 37.49 rev. 12'-13' (NS), ed. Klinger 2000: 159-160
 o-^a-fā-^a-[pū'-a] [fu]r-un te-fō-katti
 3-7-3COLL-PAT-make-PST land-GEN her-COLL-king
 "She m[fade] them kings of the land (lit. of the land her kings)"

- 10e KBO 37.9 obv. 7'-8' (MS), ed. Soysal 2004b: 82, 84⁴³
 pā'la(=) ai-a-ta-ha-ka ab-^a-fa pala
 and 1PL-3S-PAT-into? 3-DAT-on-place-PST=? also lē-fur
 "And we also assigned his land to him."

Surprisingly, the few preserved text-initial and speech-initial transitive clauses with lexically expressed subject and object consistently show an SOV pattern (see exx. 7a, b). There are also a few mid-text transitive clauses with the verb in final position, see for example:

- 11a KUB 2.2+ KUB 48.1 iii 10 (NS), ed. Schuster 1974: 68

- [i]starrazil-pi fā-sā[*b*] [o-]fā-^a-z-^abert-a
 dark earth-but COLL-evil 3PL-AG-3COLL-PAT-3DAT-down-hide-OPT

"But let them hide the evil things in the dark earth."

- 11b KBO 37.23 i 13'-14' (MS), also see 14'-16'

- zāriu-^a=*ah* te-pīnu ha-tē-kkāz e-ha-^a-dur-o
 man-GEN=QUOT her-child at-her-head 1PL-3DAT-7-hit-PST

⁴² I agree with Schuster's analysis of -*h*- as the marker of the 'Zielpunkt der Handlung' (2002: 447). This is also suggested by Soysal (2004a: 216) sub (-*h*). In the remainder of this paper I will provisionally gloss -*h(a)*- as 3DAT.

⁴³ Soysal analyzes and translates somewhat differently: "We arranged his land as well".

"We have hit the human child on its head."

On the other hand, the word order preferences for intransitive clauses are the reverse of those for transitive clauses. Although a few intransitive clauses have VS order, most intransitive clauses show SV order.⁴⁴

12a KUB 28.75 obv. ii 14 (OS), translit. Neu 1980: 193

tabarna *te-o-kunkuhbū-a*
Tabarna OPT-3S.PAT-LIVE-OPT

"May Tabarna live!"

12b KBo 37.49 rev. 15'-16' (NS), with dupl. KUB 28.8 rev. I. col. 4a, ed. Girbal 2000: 369

tabarn[a-n] *[le]-lis* *te-o-fūti(y)-a*
Tabarna[GEN] [his]-year OPT-3S.PAT-long-OPT

"Let the year(s) of Tabarna be long and wide."

12c KBo 37.28 iv 13'-14' (NS), ed. Soysal 2002b: 8-9

zür *šeš-a-ta-bhu-meme*
sheep NEG-3S.PAT-INTR/PASSIVE-say-'meme'

"The sheep does not say 'beeech'."

12d KBo 19.162 obv. 11 (MS), dupl. KUB 2.2 + KUB 48.1 ii 51, also see obv. 12-13, differently Schuster 1974: 66

pip *a-sah* *taš-te-o-h-ka-zij[(e)]*
stone DET-'evil' NEG-OPT-3S.PAT-3S.DAT-down-put-OPT

"May not the evil stone be put down on it (i.e., on the house of the king)."

12e KBo 19.162 obv. 6-7 (MS), with dupl. KUB 2.2 ii 42, also see KUB 2.2 iii 52-53, ed. Schuster 1974: 66

tabar[na] *Kātē* *ān-nifa-s⁴⁵*
Tabarna King 3S.AG-sit?

⁴⁴ It is unclear to me on what grounds Schuster (2002: 622) claims that only in text-initial clauses (his *Eingangs-Ausagesatz*) the verb takes final position.

⁴⁵ I follow Girbal's analysis of these two forms as verbal complexes. Compare the different clause parsing and analysis of Klinger (2000: 160-162).

⁴⁶ KUB 2.2 ii 42 has the patientive intransitive form *ta-ni-ya-aš* (*o-ta-nif-aš*) instead of the agentive intransitive.

"Lord Tabarna sat down."

For some intransitive clauses with VS order, see:

13a KBo 37.1 i 16-17 (NS), ed. Klinger 1996: 640, 662; Schuster 2002: 158

o-ha-ni(-ya-pa
3S.PAT-to-go-but
Hašammil
"Hasammil entered."

13b KBo 37.1 i 54-55 (NS), Soysal 2004c: 367-368

o-nu-ad!
3-2-stand
Estan-ün
Estan-GEN
[lə-ʃfɪ]/
[hiš-ħ]house

"They (the bulls of the Stormgod Taru) are standing in Estan's temple."

To summarize, Hattian is basically V(S)O in mid-text transitive clauses, it has always SOV order in text-initial clauses and shows a strong tendency for SV in intransitive clauses.⁴⁷ Theoretically, the last two observations could mean that Hattian might originally have been an SOV language even though the majority of transitive clauses points at VSO order. However, further support for a basic VSO order in Hattian will be presented in the next section.

4.3.2. Marking preferences in Hattian and Hittite

Another way of classifying languages is to describe how they mark grammatical relations within clauses and noun phrases. Cross-linguistically, there are four strategies for marking relations: word order, dependent marking, head marking and double marking, which is a combination of head- and dependent marking. The following overview shows which parts of speech count as head or dependent at different levels of a clause:

LEVEL	CONSTRUCTION	HEAD	DEPENDENT
Phrase	Possessive	possessed noun	possessor
	Attributive	noun	adjective
	Adpositional	adposition	complement
Clause	Clausal	verb	arguments and adjuncts

⁴⁷ Similar observations were made by Berman (1977: 458-460). Based on the bilingual text KUB 2.2 he observed that clauses with V and O show VO order, but that clauses with S and S both show SV and VS order. The fact however that this text contains only one V & S & O clause, the text-initial SOV clause, forced him to combine the VO and SV/SVS facts from the other clauses. He concluded that "[s]ince Hattic is a VO language and shows both VS and SV word order, we may describe it as having two main word orders, VSO and SVO." Referring to Greenberg's language universal 6 which states that SVO is a variant word order in VSO languages, he then concluded that Hattian is a VSO language.

Heads or dependents may carry an affix which registers the presence of a syntactic relation between head and dependent, and which also very often contains information on the nature of the relationship. When a language marks a certain grammatical relation on the head, it is head-marking for that construction, and similarly for dependent-marking. But it is also possible to mark both the head and the dependent of a construction, in which case the language is double-marking for that construction. For example, the Akkadian nominative, accusative and genitive case endings on the noun respectively signify the syntactic relations subject, object and possession (among others). But the Akkadian verb also agrees with the subject, and furthermore, indexes properties of the subject, such as person, number and, in part, gender. The subject relation is therefore double-marked: it receives marking on the verb by means of the personal prefixes and suffixes, and on the noun by means of case endings.

The marking preference is of great interest for the classification of Hattian as a VSO language, and Hittite as an SOV language. Nichols, in several highly influential studies (1986, 1992), found a correlation between word order and marking preference:

Verb-initial order and lack of any determinate or stated order favor head marking, verb medial and verb final order favor dependent marking (Nichols 1992: 113).

Grammatical relations in Hattian are not marked by word order. The subject can appear on either side of the verb, and so can the object, although this is rather rare. This lack of fixed relative positions for the core arguments shows that word order is not used to mark syntactic relations. Instead, Hattian uses affixes on the noun to mark dimensional relations, and person affixes on the verb to mark syntactic relations, besides tense (and/or aspect?) and mood markers. Hittite uses affixes as well, but the locus of the affixes and the extent to which they are used are different from those in Hattian.

The fact that Hattian and Hittite use both heads and dependents as the locus for dependency markers is not surprising. The analysis of the 60-language sample in Nichols 1986 shows that most languages have both head- and dependent marking constructions. However, the distribution of head- versus dependent marking constructions is not random. Head marking is favored at clause level, whereas dependent marking occurs more regularly on phrase level. The following concise overview of the construction types in Hattian and Hittite will show that these languages neatly follow the patterns observed by Nichols.

To start with phrase level, Hattian and Hittite are both double-marking and dependent marking with respect to the possessive construction. When the dependent is expressed as an independent phrase, such as a noun or emphatic pronoun, it is always marked. The Hattian genitive is marked by the suffix *-n*, the Hittite nominal gen. sg.-pl. suffix is *-as* (the gen.pl. is *-an* in Old Hittite), and the pronominal gen. sg.-pl. suffix is *-el* (the gen.pl. is *-enaz* in Old Hittite). Sometimes a possessive clitic is added to the head noun (the possessed): it is prefixed in Hattian and suffixed in Hittite. The construction is double-marking when the possessive clitic is present (exx. 1a, b), otherwise it is dependent marking in both languages (ex. 2).

The Hittite attributive construction is dependent marking: the adjective receives its gender, number and case marking from the noun (ex. 5a) (and there is no special marker

on the noun that indicates a relation with an adjective, which would make it double-marking type, but it seems that it is dependent marking in Hattian to establish its adjective seems to carry the plural marker in a plural noun phrase.⁴⁸

The adpositional construction in Hittite is dependent marking. The noun that as a dative-locative in post-Old Hittite (ex. 5b). Hattian does not have independent adpositions, but it is likely that the noun prefixes denoting spatial position and direction are derived from prepositions. Some of the noun prefixes for direction are accompanied by the oblique marker *-n*, suffixed to the noun.⁴⁹ It is therefore possible that the noun, dependent in this construction, was marked, and that Hattian was at least dependent marking in the adpositional construction as well.

At the clausal level however, Hattian and Hittite behave differently. The most common grammatical relations are subject and object. These relations are marked on the which makes Hittite dependent-marking for the object and double-marking for the subject with respect to person and number (see for example ex. 3a). The other grammatical semantic relations, such as indirect object, locative, ablative etc. are always marked on the nouns or pronouns. Hittite is therefore dependent-marking on clause level.

Hattian on the other hand does not mark the subject on the arguments, and only occasionally the object. Instead, we find marking on the verb (see for example ex. 8a). And although the dimensional relations may be marked on the nouns as prefixes, the verb is also marked for dimensional relations (ex. 11b). Hattian is therefore basically head-marking at clausal level.

Nichols (1992) has developed a method to weigh the different marking constructions mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. In her analysis, most weight is placed on marking at clause level. Taking this into account, the fact that Hattian is dependent construction in prehistoric times, is overruled by the head-marking of syntactic relations at clause level. Hattian can thus be classified as a head-marking language.

As noted above, Nichols also showed that verb-initial languages are often head-marking, while verb-final languages are often dependent-marking. The head-marking of Hattian and the dependent-marking of Hittite therefore match their respective basic VSO and SOV word orders.

But there is yet another phenomenon that correlates with VSO order, noted by Klinger (1994: 35 n. 56). Hattian is a prefixing language, and prefixing is known to correlate with head-initiality, in other words, with verbs in clause initial position (Hawkins and Gilligan 1988: 219-259). We can therefore conclude that Hattian is indeed a VSO language with SOV, OV and SV as variant orders, and not an original SOV language turning VSO.

⁴⁸ See for example KUB 28.82 ii 15' *fa-sâh alêp* 'COLL-evil tongue/word = the evil tongues/words', with marking on the adjective *sâh* only.

⁴⁹ See for example KUB 2.2 + KUB 48.1 iii 16 *kâ-[h]ânfauitt-un* 'on-throne dais-GEN =

4.4. Language universals, Hittian, and Hittite

Having established that the VSO word order of Hittian is supported by its head-marking of syntactic relations and its prefixing nature, we now can finally focus on whether the shared features of Hittian and Hittite were present or not in their precursors.

The language universals set up by Greenberg (1966) provide a means to establish additional word orders given the basic word orders of both languages. These expected word orders can then be compared with what is actually attested. If the shared features mentioned in section 4.2. are not expected to occur in one (or both) of our languages, then this language, showing a mismatch between shared feature and basic word order, is the one that most likely has changed.

I will compare all Greenbergian language universals that are relevant for word order, together with the additional word order correlations listed by Dryer (1992),⁵⁰ with the Hittian and Hittite phenomena and discuss whether these languages obey the word order universals or not.

Universal 3. Languages with dominant VSO order are always prepositional.
Universal 4. With overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal SOV order are postpositional.

Most Hittite adpositions are postpositional, matching its SOV order (Friedrich 1974: 129). Although Hittian does not have prepositions, the prefixes on the noun other than the plural and possessive markers are always locational, whether stative or directive (ex. 11b). As noted above, they could very well have developed from prepositions. The next universal may therefore be used to predict the Hittian order of genitive and noun:

Universal 2. In languages with prepositions, the genitive almost always follows the governing noun, while in languages with postpositions it almost always precedes.

While the Hittite preposed placement of the genitive (see exx. 1a, 2) is in agreement with this universal (SOV and preceding genitive), Hittian is not. As in Hittite, its genitive is preposed, without exceptions⁵¹ (see ex. 1a, b, 2).

Universal 6. All languages with dominant VSO order have SVO as an alternative or as the only alternative basic order.

As noted above, I have not yet found examples of SVO order in Hittian. The only alternative order seems to be (S)OV in text-initial or speech-initial clauses, which is also the basic order in Hittite.

⁵⁰ The Greenbergian universals dealing with the ordering of adjectives and nouns need to be left out, because Dryer (1988, 1992: 95–96) has shown them to be invalid.

⁵¹ See Klinger (1994: 34 n. 53) for a rejection of the alleged exceptions mentioned by Girbal (1986: 18f.).

Universal 12. If a language has dominant order VSO in declarative sentences, it always puts interrogative words or phrases first in interrogative word questions; if it has dominant order SOV in declarative sentences, there is never such an invariant rule.

This universal states that the position of question words cannot be predicted for SOV languages. The initial and non-initial placement of Hittite question words is therefore not surprising (exx. 3a, b). However, the fact that question words in the VSO language Hattian also occur in initial and non-initial position (exx. 4a, b, c), is yet another violation of a language universal.

Universal 23. If in apposition the proper noun usually precedes the common noun, then the language is one in which the governing noun [follows, PMG]⁵² its dependent genitive. With the dependent genitive [follows, PMG] its governing noun.

In Hittian the proper noun always precedes the common noun, as in *"šāru kāte i 5-6"*. This order matches the order observed for genitive and head noun. This is also true for Hittite, see for example the gen.s. proper noun and common noun [*"Pi]θāna attas=mas"* "Pithana, my father"] (OH/OS, KBo 3.22 obv. 10).

Having exhausted Greenberg's universals, I will now turn to other word order correlations that have received less attention, discussed in Dryer 1992.

Correlation of verb and manner adverb. Manner adverbs overwhelmingly precede the verb in OV languages and generally follow the verb in VO languages (Dryer 1992: 93).

Hittite manner adverbs precede the verb, as illustrated by the demonstrative manner adverb *kişšan* in ex. 5b. Manner adverbs in Hittian are extremely rare (or still not recognized). The only manner adverb known to me occurs in postverbal position in an intransitive SV clause.⁵³

⁵² The original text states twice 'precedes'. Greenberg's universal 23 is based on a hapless reversal of the figures in the table on which the universal is based. This can be shown by a recount based on the material in the appendices of Greenberg 1966. The corrected table is (G = genitive noun, N = governing noun):

	G	N
Common Noun - Proper Noun	1	8
Proper Noun - Common Noun	8	0

I have not checked the secondary literature for references to the corrected universal.

⁵³ The demonstrative manner adverb *inā* "in this way, thus" in ex. 6a does not modify a verb but is itself the predicate, followed by the copula *tešpit*.

- 14 KUB 2.2 iv 53, 57 (NS), differently Schuster 1974: 74
 ūr=hu-pi weutti² u-du-nu pi-izz[i]
 you=QUOT-but further? 2sg-into-go to+good
 "Further (?) into it (the palace) in a good way!"

Correlation of adverbial subordinators. Adverbial subordinators are somewhat more commonly clause-final in OV languages but overwhelmingly clause-initial in VO languages (Driver 1992: 103).

The one recognized Haitian adverbial subordinator is clause-initial (ex. 6b). Hittite adverbial subordinators may be placed in clause-initial position, but also occur mid-clause (ex. 5b).

Correlation of verb and adpositional phrase. Adpositional phrases more often precede the verb in OV languages, and they more often follow the verb in VO languages. This is almost exceptionless for VO languages (Dryer 1992: 92).

In my sample I counted 15 cases of adpositional phrases preceding the verb in the verb-final clauses (see the Appendix), and 9 cases of adpositional phrases following the verb in the verb-initial clauses. In one case there might be O-V-Adp order, but my analysis of this example (ex. 6a) is too uncertain to count. This distribution is another strong indication that Haitian also has SOV characteristics, but no characteristics of the expected alternative SVO pattern. This is also shown by the following correlation pair.

Correlation of copula and predicate. The preferred order of copula and predicate is Predicate-Copula in OV languages and Copula-Predicate in VO languages (Dryer 1992: 93-94).

¹ I counted two instances of the order Predicate-Copula. The clearest example is *intā teṣpūt* "Let them be this way" in ex. 6a. Hittite always shows the order Predicate-Copula.

The following table gathers the information just presented. I have also added a row on text initial clauses and the order of subordinate and main clauses. The diagram clearly shows that Haitian violates the majority of universals and correlations dealing with word order phenomena in VO languages (white). Instead, Haitian mostly patterns with an OV basic order (grey shade). Hittite on the other hand does not violate any universal or correlation dealing with its basic OV order.

OV correlate	Hittite	Hattian	VO correlate
postpositions	postpositions	prefixes (< prepositions)	Prepositions
genitive – noun	genitive - noun	genitive - noun	noun – genitive
SOV text initial clauses	SOV text initial clauses	SOV text initial clauses	VSO text initial Clauses
free placement of question – word	free placement of question - word	free placement of question - word	initial question word
proper noun - common noun	proper noun - common noun	proper noun - common noun	common noun - proper noun
manner adverb - verb	manner adverb - verb	verb - manner adverb	verb - manner adverb
initial / final adverbial subordinator	initial adverbial subordinator	initial adverbial subordinator	initial adverbial subordinator
adpositional phrase – verb	adpositional phrase – verb	adpositional phrase - verb	verb-adpositional phrase
predicate – copula	predicate - copula	predicate - copula	copula – predicate
subordinate clause - main clause	subordinate clause - main clause	subordinate clause - main clause	main clause - subordinate clause

Table 2: Consistency of Hittite and Hattian as OV and VO languages

4.5 Conclusion

In many aspects Hattian does not behave like a VO language, whereas Hittite generally shows the word order correlates of OV languages. The non-typical placement of the genitive was already noted by Klinger (1994, 1996), who therefore concluded that typology was probably not very helpful in understanding Hattian. Klinger is indeed correct in that the fluctuation between VO and OV characteristics prevents the use of typology for the further analysis of Hattian. Still, this fluctuation allows the following suggestion: the structure of Hattian is distorted in such a way that I hypothesize that Hattian is heavily influenced by an (S)OV language. This type of distortion is also known as typological disruption. Hittite on the other hand is a perfectly harmonious (S)OV language.

One could object that Hattian is simply shifting from VSO to SVO in view of the dominant SV order in intransitive clauses, since SVO is often an alternative basic order for VSO languages (Greenberg universal 6). The fact however that I have not yet found any SVO clauses, while there is ample evidence for SOV clauses in Hattian, points at a

shift to OV structure. Another argument against an alternative SVO order is the fact that SVO languages often behave like VSO languages, because both have VO order. As we have seen, Hattian has many non-VO features.

The shift proposed for Hattian is well attested. Amharic, an Ethiopic Semitic language with originally a basic order VSO, changed to SOV under the influence of Cushitic (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 131), and of course the VSO language Akkadian became SOV under the influence of Sumerian.⁵⁴ In modern times a similar change has been noted for modern Asia Minor Greek, which borrowed SOV word order and its correlative structures from Turkish (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 220ff.).

To return to the criteria listed by Thomason: the features shared by typologically disrupted Hattian and typologically harmonious Hittite probably did not exist in pre-Hattian, and are almost certain to have existed in proto-Hittite. Thus, it is Hattian that underwent contact-induced change, and not Hittite, as has been claimed so often (see section 3). Hattian is on the verge of changing from VSO to SOV, even though a change from VSO to SVO would be the more regular development. Theoretically, Hattian might be under heavy influence from an unknown SOV language in Anatolia, but I suggest that we do not look any further than (one of) the Anatolian Indo-European SOV languages as the source language(s).

But how can we account for this situation from a sociological point of view? In the next section I will discuss several socio-linguistic models that might explain the linguistic picture, and select the most likely candidate.

5. Socio-linguistic factors compatible with the situation as described

Sarah Thomason and Terrence Kaufman (1988) distinguish two types of natural change in languages, *borrowing* and *shifting*. In the borrowing situation speakers maintain their language but borrow elements from a second language, the source language. In the shifting situation speakers often abandon their native language and shift to another language, the target language.

Based on research in many contact situations, Thomason and Kaufman have isolated the following rule of thumb: in the borrowing situation one will find lexical borrowing, or loan words. Only if there is strong long-term cultural pressure from the source language may group on the borrowing language group, substantial borrowing of structural features may occur. This requires extensive bilingualism in the borrowing language over a period of several centuries of intimate contact (1988: 37–39). In the shift situation on the other hand, there will be influence on syntax and phonology but no or few loan words. The learner interference in the shift situation is the result of imperfect language learning. Learner errors of the speakers of the source language spread to the whole target language when imitated by the native speakers of the target language. But this only happens when the

shift occurs rapidly, for example within one generation, and the source language group is numerically large enough to allow imperfect language learning (1988: 39–41).

If we apply these rules to two situations, bilinguals with either Hattian as native following sociopolitical constellations that explain both the lack of lexical borrowing in Hattian and the structural influence from the SOV language:

1. Substrate Hattian structural borrowing with a taboo on lexical borrowing

We have a truly borrowing situation, in which Hattian speakers maintain their language but are under strong influence from an SOV language. This situation requires a great SOV language. But since there are hardly any (or no) recognized borrowings from other languages besides Akkadian in Hattian, we must assume a taboo on lexical borrowing at least in the religious sphere (i.e., in Hattian myths and the other cultic texts). Such a taboo would seem rather odd in view of the fact that Hattian *did* borrow from Akkadian. But let us assume that such a taboo existed, then there would only be structural borrowing. The time frame for this kind of borrowing is several centuries at the least.

If the giving SOV language is proto-Hittite/Luwian, the borrowing situation would also explain the slight borrowing of cultural loanwords in Hittite/Luwian and the lack of a large group of monolingual Hittite/Luwian speakers. The long period of coexistence of a Hittite/Luwian speakers, which would have allowed perfect language learning of some lexical borrowings.

Even though this scenario would explain the typological disruption of Hattian without lexical borrowing, and the lack of structural interference in Hittite combined with slight lexical borrowing, it does not match well with our current knowledge of Anatolian political and cultural history. The linguistic situation as described here requires that for many centuries before 1650 BCE the proto-Hittite/Luwian speakers were the dominant power, with very strong cultural and linguistic pressure on the Hattian speakers.

But why did this –necessarily large– group of proto-Hittite/Luwian speakers abandon their religion in favor of Hattian cult, mythology and pantheon? And most importantly, why did they use mainly Hattian as the language of religion? It is of course possible that the proto-Hittites/Luwians already held a territorial view of deities and that they therefore adopted worshipping of Hattian deities and continued the cult in Hattian. But one would also expect that their own Indo-European deities would have been added to the local pantheons, either by means of syncretism or by means of true addition. And presumably we should find many more cultic recitations in Hittite/Luwian than is currently the case. Besides, we would also need to explain why the royal names of the Old Hittite kingdom are mainly Hattian.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Even though a few scholars claim that Akkadian retained an original proto-Semitic basic SOV order (Haayer 1986; Michałowski 2005), it is quite safe to accept that Akkadian changed from VSO to SOV under the influence of Sumerian (Von Soden 1995: 227).

⁵⁵ See for example Tuduþaliya, Pafahtelma, Hattušili and Kaddusi, Muršili, Harapšili, Huzziya, Telipinu and Iṣtapariya. Hantili is either Hattian or Luwian, but Zidanta and Muwatalli are Luwian.

Finally, a subordinate position of Hattian with many centuries of Hittite/Luwian political dominance does not explain the influence of Hattian on Palaic (see section 7.2 for further discussion).

In short, the dominance of Hattian culture is difficult to reconcile with the subordinate sociopolitical position of the Hattian speakers that should accompany the borrowing phenomena. So maybe we have:

2. Superstrate Hattian structural borrowing with a taboo on lexical borrowing

A relatively small group⁵⁶ of Hattian speakers, the superstratum, provides the dominant culture within a large population of speakers of an SOV language. The Hattian elite is fully bilingual in the SOV language, but will have given in to the numerical pressure of the SOV speakers, with structural borrowing and lexical taboos in their native Hattian.

This model fits the ‘victorious invaders’ hypothesis, but this time the Hattian speakers are the invaders and, since there are no other language communities that fit the profile, the Anatolian Indo-European speakers form the substratum.⁵⁷ This would not only explain the Hattian cultural dominance in Hittite society without linguistic structural interference in Hittite, but also the death of the Hattian language within two to three centuries once the Hittites regained supremacy under Pitana and Anita.

This scenario, however, is also problematic: could the Hattian speakers superimpose their religion on the numerically large Anatolian Indo-European language community and completely wipe out the latter’s ‘original’ religion? Could they, as a small group, replace the deities of the local cults with their own gods? The same issues that made option 1. less likely also diminish the chances for option 2.

3. Superstrate Hattian structural interference through shift

Finally, the Hattian language facts may be explained by a language shift from a numerically large and originally subordinate group of speakers of an SOV language to Hattian. This group is in close contact with Hattian speakers, but, because of the group size, not exposed enough to learn the language perfectly on an individual level. This imperfect group learning leads first to grammatical mistakes in the Hattian of the SOV speakers and then in the speech of the Hattian speaking natives. Without lexical borrowings in Hattian this indicates a language shift from the SOV speakers to Hattian in a rather short period of time, maybe even in one generation. The lack of lexical borrowing in Hattian also points at a subordinate sociopolitical position of the shifting SOV speakers (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 117).

⁵⁶ A large dominant group would most probably not feel the need to become bilingual in the subordinate language.

⁵⁷ This is what Melikishvili claimed: “There are no foundations for us to agree with the widespread opinion, that the Proto-Hittites [i.e., Hattians, PMG] are presumably the most ancient population of Central Anatolia, the predecessors of the Hittites-Nessites. It was only toward the end of the IIIrd millennium, that they penetrated into the central Anatolian regions, which were already occupied by the Nessites, and began to play an active role in the political life of the country. It is particularly under their hegemony and not under the hegemony of the Nessites, that the Hittite state was formed” (1968: 5-6).

This situation may result from the rather sudden intrusion of a large group of immigrants, which may have taken place at any point in the history of the Hattians. The *terminus ante quem* however, would be a generation before the Hittites start taking over. Because this is the minimum time required for the emergence of interference in Hattian. After the conquests of the Hittites, Hattian political dominance is *de facto* over, and the population would rather turn to Hittite as the language of prestige.

To return to the period before the Hittite conquests, since the dominant culture is over by the SOV speaking population, many cultural concepts are taken strong lexical borrowing by the subordinate group of SOV speakers, but only structural borrowing if the period of bilingualism lasted for a larger period of time.

The third option seems to explain the sociopolitical situation better than the other two. We have a large, originally subordinate immigrant group which has completely merged with Hattian society, and is fully, but not perfectly bilingual in both Hattian and an Indo-European language, either proto-Hittite, proto-Luwian, proto-Palaic, or another Anatolian Indo-European language.⁵⁸

As a result, the native language of this group must have borrowed many Hattian words, and, depending on the length of contact, might also show structural borrowing. But this does not show in the Hittite documents, or Luwian for that matter. I believe that this is caused by the fact that the Hittite language as attested is not the language of the subordinate group, but is the successor of the dialect of Kanesh/Neša, an area in which the Hittites were *not* subordinate. Unlike their related neighbours, the language of the proto-Hittites of Kanesh would at the most show some *adstratum* effect due to casual contact, as is of course already mentioned by Melchert (2003b: 21).

When Anita sweeps over Hattian ruled land and certainly after Labarna, Hattušili I of Kuššar and Mursili I definitely conquer the former Hattian core land, the Hittites find a language community of mixed descent, in which a large part of the population might still speak a form of Indo-European, but worships Hattian deities in Hattian, performs Hattian rituals, and listens to Hattian mythology. Although Hattian as a court language will have been replaced by Hittite, part of the population will still speak Hattian for some time after the conquests. One can imagine however, that possibly bilingual descendants of the speakers of Indo-European might easily switch to that other Indo-European language or dialect, Nešite Hittite.

It is also noteworthy that the Anatolian Indo-European system of name-giving in the Colony period is both different from the Proto-Indo-European system and from that of the later Hittite kingdom, which is basically adopted from the Hattian speaking population, although there are some scanty remains from the Colony period (Oettinger 2004: 359-361). What we find in the Hittite kingdom is not so much a replacement as a

⁵⁸ This corresponds with Soysal’s phase 1 of Hattian-Hittite contacts: “The earliest Hittites who peacefully lived in Hattian cities under Hattian sovereignty without having any military-political claim” (2005: 204). There is however no positive evidence that identifies Hittite speakers as the ones in contact with the Hattians.

merger of a majority (Hattian) and a minority (Kanešite) system of name-giving, mirroring the distribution of Hattian and Kanešite religious elements.

In this scenario of élite dominance, the Nēstē Hittites form only a small part of the population. Numerically they would not have been able to impose their religion and cult on the religious practices of the conquered area, which could explain the adoption of Hattian religion and cult and the very few references to the pantheon of Kaneš and Hattian cultic practices.⁵⁹ And although it remains conjectural, the mainly Hattian Kanešite cultic practices⁶⁰ might be onomasticicon of the royal dynasty, with a few Luwian names (see fn. 55), might be another, perhaps deliberate instance of acculturization to the Hattian speaking majority.

All three models presented above require the presence of an Indo-European speaking language community in Hattian lands before the Hittite conquests. This is the subject of the next section.

6. Indo-Europeans* in Hattian lands before the Hittite conquests

The documents from the Colony period seem to provide some evidence for the structural presence of 'the others' in the Hattian linguistic area.⁶¹ Indo-European names are not only attested in the Kültepe archives but also in the archives of Boğazköy (Hattus) and Alisar (Capp. A(m)kuwa, Hitt. Ankuwa). Singer (1981: 126) suggests that the Boğazköy Alisar archives date after Anita's conquests,⁶² which would explain the presence of these names. Irrespective of the exact dating of these two archives however, the few Anatolian names do not prove the presence of a large Indo-European speaking population in these cities.

Klinger (1996: 88 w. fn. 30) adduces two letters, one from Mari⁶³ and one from Kültepe⁶⁴ in which the name Hattus is already thematicized as Hattusa. The form Hattusa instead of genuine Hattian Hattus might indeed show the early presence of Indo-

⁵⁹ For a recent overview of the religion and cult of Kaneš, see Archi 2004.

⁶⁰ I concur with the majority view that Kültepe/Kaneš was not part of the Hattian linguistic and cultural area (see for example Singer 1981: 123; Klinger 1996: 197; Melchert 2003b: 9). For the opposite view see Soysal 2004a: 3.

⁶¹ This may not be the case for the Boğazköy tablets. Even though the tablets are contemporaneous with Kültepe Ib and Anita, the destruction layer separating the Old Assyrian period from the Old Hittite period may be the result of Anita's conquest. Since Anita claims that he depopulated Hattusa (see fn. 70), it seems reasonable to assume that the Boğazköy tablets predate the conquests.

⁶² M.8426+9046, edited by Ziegler (1996: 480): "[Jegliche Wertgeschenke,] die au[ß] Kanis, Harsamna [oder] Hattusa sind ([¹³] [sa iš]-[lu] Ka-ni-iš¹⁴] Ha[r]-sa-am-na-a^{ki}]₁₆ [u] H[a]-[sa]-tu-ša¹⁵]", Kunstwerk, Künstlerarbeit oder Seltense".

⁶³ KTK 10, edited by Larsen (1972: 100-101): "The prince of Sinahatum, the man of Amkuwa, and the man of Kapitra have made common cause, and they have rebelled against the man of Hattusa (Ha-ir-š[ia]-a-[d]m) 'he of Hattusa'". To the men of Kaneš ...". For the special Old Assyrian nisbe-formation -āj following the Anatolian place names on -a, see Hecker 1968: 89.

Europeans in the northern part of Central Anatolia, but it does not prove it. Most Old Assyrian references to Hattus are still without the theme-vowel.

Far more telling than the isolated mentions of Hattusa, is the name Amkuwa and its city is Haniku.⁶⁵ The mere fact that we do not find the Hattian name of this period points to the early Indo-Europeisation of this city in the core land of the Hittians.

The other piece of evidence for the presence of (a type of) Hittite speaking population within the bend of the Kızıl İrmak in the Colony period may be the Hittite place name Suppliliya "sacred pool".⁶⁶ In view of the fact that Hittite speakers were found to live in an originally Hattian area, Alp (1997: 40) concluded that the Hittites must have formed a majority already in the Colony period.

A connected issue is the use of the ethnonym *nawa um* (further see section 8). As it is the only term used by the Assyrians to refer to non-Assyrians, it seems reasonable to take this word as referring to *all* the natives of Central Anatolia, irrespective of their linguistic and cultural background. Not only are the *nawa um* the only trade associates of Boğazköy texts predate a destruction layer which is most likely (but not certainly) caused by the devastating attack of Anita on Hattusa (as recounted in KBo 3.22 rev. 45-51).⁶⁷ Since this could mean that Hattus was not yet "Hittitized" by the time the archives came into being (as the name Hattus itself probably testifies, see above), we have again more support for the view that the *nawa um* are just the natives of Central Anatolia.

In all, there is no positive evidence to restrict *nawa um* to either Luwians, Hittites, or community in Hattian lands. Nevertheless, the other facts mentioned above support the view that these language communities were already present in Hattian lands before the Hittite conquests.

⁶⁴ Spelled *A-am-ku-wa* in TMH 1, 2b: 27.

⁶⁵ See Klinger 1996: 190-191 with references to older literature in fn. 266.

⁶⁶ The Cuneiform Luwian words for "pure, sacred" are *halāl(i)* (Melchert 1993: 46) and *kumma-* (Melchert 1993: 108).

⁶⁷ See for example BIN 6, 59: 23 ("turn them into money") *lu tup-pu ha-ru-mu-tum ū* sa merchants or on *nawa um* (...)" (see CAD A 306, *arrunu b).

⁶⁸ KBo 9.5: 6, 17, 18 (Dercksen 2001: 54 n. 81), found in level IV (corresponding to Kültepe level Ib). The *nawa um* mentioned in lines 12 and 13 lived in Kaneš.

⁶⁹ OIP 27, 12: 5, 12 (Dercksen 2001: 48 n. 48) and OIP 27, 37 rev. 2^o, both level 10 T (corresponding to Kültepe level Ib).

⁷⁰ "But when later it (the city Hattusa) suffered from famine, Halmašu[ti], their deity, relinquished it, and I took it by force at night. [I] sowed[ed] cress on its grounds. § Whoever should become king after me and should resettle Hattusa, may the Stormgod of Heaven smile him!" (see Beckman 2006: 218 for the most recent translation).

7. Who were these 'Indo-Europeans'?

7.1. Hittite speakers?

As noted above, during the shift to Hattian there must have been a period of bilingualism, with borrowing of Hattian features in the language of the subordinate group. Lack of Hattian interference in Nešite Hittite shows that this type of Hittite could not have been the native language of the subordinate Anatolian Indo-European language community. It is still possible though that speakers of a form of proto-Hittite moved into the Hattian domain, whereas others resided in the area to the South and East of the Kızıl Irmak river. Borrowings from Hattian would have led to a form of Hittite which must have been different from attested Nešite Hittite in lexicon, phonology and possibly syntax, but I suppose it would still be recognizable as a kind of Hittite.

Although there is no direct evidence for 'Hattian' Hittite spoken by descendants of proto-Hittite speakers, we actually have an example of a 'Hattian' Hittite text produced by a bilingual individual of Hattian background. Soysal (2000: 113-114) has argued that the Old Hittite oracle text KBo 18.151 shows strong interference from Hattian phonology and morphosyntax. I do not claim that the Hittite language of the subordinate language group would exhibit the same features to the same degree, but it shows what type of interference to expect. In addition, we would probably find strong lexical borrowing from Hattian in non-Nešite proto-Hittite.⁷¹

That we do not find texts of this kind more often in Old Hittite has probably to do with the Nešite Hittite background of the court. Thus, the proto-Hittite speakers might be with the language community we are looking for, but the linguistic evidence to support this is simply not expected to occur.

7.2. Palaiic speakers?

The only language that not only shows direct evidence of Hattian interference⁷² but was also spoken in an area that was culturally, if not politically, dominated by Hattian society, is Palaiic, preserved in a very small corpus of religious texts from the Old Hittite period. Palaiic, mythology, deities and themes in Palaiic texts all point at dominance of Hattian culture. Besides borrowed lexemes, these texts also show signs of phonological interference. Unlike Hittite and Luwian, Palaiic usually preserves /f/ in Hattian loans and interference. Unlike Hittite and Luwian, Palaiic usually preserves /n/ assimilates to /m/ before /p/⁷³, a process which is very well divine names.⁷³ The nasal /n/ assimilates to /m/ before /p/,⁷⁴ a process which is very well

⁷¹ Compare for example the Yiddish and English spoken by a group of bilinguals in the US. The native Yiddish of these bilinguals shows strong borrowing of English lexicon, weak borrowing of phonology, and moderate borrowing from morphosyntax. In their second language English, on the other hand, there is moderate influence in lexicon, and strong influence in both phonology and morphosyntax (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 40).

⁷² See Carruba 1970: 38, 40 and Kammenhuber 1969: 142, 254, 269.

⁷³ Carruba 1970: 38, 40.

known in Hattian, but again absent in Hittite, and rarely attested in Cuneiform Luwian.⁷⁵ I would furthermore like to suggest an interesting case of direct borrowing from Hattian on discourse level: the contrastive coordinator *-pi*, partial equivalent of Hittite *-a/-ma*.⁷⁶

The borrowing of content words and function words, such as *-pi*, and the appearance of new phonemes in loanwords belong to 'slight structural borrowing', category (2) of Thomason and Kaufman's borrowing scale (1988: 74). A completely analogous situation is found for example in Huastec, a Mayan dialect in Mexico. Huastec has borrowed Spanish conjunctions such as *por* 'but', derived from Spanish *pero* and the Spanish borrowing occurs when the contact is slightly more intense than category (1), casual contact.

All this information derives from the earliest Hittite texts. Even though it is likely that Palaiic was already a distinct language in the Colony period, we have no means to mostly due to our lack of knowledge of Palaiic lexemes. However, in Hittite times Palai is located to the north-west of the Kızıl Irmak river, and therefore rather out of reach of the Assyrian trade network. This might mean that Palaiic is simply not or only rarely expected to appear in the Cappadocian documents.

In all, Palaiic seems to be too peripheral to have formed the substrate of Hattian we are looking for.

7.3. Luwian speakers?

If a proto-Luwian language community lies behind the SOV language⁷⁷ that influenced Hattian before the Hittite conquests, we at least need to show that Luwian was already a distinct language in the Colony period, and we would also like to find some evidence of a Hattian-Luwian cultural symbiosis. The Old Assyrian tablets do not provide evidence for the latter, so for a Hattian-Luwian cultural admixture we need to turn to the Old Hittite texts.

The presence of proto-Luwian and proto-Hittite in the early second millennium can be gleaned from the Old Assyrian documents. The following short overview is merely intended to illustrate that proto-Luwian and proto-Hittite are already attested as distinct languages in Anatolia during the Old Assyrian period. For a more elaborate discussion of the Anatolian Indo-European and other languages in the Cappadocian texts one should consult the recent studies of Tischler (1995), Alp (1997), and especially Dercksen (2007).

⁷⁴ Carruba 1970: 41.

⁷⁵ Melchert 2003c: 183.

⁷⁶ For Palaiic *-pi* as a coordinator, see Yakubovich 2005: 119. Whatever Cuneiform Luwian *-pi* might mean (Melchert 1993: 175), it seems difficult to compare it with the Palaiic coordinator.

⁷⁷ Preliminary research shows that Luwian word order phenomena are similar to those established for Hittite. Its basic, or unmarked order is SOV (Melchert 2003c: 200ff.).

Although grammatical information is almost completely absent, the Anatolian onomasticon and a growing collection of loanwords provide evidence for the lexical distinction between proto-Hittite and proto-Luwian. Proto-Hittite loans are the often aduced lexemes *ıshull/ıshullum*, *ispadallum* and *tuzinnum* ("military land/tent")⁷⁸ while Proto-Luwian on the other hand are *ubadinnum* "royal land-grant"⁷⁹ and *targumannum* "interpreter".⁸⁰

Palaic and Palaiac culture play hardly any role in the Old Hittite kingdom and all traces of the language disappear after that. This is different however for Luwian and Luwian culture, as most clearly illustrated in Melchert 2003a. Hattian and Luwian seem to be on a par when it comes to lexical and cultural borrowing. The limited number of Hattian lexical borrowings in Hittite, not more than 30 assured loans, equals the number of Luwian lexical borrowings in Old Hittite. But Luwian itself also borrowed from Hattian: Melchert reckons with parallel loans from Hattian into Hittite and Luwian or from Hattian into Luwian and then into Hittite (Melchert 2003b: 18).

With respect to the religion of the Old Hittite Kingdom, we must recognize a Hittite-Luwian stratum which is closely related to the Hattian stratum (Miller 2004: 442). However, we might even have to assume a Hattian-Luwian stratum if the use of Luwian besides Hattian in the cult recitations may be taken as positive evidence. As Klinger (1996: 91) observes, the language of the cult in the Old Hittite period is Hattian while Hittite is only used in the cult for the pantheon of Kaneš/Nesā. But this is different for Luwian: we find Luwian cult recitations for *Hattian* deities. In a festival for the Stormgod and the Sungoddess of Arinna⁸¹ in other words, in the official state cult for the two supreme deities, these deities are evoked in Luwian with a plea for the well-being of Hattusa and the king. It is also interesting to find a Hittite magical ritual,⁸² probably addressed to Ziparwa, the supreme deity of the Palaic pantheon, with both Luwian and Palaiac incantations (Yakubovich fc.). Luwian religious texts furthermore contain Hattian motifs, again pointing at close contact with Hattian culture (Soyosal 2002a: 331 n. 44). In addition, the indigenous Anatolian Telipinu myth and other related Old Hittite compositions show a mixture of Hattian and Luwian motifs (see for example Haas 2002: 143ff.; Miller 2004: 441, with literature).

The favorable position of Luwian cultural aspects in the Old Kingdom, together with Hattian culture, is also apparent in the ideological and administrative sphere (Melchert 1993: 20; Yakubovich fc.). In the ideological sphere of organized society we find Luwian borrowings in Hittite, such as *nü-* "contentment, satisfaction (?)" and *tumantiya-*

"obedience", in administration and government *ubati*- "demesne, landgrant";⁸³ *tapariy-* "to rule", and most likely *tabarna/tabarna* "the powerful one" and *tawamanna* "the righteous one"⁸⁴ (Melchert 2005: 453).

It should therefore not come as a surprise that several scholars have pointed out that Anatolia at least at the beginning of Hittite history (see for example Soyosal 2002a: 331-332, n. 44; Haas 2002: 146; Hutter 2003: 214-215). Carruba (1992) uses onomastic evidence and the ethnonym *nuswa'um* "Luwians" to support the presence of Luwians in Central Anatolia in the Colony period. Finally, a local Luwian homeland in Central Yakubovich fc.

But does this all mean that a form of proto-Luwian is the language that has Anatolia may also be the result of a joint migration in the wake of either the Anita or, that shows lexical and possibly structural borrowing from Hattian as an accompanying phenomenon. But even though we have some Luwian texts, the Istanuwian festival songs⁸⁵ composed in the 16th-early 15th centuries BCE, that represent the language of a local language community instead of the court vernacular, the situation is hardly better thinking of Hattian interference.

There is however other, unexpected supportive linguistic evidence. As noted above in section 5, possibly bilingual descendants of the speakers of the Indo-European SOV language we are looking for might switch to Nesište Hittite after the conquests. In case of Hatusili I / Muršili I period and at some point after that it would have influenced the post-written language as well. Rieken (2006) recently investigated the nature of Hittite-Luwian language contacts and showed how structural influence from Luwian starts in Old Hittite, but gains real momentum in Middle Hittite.⁸⁶ If Hittite starts to be structurally influenced by Luwian in Old Hittite, then there must have been a large contingent of speakers of Luwian in the area of Hattusa.

These language facts might also be compatible with another socio-linguistic model: that of Luwian speakers arriving with the Hittite conquerors. But then we must accept several additional assumptions: 1. Before the conquests proto-Luwian speakers did not have much contact with proto-Hittite speakers, certainly not in a subordinate position (a

⁷⁸ See Dercksen 2004: 147-150. Cappadocian *tuzinnum* refers to land belonging to a house that is tied with a service obligation. The possibly military character of this service obligation may provide the semantic link with Hittite *tuzzi-* "army, army-camp" (2004: 148, 155).

⁷⁹ See Dercksen 2004: 150-154 for a discussion of *ubadinnum* in context.

⁸⁰ See Starke 1993.

⁸¹ KUB 35.133 (CTH 772, OH/13^b c. copy), ed. Starke 1985: 278ff.

⁸² KBo 8.74 + KBo 19.156 + KBo 39.174 + KUB 32.16 + KUB 32.117 + KUB 35.93 (CTH 752A, OH/OS), translit. Neu 1980: 220ff., without the joins KBo 39.174 and KUB 32.16.

⁸³ For a discussion of *ubati* see Melchert 2004: 373.

⁸⁴ See fn. 21.

⁸⁵ Edited by Starke 1985: 294-304. On 'Istanuwian' as a dialect of Luwian, see Melchert 2003c: 174-175. For a discussion of the Istanuwian cult, see Hutter 2003: 239-243. These cultic texts are associated with the city Istanuwia, location still unknown. I find it tempting to analyze this name as a thematized form of Istanau, an already Hittitized/Luwianized form of the Hattian Sungoddess Eštan. On Istanu and other spellings see Van Gessel 1998: 205-206 (with references).

⁸⁶ See especially Rieken 2006: 281.

long period of contact would allow perfect language learning); 2. After the conquests the large Luwian language community would be subordinate to a smaller Hittite language community, allowing imperfect learning of Hittite; 3. This large population group must have replaced the existing Hattian-SOV language community to a large extent, otherwise we would have found linguistic interference from the Hattian-SOV language community; 4. Yet, it is Hattian high culture which is adopted by the Hittites.

To conclude, the linguistic, cultural and political facts seem more easily explained by a pre-conquest merger of proto-Hattian and proto-Luwian language communities than by a pre-invading Luwian-Hittite language community replacing a Hattian and, for example, Palaeic language community.

8. Concluding remarks and a final word on the *nuwa'um*

While I am quite certain about the lack of influence of Hattian on Hittite and the typological disruption of Hattian, there is no direct evidence that the latter was caused by one of the Anatolian Indo-European languages. Still, what other options do we have? And even though Thomason and Kaufman's framework of contact-induced language change is well-supported, applying it to an already hypothetical contact situation does not make the hypothesis less hypothetical.

However, I believe that we have enough evidence for a cultural merger of Hattian and Luwian elements already in the Old Hittite kingdom. Even though it is possible that the Hittites were the mediators for this merger, it is not unlikely that a Hattian-Luwian symbiosis was the result of direct contact before the conquests of Labarna and Hattusili I. Combining this with the typological disruption of Hattian by an SOV language and the influence that Luwian exerted on Old and especially Middle Hittite, I conclude that a form of Luwian is the most likely source for the change of Hattian as well.

To return to an old but related issue: does the ethnonym *nuwa'um* refer originally to the proto-Luwians?⁸⁷ I believe with Carruba (1992) that it does. The *nische*-formation is necessarily based on a geographical noun base **Nuwa-* < **Liuwa-*⁸⁸ instead of Luviya, but, as Carruba shows, this is not an important obstacle. Alp (1997: 47) argued against the Carruba's thesis, because according to him the Hittites formed the majority of the population. It would therefore be unlikely that the Assyrians would refer to the Hittites as Luwians, while they themselves used *nesilli* for their language. However, Alp did not distinguish between self-designation (speakers of *nesilli*) and other-designation (*nuwa'um*).⁸⁹ Furthermore, as Carruba already argued, if the designation *nuwa'um* is the external reference to the inhabitants of Central Anatolia, at least in Assyrian sources, this could very well be because the Assyrians first met the Luwiens in the third millennium,

⁸⁷ We should discard Edzard's analysis of *nuwa'um* as 'those who say *mu*' (1989). As noted in section 3, the sentence connective *mu* became near obligatory only in Middle Hittite. In Old Hittite the Hittites also started their sentences with *ta* and *su* (+ enclitics).

⁸⁸ For the alternation *n/l* see Carruba 1992: 255-256.

⁸⁹ One only need to refer to the self-designation 'Nederlanders' versus the other-designation 'Dutch'.

possibly through the mediation of the Hurrians (who turn initial *l-* into *n-*), before extending the term to the autochthonous population of Central Anatolia. We might now add that the use of the term *nuwa'um* could easily be extended to all the natives of Anatolia because the proto-Luwians were probably everywhere where the Assyrians went.

So, in my view, who did the Assyrians meet, and what language did those people speak? Within the bend of the Kizil Irmak river we find the proto-Hittians, merged with this Luwian dialect might still have been influenced by a Luwian dialect, and of the Hattian-Luwian zone we probably find the Palaeans, in the periphery of the trade 'Hattian' Luwians to the North, by the independent, unassimilated proto-Luwians with their own dialects further to the South and to the West, and by the proto-Hurrians to the East, the proto-Hittites focus their attention on Kültepe, on the brink of expansion.

But to the Assyrians it was all the same: the population groups that participated in their trade network in Central Anatolia were simply the *nuwa'um*.

APPENDIX: WORD ORDER COUNTS FOR HATTIAN

The following table presents the counts on the word order sequences in transitive and intransitive clauses in Hattian. The counts are based on the following texts: KBo 37.1, KBo 37.9 + KBo 37.74, KBo 37.49 (only rev. 13'-19'), KUB 2.2 + KUB 48.1, KUB 24.14, KUB 28.4, KUB 28.6, VBoT 126. Not all clauses were counted, mostly because of interpretational difficulties. Capitals indicate lexically expressed words, roman type marks verbal prefixes.

		TRANSITIVE CLAUSES	(subj)totals
V-final			4
with expressed subject			
SOV		3	
SXOV		1	
without subject	expressed		4
XOV		2	
OXV		2	
V-initial			7
with expressed subject			
VOS		2	
VSO		3	
Vo S		1	

Vox S		1
without subject	expressed	
VXO		1
VOX		3
VO		38
Vo		5
VoX		3
V-medial		
OVX		1
		50
		66
 TRANSITIVE CLAUSES		
V-final		
with expressed subject		20
SV		12
XSV		3
SXV		4
S Adv V Adv		1
without subject	expressed	
SVs		3
		3
V-initial		
with expressed subject		7
VS		6
VSX		1
without subject	expressed	
VX		1
		1
		31

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HURRIANS IN THE KÜLTEPE TEXTS

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There is general agreement that those parts of the Fertile Crescent which were settled earliest by Hurrian-speaking populations were the north-eastern Jazira and northern Assyria. They are well-attested in the eastern Jazira and in Assyria as early as the Akkadian period. It has been traditional belief that the Hurrians were "mountain-dwellers", living in the Eastern Taurus and Northern Zagros ranges and beyond, before they entered the plains. Recently, however, new arguments were presented which support the view that Hurrians had participated in the culture, institutions and interactions of the Ancient Near East for hundreds of years before they appear in written documentation; Giorgio Urkès shows a continuity of permanent use from the Nineveh 5 period to the end of the third millennium BC and concluded that Hurrians had lived there since the beginning of the third millennium at the latest.¹ This hypothesis coincides well with this writer's argument that Hurrian anthroponyms points at a long "Sprachbund" situation between Hurrian and ancient Semitic languages, because Hurrian shares a certain type of sentence-names with Akkadian, Amorite and Canaanite. The important point is that the Hurrian sentence-names place the finite verbal form in the initial position, as is the case with including the oldest ones is the final position (at least if not topicalized).²

It is also considered common knowledge that there were movements which implied a westward shift of the Hurrian language, i.e. to south-central Anatolia, to northern and however, when exactly this happened. A safe, though not very exact *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of the Hurrian language in regions west of the upper Euphrates is provided by texts from Kültepe, Mari and Alalah VII, and the late pre-Sargonic period texts from Ebla mark the *terminus post quem* at least for a significant part of northern Syria.

Not all the Hurrian names in Kültepe texts can be used for defining the linguistic status of Hurrian in the west. Assyria itself borders Hurrian-speaking areas, and Assyrians

¹ G. Buccellati - M. Kelly-Buccellati, "Das archäologische Projekt Tell Mozan/Urkès", *MDOG* 131 (1999) 7-16, esp. 12, 14.

² G. Wilhelm, "Name. Namengebung. Bei den Hurriten", *RIA* 9, 1998-2001, 122 § 3.1 (with some reserve).

operating in Anatolia may have born Hurrian names, or they may otherwise be related to Assyrians with Hurrian names.³

The first question that has to be answered is: Which names in the Old Assyrian texts from Anatolia can safely be identified as Hurrian? In this respect we should use rigorous criteria that guarantee the exclusion of linguistically insufficiently defined names.

Patterns of Hurrian Names from Kültepe Tablets

Typical Hurrian names of the well-known sentence-name type like Ar=i=p—Teššob “Teššob gave (it, i.e. the child)” with a finite verbal form in initial position are extremely rare at Kültepe.⁴

Here are some examples:

Ag=a-b—S̄e ⁵	A-ga-ab-s̄e EL 91, A: 12, B: 1	“The Brother-numen ⁶ ascended”
Nan=i=b—Adal	Na-ni-bo-tal I 753; 4	“The Strong One” ...-ed (it)
Nan=i=b—Sari	Na-ni-bu-LUGAL TCL IV 33: 10	“The (divine) king” ...-ed (it)
FAr=i=(m-b)—Muža ⁷	WA-ri-mu-sa CCT 5, 39c: 7	“The Legitimate One” ...-ed (ii)
Haz=i=(m-b)—Nawar	Ha-si-im-na-wa-war KTS 2, 29; 9 ⁸	“Nawar listened” ⁹

³ J. G. Dercksen, *The Old Assyrian Copper Trade in Anatolia* (PIHANS 75), Istanbul-Leiden 1996, 163 with fins. 508f. refer to the father of an Assyrian merchant (Nubar-Sari) and to an Assyrian limmu (Ariš-dal-Sari).

⁴ P. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, Paris 1963, 155-158. E. Laroche deliberately did not include Hurrian names from Kültepe texts in *Les noms des Hittites*, Paris 1966 (see p. 9). In 1977 A. Kammenhuber published and discussed her own – reduced – list of Hurrian names from Kültepe sources: “Die Arier im Vorderen Orient und die historischen Wohnsitze der Hurriter”, *Or 46* (1977) 129-144, esp. 142f.

⁵ Short form of Ag=a-b—S̄enni.

⁶ Kinship terms in Hurrian personal names take the same position as divine names in theophoric personal names. Contrary to the normal use of kinship terms they are not a-stems (like *sənə* “brother”, *ela* “sister”, *sala* “daughter”, *məna* “female twin”(?)), but regularly carry the so-called “individualizing” suffix -ni (*sənni*, *elli*, *sallı*, *memni*). For the interpretation as *numina* of relationship see Wilhelm, *RdA* 9, 124f., § 3.1.7.

⁷ Parallel form to FAr=i=m—Muža, cf. Nuzi: *WA-ri-im-mu-uš-ni* AdS 45:20, 46:25, 47:6, 25:13, 41, 97, 258:25. The root could be *fur* “to see” or *fir* “to solve”. For the alteration *muža* / *mužni* cf. the examples given in fn. 6, and cf. *tiza* / *tizni* “heart”, *paba* / *pabni* “mountain”, also a-stems with honorificum -v *alla-i* “lady, queen!” *Alloni* (name of the queen of the Netherworld), *atta-i* / *attani* “father”, *ışta-i* / *ıştan(n)i* “warrior, hero”.

⁸ V. Donbaz, *Klekschriftexte in den Antiken-Museen zu Stambul II* (FAOS Bl. 2), Stuttgart 1989, 55 and 120: delete -na. The name has already been mentioned by E. Bilgic, “Die Ortsnamen der kapadokischen Urkunden im Rahmen der alten Sprachen Anatoliens”, *AfO* 15 (1945-1951) 1-37, esp. 27. The beater of the name is a scribe at Hürfa(m)a.

⁹ Delete the entry “Hasim” in Kh. Nashef, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altassyrischen Zeit* (RGTC 4), Wiesbaden 1991, 56.

HURRIANS IN THE KÜLTEPE TEXTS

Another group of Hurrian names consists of nominal sentences. There are four subgroups:

(1) A noun and an adjective or a second noun without additional elements:

Arašsig—adal	A-ra-si-ha-tal cK 440: 33 ¹⁰	“The Tigris is strong”
Ervé—šarri	Er-wc-LUGAL TC 3, 276: 14, 19	“The Lord is the (divine) king”
Evari—muža	[E-wa-r]i-mu-ša 1 666: 5	“Ewari is legitimate”

(2) A noun and an adjective connected by the morpheme /n/ which has to be explained as the well-known shortened form of the enclitic pronoun of the 3rd ps. sg. *-mna!*¹¹

Kubi—n—adal	Ku-bi-na-tal TC 3, 91: 49 ¹²	“Kubi is strong”
Tidi—n—adal	Ti-ti-na-tal EL 1: 2, 248: 3, išk 132; 9 ¹³ ; 1, 751: 16, TPAK 2: 9, 21b; 6 ¹⁴ , 143: 7	“Tidi is strong”

(3) A noun and an adjective connected by the morpheme /m/:

Evri—m—adal	Eb-ri-ma-da-al g/k 188: 4 ¹⁵	“The Lord is strong”
Evari—m—adal	E-wa-ri-ma-da-al cK 305: 9 ¹⁶	“Evari is strong”
Šim(i)ge—m—adal ¹⁷	Ši-im-ge-ma-tal cK 101: 2, Ši-im-ge-ma-tal cK 357: 2f.	“The Sungod is strong”
Šim(i)ge—m—Ad(d)u (?)	Ši-im-ki-ma-du, cK 277: 5, 29, Ši-im-ki-ma-dim (gen.) cK 277: 1	“The sun is Addu”(?) ¹⁸

¹⁰ Quoted by Balkan, *OLZ* 60 (1965) 148 fn. 1; Dercksen, *The Old Assyrian Copper Trade*, 163 fn. 508.

¹¹ Wilhelm, *RdA* 9, 124, § 3.1.5.

¹² Quoted by Balkan, *OLZ* 60, 148 fn. 1.

¹³ Quoted by Balkan, *OLZ* 60, 148 fn. 1.

¹⁴ Quoted by Balkan, *OLZ* 60, 148 fn. 1.

¹⁵ Quoted by Balkan, *OLZ* 60, 148 fn. 1; Dercksen, *The Old Assyrian Copper Trade*, 163 fn. 508.

¹⁶ Cf. Šimig(a)—adal at Nuzi, *passim*.

¹⁷ As in Akkadian (*šamšu*, *šamaš*), Hurrian uses the word for sun as a normal noun and as the name of the Sun-god, as is shown by the “article” /ne/ that is absent at names except in cases in which the name is understood as an appellative. The name might imitate the Akkadian Šamši in Adad and the Amorite Samsi-Addu, though the Hurrian name does not contain a possessive suffix of the 1st ps. sg.

This morpheme /m/ has not been defined so far. It may, however, be connected with the suffix *-me/-ma*, if this is indeed an enclitic personal pronoun 3rd ps. sg.¹⁸ *-me/-ma* is rarely attested in the Mitanī letter and restricted to a position following clause-initial conjunctions. Its definition as a pronoun 3rd ps. sg. has been strengthened by the identification of the independent pronoun of the 3rd ps. *manī* (sg.) and *man=zz-* (pl.).¹⁹

(4) I would like to suggest here that the hitherto unexplained archaic personal names of the structure <noun+*am*->²⁰ contain this same enclitic pronoun -*m*, following a noun in the essive case. The essive case has a wide variety of functions. One of them is illustrated by the example *tapasgāl(i)m-a* "as/like a cupbearer".²¹ Examples are:

Habiri(i) — a — m “He is like a Habiri”

Habirum is attested in an Old Akkadian text from Tell Brak.¹⁷ T. J. Gelb refers to the same name without the final -m in the Nuzi texts.¹⁸ The drop of the final -m might be compared with the widespread loss of the 3rd ps. sg. verbal ending -m of Old Hurrian in the Late Bronze Age. Thus, the restricted use of the pronominal suffix -me/-ma might also be explained as the result of obsolescence.

Explanations as the result of
Stern's (1924) "He is like a brother"

¹⁸ This is the view of E. A. Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian* (AASOR 20), New Haven 1941, 186f., § 217; I. M. Diakoff, *Hurrisch und Urartäisch*, München 1971, 108; M. L. Chakfayan, *Čuertiszt i urartjskij jazyk*, Erevan 1985, 82; I. Wegner, *Hurritisch. Eine Einführung*, Wiesbaden 2000, 62. Miiorogiert, "Schizzi grammaticale della lingua hurrica," *La Parola del passato* 55 (2000) 220. Different opinions were expressed by L. Messerschmidt, *Mitanni-Studien* (MVAG 1899/4), Berlin 1899, 55; A. Goetze, *JCS* 2 (1948) 257-259; F. W. Bush, *A Grammar of the Hurrian Language*, Dissertation Brandeis University 1964, 255.

¹⁹ Sg. Ch. Girbal apud I. Wegner, "Die selbständigen Personalpronomina des Hurritischen", *SMEA* 29 (1992) 234f., Pl.; Wegner, *SMEA* 29, 233, eadem, "Hurritische Verba dicendi mit absolutiver Absolutiv-Rektion", *AoF* 21 (1994) 169.

²⁵ See also J. H. Gall, *Hurrians and Subarians* (SAOC 22), Chicago 1944, 115.

¹² See already J. Gehr, *Hittitische Könige und Herrscher* (1998) 11–12; KBo 32, 13 obv, i 29, translated into Hittite as ¹³SAGI-*aq iwar* "like a cupbearer", s. M. Giorgieri, "Beiträge zu den hurrithitischen Texten aus Bogazkale", in: P. Taracha (ed.), *Silva Anatolica* (F. Popkók, Warsaw 2002, 111 with fn. 10, Cf. also *eborn(i)*=KBo 32, 20, obv 14; "as king", see G. Wilhelm, "Die Könige von Ebla nach der hurrithitisch-hethitischen Freilegung", *AfA* 24 (1997) 227–293, esp. 291, accepted by Giorgieri, *Parola del passato* 55, 218; *sug(i)-a* as (the only one), see G. Wilhelm, "MiHn no. 9-1; Mit IV 52", *SCCNH* 9 (1998) 181–185, esp. 183.

²² *Ha-bi-ra-am*, see C. J. Gadd, *Iraq* 7 (1940) 42.

²³ Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 54, fn 37. For attestations see I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves, A. A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names* (OIP 57), Chicago 1943, 55.

²⁵ Sennam is attested as early as the late reign of Šulgi²⁴ and later appears as the name of a king of Urš,²⁵ a contemporary of Zimilim of Mari (Zimilim's name of *šimim-ur*?). It is also known from Chagar Bazar.²⁶

Puśham is attested on a seal found at Uda.²²

In the Kültepe texts the name Hubid(i)=a=m "Hubid" appears as a personal name of individuals:

Hu-bi₄-da-am EL 82; 21
Hu-bi₄-da-am EL 82; 21

With Akkadian nominative ending: *Hu-bi₄-da-am* CCT 1, 9b; 21
Hu-bi₄-da CCT 1, 9b; 21

Hu-bi-dum VS 26, 32: 18

Ou-bi-dum FAOS Bh. 3, 87

Jubidam is attested several times during the U-^m
follow an archaic

³⁰ During the Ur III period. Evidently, the names in -*su* follow an archaic pattern of name formation.

Many other names attested in Old Assyrian texts from Anatolia that have been considered Hurrian, are too short for a sound judgement. Their linguistic background remains in the dark; some of them presumably belong to non-Indo-European Anatolian languages, others to non-Semitic and non-Sumerian languages which left their traces in the anthroponymy of early Assyria. The evidence may be summarized by stating that (1) unambiguously Hurrian names are very rare, and that (2) they display archaic features with better parallels in the Ur III and Man periods than in Late Bronze Age sources.

²⁴ Şé-en-nam M. Çığ - H. Kızılıy - A. Salonen, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Puzrîs-Dagan metinleri, kısım I: No. I-725 / Die Puzrîs-Dagan-Texte der Istanbuler Archäologischen Museen Teil I, Nrr. I-725*, Helsinki 1954, 29f. no. 79-3.

²⁵ *Se-na-am* A. 3412: 6, 14 = ARM 23, 447f, no. 524 (with older lit.); *Se-en-nam* A. 1264+; 1 = ARM 31, 458-463, no. 161; without the final *-m*: *Se-en-na* ARM 25, 10, no. 23.

¹⁴ Ph. Talon, *Old Babylonian Texts from Chagar Bazar* (Akkadica Suppl. 10), Brussels 1991 [Se-na-am no. 12 rev. iii 15; Se-en-am no. 81 rev. iii 23 and no. 82 rev. iii 21, Se-na-am no. 8 rev. iii 10. For hand copies see O. Loretz, *Texte aus Chagar Bazar und Tell Brak*, Tell I (AOA 3), Kevelaer / Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969] (Talon no. 12 = Loretz no. 7 rev. iii 17, Talon no. 81 = Loretz no. 42 rev. iii 16. Talon no. 88 = Loretz no. 45, iii 16-17, Talon no. 89 = Loretz no. 46, iii 16-17).

²⁷ *Pu-uš-ša₁₀-am*, see K. Volk, "Beschriftete Objekte aus Tall Mozan/Urkes". *MDOG* 1 (2004) 87-101, esp. 88f. 91, 93.

²⁸ P. Michalowski, "The Raid," 62.

²⁹ I. Michałowski, "The Bride of Simanum", *JAO* 95 (1975) 716-719.
 For more examples from the Ur III and OB periods and a note on -am see already
 I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, Chicago 1944, 115. There seems to be an attestation also from
 the eastern fringes of the Hurrian world: *Ni-bi-ram-am*, see J. Eidem - J. Læsøe, *The Shenshadu
 Archives, vol. I: The Letters*, 2001, no. 64; 5. 33.

³⁰ R. Zadok, "Hurrians as well as Individuals Bearing Hurrian and Strange Names Sumerian Sources", in: *kinattū řā dārāti. Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume* (Tel Aviv Occasional Publications 1), Tel Aviv 1993, 229.

There is no reason to assume that in Kanes and its vicinity Hurrian was a language spoken by the indigenous population.

The letter Kt k/k 4

A special case is constituted by some tablets found at Kültepe that contain an unusually large number of Hurrian personal names and a Hurrian place name. The letter Kt k/k 4 was published by Karl Hecker, and related material was identified by Cécile Michel, Klaas Veenhof and Salih Çeçen.³¹ As Hecker demonstrated, the letter deviates in many respects from the Old Assyrian tablets found at Kārum Kānes. Michael Guichard referred to a Mari text written at Ugarit, which according to him shows similarities with the script of Kt k/k 4.³²

The letter was sent by a certain Eblī-Addu to one Unap-Še; both, the sender and the addressee bear Hurrian names. The addressee Unap-Še evidently lived in Kārum Kānes where the letter was found in 1959.³³ According to Hecker it is likely that it comes from Alalah Level Ib.

Eblī-Addu is the oldest attestation of a name which frequently appears in the tablets from Alalah Level VII. Hecker says that the exact place from which Eblī-Addu wrote his letter cannot be detected, but he thinks it has to be looked for in northern Syria. The question deserves more discussion, and we will try to give a closer definition of the area where Eblī-Addu and his witnesses were operating.

The sender of the letter apparently urges the addressee, Unap-Še, to pay back a long-term loan of silver. In this context the sender says:

- (8) ... ū̄m̄ma lā tašappar-ma
 (7) kīma ū̄ Tunip kaspī⁽⁸⁾ īna māt Kuzzi ū̄⁽⁹⁾ ītēneppešū ippeš

Hecker translated this passage the following way:

„Wenn du nicht schreibst, so wird, wie Tunip mein Silber im Land Kuzzi zu behandeln pflegt, er(es') handeln.“
 (“If you do not write, he(it') will act, as Tunip uses to deal with my silver in the land of Kuzzi.”)

³¹ See K. Hecker, „Zur Herkunft der hethitischen Keilschrift“, *SCCNH* 8 (1996) 291–303 (first published in Turkish and German in: *Uluslararası 1. Hittitoloji Kongresi bildirileri* (19-21 Temmuz 1990), [Çorum 1992], 43–63).

³² M. Guichard, *NABU* 2003 no. 7, and in: *La vaisselle de luxe des rois de Mari* (ARM 31), Paris 2005, 456ff. with fn. 182.

³³ For a new attestation of the name see I. Albayrak, *Kültepe Tabletleri* 4, Ankara 2006, 78, no. 34: 23.

If Tunip is correctly identified with the middle-Syrian city of this name,³⁴ well-documented in Late Bronze Age texts, the trade connections of Eblī-Addu extend far to the South, even south of Ebla whose ruler and whose merchants are attested at Kanes.³⁵ Perhaps the city of Tunip is even Eblī-Addu's base and acts in his support; in this case the enigmatic passage may be interpreted in the following way: If the capital that Eblī-Addu invested in Kanes is not returned, the city of Tunip will protect its citizen's interest in the same way as it did in Kuzzi.

During the Amarna period, the elders of Tunip use Hurrian glosses in their letter to king of Tunip before the Hittite takeover bears the Hurian or – like Eblī-Addu³⁶ – semi-Hurian name Agī(i)-Tešub / Addu (A-ki)-iSKUR, 18. If Eblī-Addu is indeed from Tunip, his name supports the view that the Hurrian language spread up the Orontes valley as early as the early Middle Bronze period.

The witnesses mentioned in the letter Kt k/k 4, 10-14 are:

- (10) IGI ū̄-šū-ku pā-ar-ku-li
 (11) IGI A-mi-hé-pā ū̄ sa Qā-ta-ar
 (12) IGI Du-hu-uš-ma-ti⁽¹³⁾ ū̄ ū̄ ha-ra-na
 (14) IGI J-h-a ū̄ ū̄ Si-bu-ju⁽¹⁴⁾ ū̄-we

In the following two lines these witnesses are defined as witnesses of the town of Hašsum:

- (15) ū̄-bu an-nu-mu⁽¹⁵⁾ ū̄ ū̄ a-lim ū̄-a-š-ši

Hecker takes ū̄bū annūtūm as a nominative pends functioning as direct object of the following phrase (*inā harrāni aštanpar-ma kaspī lā tušabba*) and translates:

„Diese Zeugen aus der Stadt Haššu schreibe ich immer wieder mit der Karawane, ohne daß du mein Silber schickst.“³⁷

(“These witnesses from the city of Haššu I write with the caravan again and again, without your sending my silver.”)

³⁴ H. Klengel, “Tunip und andere Probleme der historischen Geographie Mittelsyriens”, in: K. van Lerberghe – A. Schoors, *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East. Hethitischen Reiches* (HdO 1 34), Leiden 1999, 52, fn. 92, the name of king Tunip-Tešub of Tiguanna does not contain the name of the city as its first element; rather, to/un=ib is a verbal form, presumably “(Tešub) has enabled(?)”.

³⁵ For attestations and literature see Nashef, RGTC 4, 38.

³⁶ For the first element of this name see G. Wilhelm, “Zu den hurritischen Namen der Kültepe-Tafel kt k/k 4”, *SCCNH* 8 (1996) 335–343, esp. 339–342.

³⁷ Hecker, *SCCNH* 8, 294.

Deviating from Heckers translation, it seems preferable to interpret ll. 15f. as a nominal sentence:

"These are the witnesses of the city of Haššum."

The following sentence does not need an object, because it focuses on the verbal action, namely sending repeatedly (in vain). I translate:

"I am constantly sending (a message) with a caravan, but you do not dispatch my silver."

The first witness, Sušku, is only identified by his profession (*parkullu* "stone carver"); it is difficult to connect his name with any language; Hurrian, however, is not excluded, because the name could be interpreted as a negative intransitive verbal form (R-o=kko).

The second witness, who bears the West-Semitic name 'Ammi-Heba ("My Uncle"³⁸ is Heba"), is said to be a citizen from *Qa-ta-an* which Hecker correctly identifies with Qatna in the middle Orontes valley.

The third witness bears a name that is presumably Semitic. The first element seems to be a construct form of *dulšu*, a word that appears in Duḥšatūm, a name of several women in the Mari texts.³⁹ Duḥš-mati is identified as *sa ha-ra-ni*. Hecker discusses the question whether this means "of the caravan" or "of (the city) of Harran" and argues for the first option. Kh. Nashev, however, opts for the place-name because of the other place-names.⁴⁰ Identifying a person as "from the caravan" is indeed not very specific.

The last witness who bears an Akkadian hypocoristic name is said to be from a place named Sibuhuliwe.

This place-name Sibuhuliwe deserves further discussion. It belongs to the wide-spread type of Hurrian toponyms in the genitive, abundantly used in the kingdom of Arappa, but also attested elsewhere. Morphologically the name follows the pattern of terms of profession ending in -*uhuli* like *mardanuhuli* "mardanu-textile-worker" or *puarkulluhuli* "stone cutter" typical of the Hurrian of Alalah; in other parts of the Hurrian-speaking world the ending is -*uhlu*.⁴¹ In the case of Sibuhuliwe, however, I would suggest a connection with the place name *sibuhu*.⁴² *Sibuhu* is attested twice as a nisbe – *sibuhayāsum*, akk. *sibuhaiyam* – in the letter of Anum-Hirbi, king of Mama, to Warsama of Kanes. It is a small state under the supremacy of

³⁸ For the use of this term in connection with the name of a goddess, see M. Streck, *Das amurritische Onomastikon der althethyschen Zeit* (AOAT 272/1), Münster 2000, 265, fn. 2 (Ammi-Anat).

³⁹ M. Birot – J.-R. Kupper – O. Rouault, *Répertoire analytique: Noms propres* (ARM 16/1), Paris 1979, 87.

⁴⁰ Nashev, RGTC 4, 51f.

⁴¹ For a morphological and semantic interpretation of these endings, see G. Wilhelm, „Hurritische Berufsbezeichnungen auf -li“, SMEA 29 (1992) 239–244.

Anum-Hirbi,⁴³ which is – according to the context of the letter – situated close to the border of Warsama's realm.

What does it mean that these men of different origins are the witnesses "of the city of Haššum"? The most likely interpretation is that, despite their varying origins, they lived in the

Haššum, its location and its ruler

Haššum does not appear in the Kültepe tablets as a place touched by Assyrian merchants. It seems, however, that merchants of other areas visited the city, and some of them – like the Gerrit Derecken mentions a "Babylonian merchant, presumably from Sippar" who went to Haššum;⁴⁴ this also shows that Haššum was an important place in long-distance trade.

In the time of Zimilim of Mari, the king of Haššum was Anum-Hirbi⁴⁵ who has been identified with Anu-Harwi of Zalwar⁴⁶ and Anum-Hirbi of Mama.⁴⁷ On the basis of this identification some authors proposed to identify Mama with Haššum.⁴⁸ Jared L. Miller, Marasj and Göksun and supports this position by pointing at the lance- or arrowheads inscribed with the name of Anum-Hirbi and allegedly found at the village of Hasançuk in the

⁴² Warsama calls Sibuhu's ruler "your servant" (IR-ra-ad-kā), Anum-Hirbi himself calls him "my dog" (kā-al-bi).

⁴³ Derecken, *The Old Assyrian Copper Trade*, 163, quoting Abb 12, no. 51.

⁴⁴ *a-na A-ni-is-hu-ur-bi* LUGAL Ha-as-i-im⁴⁹ ARM 25, 10f., no. 14: 2, 9 (for the reading see J.-M. Durand, "Rois de Syre du Nord", *NABU* 1988, 2f., no. 2, who quotes a further variant of [ni]-is-hu-ur-bi] in support of a man who is travelling *a-na Ha-as-i*⁵⁰ M.7536 (S. M. Maul, "Die Korrespondenz des Iasim-Sütmü. Ein Nachtrag zu ARM XIII 25-27", in: D. Charpin – J.-M. (Mémoires de NABU 3), Paris 1994, 29).

⁴⁵ *a-na A-ni-hu-or-wi* LUGAL Za-al-wa-ar⁵¹ ARM 22/1, 268, no. 151: 29f.; MU.TU A-ni-is-hu-ur-bi LUGAL Za-ar-wa-ar⁵² ARM 25, 10, no. 25: 1; M. Guichard, "La conquête de Haššum par le roi de Zarwar", *NABU* 1993, 46f., no. 54, suggests that the king of Zarwar became king of Haššum by conquest.

⁴⁶ M. Forlanini, "Remarques géographiques sur les textes cappadoxiens", *Hethitica* 6 (1985) 55; J. L. Miller, "Anum-Hirbi and His Kingdom", *AoF* 28 (2001) 65–101, esp. 68–70.

⁴⁷ For bibliography see Miller, *AoF* 28, 81; see now M. Forlanini, "Quelques notes sur la géographie historique de la Cilicie", in: E. Jean e.a. (edd.), *La Cilicie: Espaces et pouvoirs locaux (2^e millénaire av. J.-C. – 4^e siècle ap. J.-C.). Actes de la Table ronde internationale d'Istanbul, 2-5 novembre 1999*, Istanbul 2001, 555f.; the author defends his position (identity of Haššum and Mama, location in the region of Marasj) against M. Astour, "Haššu and Haswan. A Contribution in North Syrian History and Geography", *UF* 29 (1997) 1–66, who identifies Haššum with Tilmen Höyük (p. 15) and places Mama far towards the northwest of Marasj (p. 54f.).

⁴⁸ Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, 108.

vicinity of Maras.⁴⁹ When visiting the area of Gaziantep in 1970, A. Archi, P. E. Peccorella and M. Salvini thought the impressive höyük of Araban might be Haşsum.⁵⁰ J. L. Miller with good reasons prefers a location somewhat further to the South, but in any case in the area of Gaziantep, not Maras.⁵¹

The letter Kt k/k 4 suggests that trade with Kaneš during the Kārum Ib period was not completely in the hands of merchants from Assyria, but that merchants from Anum-Hirbi's kingdom of Mama, Hašsum and Zarpar – the direct neighbour of the kingdom of Kaneš – also participated in this trade. It is true that the letter of Anum-Hirbi refers to a situation of diplomatic irritation when the king of Kaneš – or more precisely his vassal, the ruler of Taššama – took advantage of a military defeat of Anum-Hirbi, but the letter also refers to peaceful relations during the time of Waršama's father Inar.

Haşsum – an early centre of Hurrian language and culture?

The names Anum-Hirwi and Anis-Hurwi were considered Hurrian already by the editor of the letter, Kemal Balkan. He, however, identified the first element as the name of the Akkadian god Anum⁵² and analyzed the first part of the name Anis-Hurbi as an ergative of the Hurrian form of the god's name. This provoked doubts whether the name was Hurrian or not, because – as Laroche stated – Anum is not otherwise attested in Hurrian personal names.⁵³ He also argued that the form Anis-Hurbi could not be explained by Hurrian grammar. Both objections, however, are based on a wrong analysis of the name, as I have already mentioned some time ago.⁵⁴ In Hurrian sentence-names the verbal element usually precedes the divine name. Anum as well as Anis could easily be explained as verbal forms frequent in personal names, and the lexeme *an-* is attested in as verbal bilingua: "to rejoice (intr.), to please (trans.)". The name means "Hirbi/Hurbi pleased him" (i.e. presumably the father of the child). As far as I see, this interpretation has not been rejected until now.

The place-names Haşsum(m) and Sibuhuliwe mentioned in Ehli-Addu's letter in connection with Hurrian personal names including that of Anum-Hirbi suggest that during the Kārum Kaneš Ib period the Hurrian language was well established in the area west of the Euphrates and south of the Antitaurus – well established to the point that the ruler had a Hurrian name and a town had a name with Hurrian suffixes.

⁴⁹ V. Donbaz, "Inscribed Spear Heads and Some Tablets at the Gaziantep Archaeological Museum", *AoF* 25 (1998) 173–185, esp. 178–181, drawing: 175, photos: 185.

⁵⁰ *Gaziantep e la sua regione*, Roma 1971, 44, 49ff. with pl. IX fig. 27, 28.

⁵¹ Miller, *AoF* 28, 80f.

⁵² K. Balkan, *Letter of King Anum-hirbi of Mama to King Warshama of Kanish (TTKY VII, 31a)*, Ankara 1957, 34.

⁵³ Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites*, 346.

⁵⁴ G. Wilhelm, "L'état actuel et les perspectives des études houritisées", in: J.-M. Durand (éd.), *Mari, Ébla et les Haurrites. Dix ans de travaux* (Amurru 1), Paris 1996, 176, fn. 15.

HURRIANS IN THE KÜLTEPE TEXTS

We have no information about the cult at Haşsum in the time of Anum-Hirbi. The Weathergod of Armaruk/Artruzza⁵⁵ the Weathergod of Aleppo, Hebat, Allatum Allani, festival of Kizzuwatna attested abundantly at Hatusa.⁵⁶

Traditionally the spread of Hurrian in Central Syria has been considered a result of the substantial Hurrian infiltration took place much earlier, before the period of Kārum Kaneš Ib, into areas as far south as Palestine had already begun "in the late-Middle Bronze IIIB" unambiguously as far as the evidence as Hurrian is concerned.

The question of the role the Hurrian language played during the Middle Bronze period epic discovered at Hatusa in 1983.⁵⁷ The Hurro-Hittite bilingual text was written in the typical middle-Hittite script and language, i.e. about 1400 BC. The historical background of the story, however, seems to be the Middle Bronze period II, the period of the so-called "Tomb of the Lord of the Goats" excavated at Ebla in 1978. At the end of this period Ebla was destroyed. No text known to us refers to this event, and the theories that it was Hatursili I or Muršili I⁵⁸ remain speculation, though well possible. According to the composition called

⁵⁵ Cf. St. de Martino, *Annali e res gestae antico ittiti* (StudMed 12), Pavia 2003, 55 with fn. 172.

⁵⁶ For the assumption that the *h̄išwa* festival was influenced by the cult of Haşsum, see already G. Wilhelm, "Zum eblaitischen Gott Kura", *Vicino oriente* 8 (1992) 28–31.

⁵⁷ M. S. Drower, "Syria c. 1550–1400 B.C.", *Cambridge Ancient History III/1*, Cambridge 1973, 417–421.

⁵⁸ N. Na'aman, "The Hurrians and the End of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine", *Levant Ancient Hebrew*, *Tel Aviv* 13–14 (1986–87) 3–12, esp. 7; A. Shaffer, "Fragment of an Inscribed Envelope", in: W. G. Dever e.a. (edd.), *Gezer I: Preliminary Report of the 1964–66 Seasons*, articles to my attention.)

⁵⁹ Cuneiform edition: H. Otten – Ch. Rüster, *Die hurritisch-hethitische Bilingue und weitere Fragmente*; translit., translat. and commentary: E. Neu, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung I. Untersuchungen zu einem hurritisch-hethitischen Textensemble aus Hatusa* (SiBoT 32), Wiesbaden 1996. Last translations: H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *Hittite Myths. Second Edition*, Atlanta 1998, 65–80; G. Wilhelm, "Das hurritisch-hethitische «Lied der Freilassung»", in: O. Kaiser (ed.), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Ergänzungslieferung*, Gütersloh 2001, 82–91.

⁶⁰ P. Matthiae, "Studies in the Relative and Absolute Chronology of Syria in the IInd Millennium B.C.", in: M. Bietak (Ed.), *The Synchronisation of Civilisations in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.*, Wien 2000, 136–139, esp. 137; V. Haas – I. Wegener, "Baugrube und Fundament", in: [Festschrift Peter Neve], *IstMitt* 43 (1993) 53–58, esp. 57 with fn. 21.

"Res Gestae di Hattusili I" in the latest edition by Stefano de Martino, the Prince of Ebla⁶¹ was still present at the time of Yarim-Lim (III) of Halab and his son and successor Hammurabi (II), presumably shortly before the destruction of Haššu whose ruler is a central figure in the same text.

Within the Boğazköy tradition, Ebla is rarely attested, and the few attestations all seem to be part of the Hurrian tradition of texts that preserve remembrances of the Mari period. KUB 45.84,⁶² e.g., is a Hurrian text that does not only mention Ebla (obv. 15¹: ^{URU}E-eb-la-apu, dat.), but also Mardaman (rev. 7; *Mar-da-ma-an-ni*), a place known from Mari texts, but absent in Late Bronze Age documents; the scribe presumably did not know this old place-name and thus wrote it without the determinative. The text also mentions old *Halpa/Halab* (^{URU}*Hal-pa-a-pa* obv. 13¹) and Hatti (^{URU}*Ha-at-ti* rev. 16, 18) in a religious context (see ^DNIN GAL obv. 18¹, *DINGIR*^{MES}-naša-at-ta-an-ni-bi-¹nra-a-ša "to the gods of the father" rev. 22, *ha-wu-u-ru-un-ni-bi* "heaven" [gen.] obv. 3¹ and e-še-ne-bi-na-ma "earth" [gen. and suffix copying of pl. -na] obv. 8¹). Repeatedly the text speaks about the "throne" (obv. 5¹, 19¹, 20¹; rev. 10, 12; rev. 11: *gle-iš-hi at-ta-aš-si-ni-bi* "the paternal throne") and about "queenship" (*al-la-(a)-aš-si-ni-ne*) obv. 13¹, 15¹, 17¹; rev. 4, 7, 9, 17¹.

There is no doubt that the Hurrian version of the bilingual Ebla text is the primary text, and the Hittite version a translation. But does the Hurrian text go back to the 17th century BC, as H. Otten⁶³ and E. Neu⁶⁴ assumed? V. Haas and I. Wegner argued for an Old Babylonian version as the source of the Hurrian one.⁶⁵ In my view the Ebla epic originally belonged to the tradition of the city of Igandalis, because it tells the patriotic story of the slavery and liberation of the inhabitants of that city and it aggrandizes their leader Purra to mythical dimensions. If indeed it refers to the destruction of Ebla as the city of their suppressors, this might have been wishful thinking, because according to the historical texts referring to the time of Hattusili I, Igandalis was destroyed as early as Hattusili's second regnal year whereas Ebla held on at least until Hattusili's campaign against Haššu (see above).⁶⁶

Igandalis is difficult to place on the map. The annals of Hattusili I offer the only hint: After conquering Alalad, Hattusili marches to Ursu, from there to Ikakkali, furtheron to Tishjinah, and on the way back touches the territory of Ursu again. Without going into the details of the topographical discussion it is safe to say that Ikakkali is – undoubtedly identical

⁶¹ LÜ ^{URU}*Eb-la* KUB 40.4; 6¹, s. de Martino, *Stud. Med.* 12, 108f., 13¹. The direct join between the fragments 535a (= KBo 12.13 and Bo 6415 = KUB 40.4 (for which see de Martino, *Stud. Med.* 12, 91 with fn. 260) was confirmed in 2007 (see photo on p. 194, below).

⁶² Transliteration: M.-Cl. Trémouille, *Texte verschieden Inhalten* (ChS I/8), Roma 2005, no. 65.

⁶³ H. Otten: "Blick in die altorientalische Geisteswelt. Neufund einer heithitischen Tempelbibliothek," *Jahrbuch 1984 der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Göttingen 1985, 59.

⁶⁴ Neu, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung*.

⁶⁵ Haas – Wegner, *IsMitt* 43, 57; idem, "Literarische und grammatischen Betrachtungen zu einer hurritischen Dichtung," *OLZ* 92 (1997) 438.

⁶⁶ Cf. St. de Martino, "Il 'Canto della Liberazione': composizione letteraria bilingue hurro-ittita sulla distruzione di Ebla," *La parola del passato* 55 (2000) 297: "Tale narrazione può essere stata prodotta in un centro siriano di cultura siro-hurrita".

with the Igandalis of the Ebla epic – has to be looked for south of the Antitaurus and west of the Euphrates, in an area which at the height of Anum-Hirbi's power was close to his realm or under his control.

If this is true the Ebla epic might well have been composed in Hurrian from the before the city's destruction. It may have been handed down to subsequent generations by oral tradition for a long time. It is likely, however, that it forms a part of old traditions about earlier events in the lands south of the Anatolian plateau and the Taurus chain, including by the Hittites.⁶⁷ It has to be remembered that the Hurrian tradition attested at Hattusa millennium⁶⁸ unattested elsewhere.⁶⁹

A good candidate for a Hurrian-speaking area where such traditions may have been early as the Kültepe IB period the Hurrian language seems to have been well-established, taken over by the Hittites, as shown by the "Palace Chronicle", and later became independent literary culture may well have radiated towards Haššu's neighbours, Halab, Mukis and late 15th to the end of the 13th centuries.

⁶⁷ In this context it is worth noting that the late Empire period copy of a Hittite text referring to Anum-Hirbi writes his name *A-nu-um-hé-er-wa-az-za* (KBo 12.3 rev. iii 8¹), thus using the typical for non-Hittite, including Hurrian, texts. This is very rare in Hittite texts, *hu-hu-wa-az-ap-li* KBo 30.39+KUB 35.16+rev. iii 18 (s. D. Groddeck, *Fragmente Hethitica dispersa V/1*, AoP 25 [1998] 239).

⁶⁸ ^m*Ma-an-na-mi-ib-um e-we-er-ne* [^{URU}*LJUGAL* Gi-e-we- ta-la-a-na-sé pu-ut-¹r'k] Mannanisti (= Mannanistu), the king, Sargon's eldest son" KUB 27.38 (= ChS no. 87) rev. iv 22¹; "*Sar-kad(p)-sar-re-en u-mi-i-e'* [] 0] a-ri-ir-e-a ul-li-wa¹ "Sarkapsharre (= Sar-kali-sarri), who gave his country to a stranger" KUB 27.38 rev. iv 24¹.

⁶⁹ ^m*A-ia-to-hu-un-ma-an eb-ri e-we-er-ne* [^{URU}*E-la-mi-ne-e-we*, "Aatalumma, the lord, the king of Elam" KUB 27.38 rev. iv 9¹; ^m*Im-ma-as-ku-un eb-ri e-we-er-ne* [^{URU}*Li-lu-e-ne-we*] "Immašku, the lord, the king of Lulli" KUB 27.38 rev. iv 13¹; ^m*Ki-lk'-li-pa-ta-al-li-in Du-ri-ri-is-he e-be-er-ni* "Kiglib-adalli, the king of Turki?" KUB 27.38 rev. iv 14¹.

⁷⁰ A. Kammenhuber, "Historisch-geographische Nachrichten aus der althethitischen Überlieferung," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 22 (1974) 166-168; St. de Martino, "KUB XXVII 38. Kulturelle und Linguistische Überlagerung in einem Text aus dem Archiv von Boğazköy," *SMEA* 31 (1993) 121-134; de Martino considers an Old Babylonian document that combines different older traditions, and he compares texts about Akkadian rulers like *sar tamhārim* or "Narām-Sin's victory over 17 kings" (p. 133).



The joined fragments 535/t = KBo 12.13 and Bo 6415 = KUB 40.4
(photo by the author).

ASPECTS DU COMMERCE INTERNATIONAL
DES ASSYRIENS EN ANATOLIE
Sophie Démare-Lafont (E.P.H.E. Paris)

Si le commerce international est une réalité très ancienne en Mésopotamie, puisque les échanges de biens à longue distance sont attestés dès le néolithique (VI^e millénaire av. J.-C.), l'existence de sociétés commerciales n'est véritablement documentée qu'à partir du début du II^e millénaire et c'est à cette époque que les textes sont les plus nombreux. Par la suite, l'information se fait plus rare et il faut attendre la fin du I^e millénaire (VI^e-V^e s. av. J.-C.) pour retrouver des archives significatives de ces pratiques commerciales.

Quand il s'agit d'analyser les contrats et le droit commercial assyriens, le premier réflexe est de se tourner vers le Code de Hammurabi et les actes de la pratique contemporaine, ou encore vers les tablettes beaucoup plus récentes des hommes d'affaires de Babylone (Egibi) et de Nippur (Muraša), à l'époque perse.

Le Code de Hammurabi consacre un article (§ 99)¹ à la forme la plus répandue de partenariat, appelé *tappitum*, terme abstrait formé sur le mot *tappi* « associé ». Les nombreux actes de la pratique antérieure et contemporaine² illustrent le mécanisme assez simple de ce type de société qui fonctionne sur le principe de la commande : un investisseur remet à un ou deux commerçants des biens pour les revendre avec un bénéfice. Ces associations peuvent être conclues pour une ou plusieurs opérations ; les profits et les pertes seront partagés à égalité entre les associés. Les contrats illustrent la mise en place de ces associations, leur durée, et les conditions de répartition des bénéfices, incluant des aspects particuliers liés aux aléas du commerce, par exemple la perte totale ou partielle des biens, ou encore leur vente à crédit. Ce genre de partenariat offre aux plus riches une perspective d'accroissement de leurs revenus et une diversification de leurs placements, complétant ceux qu'ils peuvent tirer de l'exploitation de leurs terres. Pour les marchands, la société en commandite est un moyen d'augmenter leur activité et par conséquent leurs revenus. Les archives des marchands de la ville d'Ur³ montrent concrètement quels produits sont échangés : le commanditaire confie aux commandités de l'huile et des étoffes, qui seront vendus à Dilimun (Golfe persique) pour se procurer du cuivre qui sera rapporté et revendu en Babylone. Les tablettes de cette époque donnent beaucoup d'informations sur les aspects pratiques et les enjeux financiers de ces activités commerciales. Mais il est difficile d'en tirer un tableau général du droit des sociétés, au sens d'un corps de règles spécifiquement applicable aux rapports

¹ Cf. Roth 1997 : 99 § gap cc : « If a man gives silver to another man for investment in a partnership venture, before the god they shall equally divide the profit or loss ».

² Cf. Szlezcser 1947 ; Eilers 1931 ; Sauren 1983.

³ Cf. Leemans 1955 ; Van De Mieroop 1992.

juridiques nés du commerce. Le fait qu'une seule disposition du Code de Hammurabi soit consacrée à la commande est révélateur. D'autres articles de ce Code (§§ 100-107, 112) évoquent quelques aspects des relations entre investisseur et agents commerciaux, sans s'inscrire toutefois dans le cadre du contrat de société. En fait, la législation babylonienne considère les sociétés commerciales sous l'angle juridique du prêt. La démarche est classique dans les droits anciens, et procède d'une extension logique : quelle que soit la diversité des statuts des acteurs impliqués dans le commerce (financiers, commerçants, agents, transporteurs), la base contractuelle de leurs relations se ramène finalement au modèle élémentaire créancier/débiteur. La circulation constante des biens entre les mains de détenteurs variés, intervenant aux différentes étapes de la transaction commerciale, s'analyse souvent comme autant de formes particulières de prêts, avec participation aux bénéfices ou avec garantie de bénéfice fixe. Lorsqu'il s'agit de simples intermédiaires, le droit hammurabien se place plutôt sur le terrain du contrat de travail ou du louage de services : l'employé doit vendre les marchandises que lui a confiées l'investisseur et lui remettre le produit de cette vente (§§ 104-107), sans être aucunement intéressé aux profits ni exposé aux risques de perte. Les actes de la pratique confirment la référence prédominante au prêt ; ainsi les projets sont-ils souvent conclus à court terme, ce qui permet de limiter les risques et d'obtenir un remboursement rapide, tout comme dans le cas des prêts de consommation ; de même les clauses abordent-elles souvent le problème du remboursement des capitaux investis en définissant une échéance et en envisageant les cas de perte ou encore de vente à crédit.

Les tablettes très postérieures de l'époque perse renvoient une image assez semblable : certaines familles d'hommes d'affaires babyloniens, comme les célèbres Egibi, placent des capitaux dans des expéditions commerciales (*karâmu*) dirigées par l'un des associés ou par un mandataire, qui doit réaliser un bénéfice⁴. Le même moule juridique sert à prêter des fonds à des exploitants agricoles qui remboursent le créancier au moment de la récolte.

Qu'en est-il maintenant du monde assyrien ?

L'activité des marchands assyriens connaît son apogée au XIX^e s., soit plus d'un siècle avant le Code de Hammurabi. Si le commerce babylonien représente juridiquement une variante du système du prêt, adapté aux circonstances particulières des échanges au niveau local ou international, le commerce assyrien se situe plus nettement dans la perspective du droit des sociétés et présente à cet égard un degré d'élaboration technique et supérieur. Des études minutieuses ont été menées sur les montages juridiques et financiers mis en place pour encadrer les transactions et garantir leur sécurité et leur performance⁵. Durant cette période apparaissent des règles commerciales sophistiquées et complexes, qui sont autant d'innovations contribuant à l'émergence d'un droit des sociétés aux caractéristiques éminemment modernes. Il ne s'agit certes pas d'une création ex nihilo. Il existait évidemment, chez les Sumériens du III^e millénaire, des mécanismes

⁴ Lanz 1976.

⁵ Dercksen 1996 et 1999 ; Veenhof 1995, 1997 et 1999 ; Larsen 1977.

d'échanges dont témoignent les textes et les trouvailles archéologiques⁶. Mais les informations concernant le fonctionnement, les procédés et les modalités de ce commerce sont souvent insuffisantes et parcellaires, à cause de la nature des sources, essentiellement administratives. Les tablettes mentionnent des listes de noms de marchands, en face créancier ou de débiteur des individus cités. L'objectif de ces textes paraît comptable plutôt que commercial. Une partie de cette culture bureaucratique sumérienne a été transmise au monde akkadien. Ce substrat explique sans doute l'emploi par les Assyriens d'une terminologie commune pour décrire certaines transactions ou perdure au début du II^e millénaire : de même que les marchands d'Ur envoyait vers la région du Golfe des bateaux équipés pour des entreprises ponctuelles et d'envergure quelques places commerciales, où ils restaient juste le temps de vendre leurs marchandises et d'acheter celles dont ils avaient besoin.

Mais sur ce socle ancien, les Assyriens ont construit assez vite des structures répondant aux exigences de leurs propres activités. Celles-ci sont documentées par les nombreuses tablettes retrouvées à Kültepe/Kanesh, principalement des lettres de marchands mais aussi des procès-verbaux de jugements rendus par le *kârum*.

Bien sûr, l'information dont nous disposons est incomplete : tous les textes de Kanesh ne sont pas publiés, loin s'en faut, et il nous manque toutes les tablettes d'Assur, dont les niveaux paléo-assyriens ne sont pas fouillés. Mais on peut quand même, à partir de la documentation disponible, se faire une idée assez précise des mécanismes du commerce international.

Cette présentation sera organisée autour de deux axes : le premier concerne les structures juridiques du commerce ; le second se rapporte aux aspects plus spécifiques développés par les Assyriens tiennent une place à part dans l'histoire mésopotamienne, et méditerranéen.

I. Les structures juridiques du commerce assyrien : un droit des sociétés en gestation

Les Assyriens du début du II^e millénaire ont manifestement forgé les outils dont ils avaient besoin pour mener à bien des opérations commerciales ambitieuses et fructueuses. Les cadres juridiques et législatifs mis en place apparaissent comme une réponse pragmatique et performante à une série de paramètres divers qui ont sans doute stimulé l'imagination créatrice des marchands.

⁶ Neumann 1982.

⁷ Par exemple le babylonien *tappum* et l'assyrien *tappā'um* (sum. tab-ba), « associé ».

Formes juridiques de l'activité commerciale

Il n'est pas nécessaire de développer les aspects matériels du commerce assyrien à longue distance, déjà bien connus. Il suffit de souligner que les circuits commerciaux reposent sur un flux continu et régulier d'importations et d'exportations, visant non pas à vendre des produits locaux en vue d'acquérir des biens de subsistance, mais à réaliser des profits supérieurs aux investissements⁸. Pour cela, il faut d'abord assurer l'acheminement de grosses quantités de marchandises : on estime que, au plus fort des relations commerciales entre Assur et la Cappadoce, plus de 100 tonnes d'étain et 150.000 pièces de tissu ont été apportées en Anatolie. Il faut en outre que les prix de l'or et de l'argent soient attractifs. Et ils le sont en effet : à Assur, le marchand assyrien se procure environ 14 sicles d'étain pour 1 sicle d'argent ; en Anatolie, il faut 7 sicles d'étain pour un sicle d'argent. Le bénéfice brut est donc de 100 %. Il atteint 200 % sur les étoffes⁹.

Toute activité commerciale repose sur deux facteurs déterminants : le temps et les personnes. Le temps joue bien sûr un rôle essentiel dans l'aspect financier (c'est la question du crédit, qui sera examinée plus loin) mais aussi dans la définition même des entreprises commerciales, car il est une composante essentielle de la notion de risque. S'engager pour une seule opération ou au contraire à long terme pour plusieurs années a forcément une incidence sur le montage juridique choisi.

Par ailleurs, les personnes impliquées dans le commerce, on l'a vu, sont nombreuses et interviennent à des titres divers. Certains investissent, d'autres prêtent ou cautionnent, d'autres enfin transportent. Les cloisons entre ces différentes activités ne sont pas étanches et c'est précisément pour déterminer l'étendue des responsabilités – et donc des risques – de chacun que sont inventées de nouvelles règles juridiques.

Deux types de contrats organisent les relations commerciales. Certains sont des adaptations du classique contrat de louage de personne, aménagé en forme de prêt. Le frêtre de la caravane (*kassārum*) est ainsi rémunéré sous forme d'un prêt sans intérêt prélevé sur le capital d'exploitation. Cette somme lui sera à acheter des textiles qui seront transportés dans l'expédition qu'il conduit à Kanes, où ils seront vendus pour son compte. Ce type de contrat utilise le vocabulaire du gage antichrétien : la force de travail du frêtre est conçue comme une garantie du prêt consenti, en même temps qu'un enrichissement pour son créancier. Une clause pénale prévoit le cas de rupture du contrat par le frêtre en cours de route, et l'oblige à rembourser le prêt et à financer le coût d'un remplaçant¹⁰.

D'autres entrent dans le champ des contrats de société. On distingue deux catégories d'associations d'après la durée de l'engagement conclu. Certaines sont des partenariats ponctuels, limités à une seule opération. Tel est le cas de l'entreprise-*ellatum*, «caravane». Un riche marchand prend l'initiative de regrouper plusieurs dizaines de collègues pour constituer une seule caravane (i.e. un aller-retour), dont les coûts et les

⁸ Cf. Veenhof 1997 : 339-340.

⁹ Cf. Garelli 1963 : 265-317 ; Veenhof 1988 ; Michel 2007 : 4.

¹⁰ Cf. les exemples rassemblés dans Michel 2001 : 204-207.

bénéfices sont partagés à la fin de l'expédition au prorata des investissements de chaque associé. Les compensations en cas de perte au cours du transport sont également proportionnées aux fonds engagés¹¹. Ce principe résulte d'une règle législative, elle-même issue de la jurisprudence du *kārum*, et publiée avec d'autres normes de droit commercial sur une stèle à Assur. Même si aucun exemplaire d'une telle stèle n'a encore été découvert, les références expressées à son existence dans la documentation épistolaire commerce assyrien¹².

Une variante de ce modèle de société ponctuelle est attestée sous l'appellation *tappā 'atūm* : un financier s'associe avec des marchands en leur avançant des fonds en vue d'une opération déterminée. Cette forme est assez rarement attestée. On la connaît par des allusions dans les procès et la correspondance, notamment celle d'Innaya, qui recourt à cette structure juridique pour développer le trafic du fer, contrôlé par les pouvoirs publics assyriens¹³.

Contrat-narugum et commande médiévale

A l'opposé, et couramment pratiquée, se trouve une forme élaborée d'association à long terme appelée *narugum*, qui fonctionne sur le principe de la commande médiévale. Il faut dire un mot des grandes lignes de cette société commerciale pour montrer ses points communs avec sa lointaine devancière assyrienne.

La commande, précurseur de la société en commandite, apparaît en Italie du nord à Méditerranée¹⁴. Cette association commerciale, dont le nom dérive du verbe en commandare, « confier », réunit un détenteur de capitaux, le *commendator*, et un marchand, appelé *tractator*. Le *commendator* est sédentaire et remet les capitaux au pour obtenir le maximum de bénéfices. Quand il revient de son périple, le montant total (capitaux + bénéfices) est partagé de manière inégalitaire entre les deux partenaires : le *commendator* prend 3/4 et le *tractator* 1/4, parce qu'il n'a fait qu'apporter ses compétences commerciales sans aucune mise de fonds personnelle. Dans la commande différemment pour le capital (2/3 pour le *commendator* et 1/3 pour le *tractator*) et les bénéfices (répartition égalitaire entre les deux). Si les capitaux sont perdus en tout ou partie, que ce soit par accident ou par malchance, la responsabilité du *tractator* n'est jamais engagée. D'une certaine manière cependant, il participe toujours aux pertes

¹¹ Cf. Michel 2001 : 316-319.

¹² Cf. Veenhof 1995.

¹³ Cf. Veenhof 2003 : 99-102.

¹⁴ Sur la commande médiévale, cf. Udovitch 1962 ; Pryor 1977 et 1981 ; Hilaire 1986 : 170-173.

puisque l'en absence de profit, il n'est pas rémunéré : l'investissement que représente son travail ne reçoit pas de contrepartie.

La principale caractéristique de ce contrat est sa souplesse. La commande peut être conclue pour un seul voyage (comme le contrat-*ellatum assyrien*), ou durer plusieurs années. Le *commendator* donne souvent des directives précises au *tractator* pour l'utilisation des fonds qu'il lui confie, mais il arrive aussi qu'il lui laisse une entière liberté pour effectuer les opérations commerciales. La constitution du capital peut inclure le prix de marchandises achetées à crédit, ou des fonds confisés par des tiers en placement. La plupart du temps, il y a une pluralité de *commendatores*, eux-mêmes impliqués dans plusieurs commandes en même temps et juridiquement indépendants les uns des autres ; en revanche, quand il y a plusieurs *tractatores*, ils sont responsables solidairement.

La commande est ainsi un cadre flexible, adaptable à une grande variété d'activités, dans lesquelles le crédit joue un rôle déterminant. Deux éléments distinctifs de cette institution médiévale doivent être retenus : 1) la commande s'adapte parfaitement aux risques élevés inhérents au commerce maritime, en particulier les tempêtes et la piraterie ; 2) sa structure offre un moyen efficace pour réunir des capitaux et réduire la part de risques supportée par chaque participant.

Si l'on voit bien quels sont les avantages concrets de la commande, il est en revanche beaucoup plus délicat de déterminer sa nature juridique. De par son substrat économique, on pourraît y voir une forme de prêt, autrement dit un contrat réel (au sens romain) plutôt qu'un contrat de société, qui se classe parmi les contrats consensuels. Plusieurs indices vont dans cette direction. En premier lieu, la commande est créée lorsque les fonds sont rassemblés et ce point est toujours mentionné dans le contrat. De fait, la société commerciale naît avec l'entrée en possession du capital et c'est seulement après la constitution du capital que les parties vont trouver le notaire, qui constate la remise des fonds dans l'acte qu'il dresse. Tant que l'argent n'est pas transféré, les investisseurs peuvent changer d'avis et abandonner le projet. De son côté, le *tractator* n'est juridiquement tenu d'exécuter le contrat qu'après le transfert du capital. Par conséquent, l'accord entre les partenaires sur la date du voyage ou sur l'opération elle-même ne suffit pas à conclure le contrat. En second lieu, le *commendator* n'a qu'une seule obligation : délivrer les fonds. Il n'a rien d'autre à faire jusqu'au règlement final du contrat. De fait, les actes de la pratique médiévale commencent par noter le transfert de l'argent, puis se consacrent entièrement aux obligations du *tractator*.

En revanche, d'autres aspects de la commande la rapprochent du contrat de société. Ainsi, par exemple le *tractator* doit-il restituer les capitaux en cas de faute professionnelle. Par ailleurs, quand l'opération réussit, le *commendator* reçoit une part des bénéfices et non un pourcentage sur les fonds qu'il a apportés initialement. Toutefois, bien que le *commendator* donne souvent des instructions précises au *tractator* sur l'utilisation des fonds qu'il lui confie, et que le *tractator* soit tenu de lui rendre des comptes, il n'est pas sûr que la réunion des fonds constitue un capital social.

Finalement, la commande est impossible à classer à l'intérieur des catégories romaines et semble être, au Moyen Age, un contrat *sui generis*, autrement dit une catégorie à soi tout seul. Le modèle médiéval partage plusieurs points communs avec les contrats byzantins (*chreokoinonia*), juifs (*isqa*) et arabes (*qirâd*). Il s'est développé dans

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le nord de l'Italie, entre la Ligurie et la Vénétie, une région soumise à l'influence romaine mais aussi à celle de l'Orient, grâce aux contacts commerciaux, bien que l'on ignore leur impact sur le commerce italien des X^e-XI^e s. après J.-C.

Même si le contrat-*narugum* ne peut être considéré comme un authentique précurseur de la commande italienne, la comparaison entre les deux institutions révèle de nombreux parallèles.

Le mot *narugum* désigne le sac dans lequel les investisseurs (*ummi' ënum* = quantités d'or et pouvant atteindre au total jusqu'à 14 ou 15 kilos). Le capital ainsi effectué des actes de commerce et réalise des bénéfices. Compte tenu de l'importance des mutuelle entre tous les partenaires, indispensable un élément décisif. La confiance association, se fonde sur l'esprit nettement corporatiste de cette communauté de marchands. Elle n'exclue pas cependant les risques liés à une mauvaise gestion voire au détournement de capitaux par le *tractator*.

On n'a retrouvé à l'heure actuelle que deux contrats de ce type – dont un seul est publié¹⁵ – mais les allusions à cette forme de société sont très nombreuses, au point qu'on la considère comme le principal support juridique du commerce paléo-assyrien. On en trouve mention dans la correspondance des marchands, dans les procès, et également dans les duplicités partiels remis à chaque commanditaire – et donc retrouvés à Kané – qui contiennent le montant de leur apport.

Le contrat original est rédigé à Assur en présence des participants ou de leurs représentants, et conservé sur place. Il est établi en présence d'un officier administratif, afin de pouvoir identifier l'origine des fonds. La société est constituée lorsque tous les fonds sont réunis à Assur, ce qui semble indiquer que le contrat-*narugum* est un contrat réel, autrement dit qu'il est conclu par la constitution du capital et non par l'accord des partenaires.

Le capital est constitué à l'aide des fonds propres des commanditaires, mais également des dividences acquis dans d'autres opérations en cours ou échues, et même des créances au porteur. En moyenne, un partenaire place deux mines d'or dans la société. Les parts de ces sociétés sont cessibles : elles peuvent être vendues ou transmises aux héritiers par voie de succession. En cas de mort prématurée d'un commanditaire, sa famille doit produire les tablettes concernant les investissements du défunt pour se les faire rembourser et éventuellement réclamer les profits correspondants¹⁶.

Il est très probable que les fonds sont apportés en argent, mais ils sont systématiquement enregistrés en or, à un taux de conversion de 4 : 1. Autrement dit, un apport de quatre mines d'argent donne une partie d'une mine d'or. Ce taux est artificiel puisqu'on sait par ailleurs que, dans la pratique commerciale, le rapport est de 8 : 1. On

¹⁵ Les durées attestées vont de 9 à 12 ans, reconductibles.

¹⁶ Voir la réédition récente par Hecker 1999 et l'édition du duplicat très fragmentaire par Matouš 1984 : 81-82. Sur le contrat-*narugum*, cf. Larsen 1999.

¹⁷ Cf. Michel 2001 : 351.

garantit donc d'emblée au commanditaire un profit de 100 % en enregistrant un montant doublé par rapport à son investissement réel.

On ignore comment fonctionnait la comptabilité de ces sociétés. Il est probable qu'on dressait un bilan complet à l'échéance du contrat, et que des dividendes réguliers étaient versés, sans doute annuellement, aux associés. La répartition des bénéfices nets, une fois déduites les taxes et les dépenses de fonctionnement de la caravane, se fait par tiers (*salātūm*) : 2/3 pour les commanditaires, qui partagent entre eux au prorata de leurs investissements ; 1/3 pour le *tractator*. En tout état de cause, le *tractator* est tenu par contrat de garantir aux commanditaires au moins 1/3 des profits ; si les bénéfices sont insuffisants, le *tractator* risque de ne pas pouvoir se rémunérer et peut même être saisi sur ses biens propres par les associés.

Chaque investisseur peut quitter à tout moment la société, sans en provoquer pour autant la dissolution. Il reprend alors sa mise de fonds initiale convertie en argent, mais renonce à sa part de bénéfices.

Il peut arriver aussi que l'ensemble des associés décide de dissoudre la société, lorsque la gestion du *tractator* est défaillante et qu'il ne peut garantir le minimum requis. Une enquête est alors ouverte par une sorte de liquidateur (*rābīṣum*) désigné par les autorités publiques d'Assur, qui se rend sur place à Kaneš pour élouter et apurer les comptes. Si le *tractator* est solvable, les commanditaires se servent sur son patrimoine.

Enfin, la mort soudaine du *tractator* rompt également le contrat de société. Cette situation déstabilise considérablement les relations en cours, surtout quand on découvre que le défunt était criblé de dettes. Les commanditaires étant des créanciers privilégiés, ils se parent en priorité sur l'actif disponible, ne laissant parfois à la famille survivante que la charge du passif. Il arrive aussi que le *tractator* ait, de son vivant, remis les capitaux du contrat à des tiers pour réaliser des transactions commerciales. Les commanditaires doivent alors enquêter pour retrouver la trace des fonds qu'ils ont investis et faire valoir résultats satisfaisants. Certaines de ces procédures font l'objet d'un encadrement législatif, notamment en ce qui concerne la liquidation des affaires d'un marchand à cause de mort¹⁸.

Ces sociétés commerciales n'ont pas seulement été un moyen pour les « capitalistes » assyriens de réaliser des bénéfices immédiats. Du fait de l'engagement sur le très long terme, ils avaient aussi pour objectif de créer des liens durables entre les grandes firmes familiales assyriennes, afin d'étendre leurs activités sur une aire géographique plus vaste et dans des domaines diversifiés, et de maintenir leur présence constante dans les opérations commerciales. À cet égard, le contrat-*naruqum* représente à la fois un mode de financement des entreprises commerciales et un facteur de cohésion sociale¹⁹.

¹⁸ Cf. Michel 2001 : 350-353.

¹⁹ Larsen 1999 : 184.

II. *Les modes de financement du commerce*²⁰

L'argent est le pivot de l'ensemble du commerce paléo-assyrien. Il est à la fois le but des opérations engagées et leur moteur. Ainsi que l'a montré K. R. Veenhof²¹, sa fonction est quasiment monétaire car il n'est pas seulement utilisé comme standard de valeur dans les transactions ; il sera aussi de moyen indirect d'échange sur le marché intérieur anatolien. L'étain ou les tissus y sont en effet échangés contre du cuivre ou de la laine, qui sont ensuite convertis en argent, sans doute avec des bénéfices. D'une manière générale, l'argent circule constamment au lieu d'être stocké, et cette fluidité en fait un instrument particulièrement bien adapté au système du crédit.

Les Assyriens ont imaginé diverses sortes de montages financiers autour de la notion de crédit, pour optimiser leurs investissements et leurs bénéfices. L'idée est que, si certaines contraintes du commerce caravanier sont fixes (durée de transport, climat), on peut agir de diverses façons sur le temps nécessaire pour convertir les marchandises en argent. On retrouve dans les textes assyriens la panoplie des outils développés beaucoup plus tard par les marchands italiens.

Les crédits personnalés

La vente à crédit est pratiquée couramment entre marchands. Le cas de figure le plus fréquent consiste à fractionner les marchandises arrivées à Kaneš par caravane en petits lots, confiés à des agents commerciaux qui les vendront ailleurs en Anatolie. Ces intermédiaires traitent directement avec les consommateurs et remboursent leur fournisseur à l'échéance fixée par le contrat, qui prend la forme d'une reconnaissance de dette prévoyant des pénalités en cas de retard²².

Les marchands ont souvent besoin de liquidités pour investir dans des caravanes ou régler leurs dettes. Ils peuvent obtenir dans ce cas des prêts à intérêt²³ à court terme. Les bailleurs de fonds sont des hommes d'affaires assyriens ou anatoliens, sans doute âgés et sédentaires, et qui se sont enrichis dans le commerce. Ils se comportent comme des sortes de banquiers privés qui aident des négociants temporairement à court de cash. Cette activité régulière explique que l'endroit où l'on vient contracter soit appelé la « maison du marchand », sans précision du nom propre. Chacun sait de quel individu il s'agit²⁴. Ces prêts sont parfois consentis aussi par des marchands en activité qui disposent de dividendes commerciaux qu'ils ne peuvent réinvestir dans une nouvelle caravane (par

²⁰ Les développements qui suivent reprennent principalement les analyses juridiques limpides et pionnières de K. R. Veenhof, qui reconnaîtra dans ces lignes beaucoup de ce qu'il écrit. Qu'il considère ces emprunts comme un hommage respectueux et non comme un plagiat.

²¹ Veenhof 1999.

²² Veenhof 1997 : 347-348.

²³ Le taux de 30 % annuel est assez élevé par rapport à celui qui se pratique en Babylone ; cf. Veenhof 1997 : 348.

²⁴ Veenhof 1999 : 66-69.

exemple en hiver, quand le trafic est interrompu) : plutôt que de laisser dormir cet argent, ils le prêtent à intérêt, motivés par le taux avantageux de 30 %. Le débiteur de son côté cherche à tirer un profit maximum de la vente de ses marchandises avant le remboursement : l'excédent réalisé compensera l'intérêt élevé que lui compte le créancier.

Certains prêts à intérêt sont parfois contractés par des marchands qui se sont portés caution personnellement pour un de leurs collègues qui se révèle insolvable. Le créancier se tourne donc vers la caution pour exiger le paiement de la dette ; s'il ne dispose pas du montant réclamé, il l'emprunte et se retourne ensuite contre le débiteur principal auquel il peut imputer non seulement la dette initiale et celle du garant, mais encore les intérêts cumulés.²⁵

Des prestations particulières peuvent être imposées par le créancier à son débiteur menacé de faillite. Un texte en expose les modalités²⁶ : un créancier équipe une caravane qui sera conduite par son débiteur. Avec le produit de la vente, le débiteur remboursera la dette échue et non soldée, plus le nouveau prêt que lui a consenti son créancier. Les conditions du contrat sont assez dures puisque le débiteur doit, en un an (soit deux voyages aller-retour), tripler le montant emprunté, alors qu'habituellement, on exige un remboursement au double. Le texte est rédigé au début du printemps, ce qui laisse au débiteur huit mois pour exécuter son obligation : six mois pour voyager (2 aller-retour = 24 semaines) et deux mois pour écouter les marchandises en Anatolie, ce qui est assez peu. Le débiteur était sans doute dans une situation critique et ne pouvait ni négocier ni refuser les contraintes imposées par le créancier.

*Les créances au porteur*²⁷

Une forme très audacieuse et moderne d'utilisation du crédit a été mise en place par les Assyriens avec le système des créances au porteur.

De nombreuses reconnaissances de dettes sont conclues sans mention du nom du créancier, seulement désigné comme « marchand » (*tamkārum*). Cet anonymat a pour but de permettre les cessions de créances, pratique très fréquente entre Assyriens, et évidemment très utile dans le contexte de ce commerce itinérant. Les créances peuvent être investies comme parts de capital d'une société en commande, elle sont transmises par voie successorale, remises en gage pour garantir un prêt et entrent dans la comptabilité des marchands lors des procédures d'apurement des comptes commerciaux effectuées par le *kārum*.

La plupart du temps, le porteur du titre n'a droit qu'au recouvrement de la dette. Mais il arrive que l'obligation au porteur lui permette de se substituer au créancier d'origine.

²⁵ Veenhof 1995 : 1722-1724.

²⁶ POAT 2 ; cf. Veenhof 1999 : 72-73.

²⁷ Veenhof 1997 : 351ss.

Tel est le cas par exemple dans le texte AKT 3.104²⁸ : un créancier a une dette de deux mines d'argent sur son débiteur. Celui-ci lui remet en garde une reconnaissance de dette contractée par son frère auprès d'un tiers anonyme (désigné comme *tamkārum*, « marchand ») pour un montant identique de deux mines d'argent. Le débiteur paye et le créancier lui fait restituer le document de garantie. Mais si l'il n'avait pas payé, le créancier aurait pu utiliser la garantie directement pour se rembourser sur le frère en devenant son créancier. Le frère joue ainsi le rôle d'une caution oblique.

Un second exemple (K 91/k 195²⁹) se situe dans le cadre de la vente à crédit, très courante entre commerçants : un marchand réceptionne une caravane à Kānēt et la fractionne en petits lots, confiés à des agents intermédiaires qui les vendront pour son compte sur les diverses places anatoliennes. Le contrat prend la forme d'une reconnaissance de dette, prévoyant que l'agent rembourse son fournisseur à date fixe, marchand « sans précision du nom de ces derniers. Ces agents sont dits « porteurs de la tablette du transaction » sans précision du nom des parties. L'anonymat permet de faire effectuer les n'est pas forcément celui qui a remis les biens à l'agent commercial. D'un point de vue juridique, le marchand est le créancier de ses agents-débiteurs.

Dans un petit nombre de ces textes (8 documents), K. R. Veenhof³⁰ a repéré à la fin du contrat la clause *mukil tuppim sūt tamkārum*, « le porteur de la tablette est le fin créancier ». C'est le même terme qui désigne le marchand et le créancier (*tamkārum*). On peut comprendre cette clause comme une redondance, signifiant « le porteur de la tablette est le marchand » et insistant sur la notion de représentation du mandant. Mais il est plus probable qu'elle a une valeur juridique propre, transformant le contrat en cession de droit. Le propriétaire des biens cède à l'agent intermédiaire le produit de la vente à venir, sous forme d'une créance puisqu'il s'agit d'une vente à crédit. Si la tablette change détenteur de la tablette sera réputé créancier de la somme issue de la vente des marchandises.

En dépit de leur utilité évidente, les obligations au porteur ne semblent pas avoir joué un rôle central dans le commerce assyrien, comme l'indique d'ailleurs la rareté des attestations de cette pratique. En outre, les dettes concernées sont assez faibles, peut-être parce qu'il faut limiter les risques à l'égard du propriétaire des biens. Enfin, ces transferts interviennent dans le groupe restreint des marchands, qui se connaissent bien et ont entre eux des liens basés sur la confiance vis-à-vis sur la parenté. Les montages ne peuvent excéder trois ou quatre personnes car si le porteur est le dernier d'une longue suite de créanciers, la sécurité du crédit ne peut plus être garantie par la simple confiance et il faut légitimer pour encadrer la situation. Or, les allusions à la législation commerciale assyrienne dont on dispose aujourd'hui ne concernent pas ce domaine.

²⁸ Cf. Veenhof 1999 : 359.

²⁹ Cf. Veenhof 1999 : 357.

³⁰ Veenhof 1999 : 356ss pour la liste des textes et leur analyse juridique.

La pratique est donc connue – on la retrouve plus tard en Babylone – mais elle est marginale, les créanciers préférant utiliser des moyens plus sûrs pour le recouvrement des dettes (caution, gage, arbitrage, saisie). Il faut attendre la fin du I^e millénaire (VI^e-V^e s. av. J.-C.) pour voir se développer largement l'usage de la créance au porteur, qui remplace le paiement direct dans les relations commerciales et préfigure la lettre de change.

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LES ASSYRIENS ET LEURS FEMMES ANATOLIENNES
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Lorsque les marchands assyriens s'installent en Asie Mineure au début du II^e millénaire avant J.-C., ils laissent leurs familles à Assur et arrivent seuls à Kanéš ; là, ils vivent à côté des Anatoliens. Quelques dizaines d'années plus tard, les individus de différentes origines se mêlent par le biais de mariages mixtes aboutissant à un véritable brassage de population. On relève deux sortes de mariages mixtes : ceux impliquant des Anatoliens enrichis qui, après quelques générations de présence assyrienne en Asie Mineure, à Kanéš, y prennent pour femme une Anatoliennes ; c'est cette deuxième catégorie qui fait l'objet du présent article.

D'une manière générale, l'histoire des femmes de marchands n'a guère été traitée¹, mais de plus en plus d'études paraissent sur les Assyriennes du début du I^{er} millénaire car les archives de Kanéš, exploitées ayant tout pour leurs données commerciales, offrent également beaucoup d'informations sur les aspects sociaux et la vie quotidienne. Demeurées à Assur et auteures de nombreuses lettres retrouvées à Kanéš, elles ont produit une correspondance exceptionnelle². Par contre, les Anatoliennes demeurant à Kanéš ont fait l'objet de beaucoup moins d'attentions, sans doute parce qu'elles sont moins bien documentées.

Une étude sur les relations entre les Assyriens et leurs épouses anatoliennes implique en tout premier lieu un examen onomastique et prosopographique des différents noms féminins permettant définir l'appartenance de ces femmes à l'une ou l'autre des deux communautés. Une des particularités de la coutume matrimoniale paléo-assyrienne même endroit ; l'analyse des divers contrats de mariage permet de définir le statut des épouses anatoliennes résidant à Kanéš. Les activités de ces dernières peuvent être reconstituées par les lettres qu'elles reçoivent de leurs époux. Enfin, divers documents à caractère juridique précisent la nature des relations entre les Assyriens et leurs épouses anatoliennes, aussi bien dans leur vie maritale que lors de leur séparation.

1. Les Anatoliennes

Avant d'analyser les relations entre les femmes anatoliennes et leurs époux assyriens, il paraît indispensable de définir les critères qui permettent d'identifier une Anatolienne

¹ Zagarell 1986 : 420-430.

² Voir entre autres Larsen 1971 ; 2001 ; Michel 2001 ; 2006a ; Veenhof 1972 : 103-123 ; 1983.

parmi les nombreux noms féminins attestés par la documentation de Kaneš et de cerner le type de sources dont nous disposons à ce sujet.

1.1. Problèmes onomastiques

Grâce au déchiffrement accéléré de nombreux textes de Kültepe ces dernières décennies, les études paléo-assyriennes ont beaucoup progressé. Toutefois des analyses onomastiques approfondies restent à faire. En effet, les tablettes de Kaneš comportent, outre les nombreux noms assyriens, des anthroponymes d'origines ethniques variées qu'il n'est pas toujours aisément de reconnaître : Hittites, Louvites, Hattis, Hourrites... P. Garelli, dès 1963, s'intéresse à la composition de la population de Kaneš et des autres comptoirs de commerce assyriens installés en Asie-Mineure³, et un spécialiste de la documentation anatolienne propose, quelques années plus tard, un index des noms hittites dans les textes paléo-assyriens de Kaneš⁴. Aujourd'hui, si nous disposons d'une liste assez complète des noms propres attestés par ces sources avec les références aux textes⁵, il reste difficile d'identifier les individus et d'établir des relations de parenté entre eux en raison d'une homonymie très fréquente et de la présence d'hypocoristiques⁶. Quelques noms sont sujets à différentes interprétations et certains auteurs supposent l'existence de noms de fonction ou de noms de femmes mariées ainsi que de noms hybrides, empruntant les éléments qui les composent à différentes langues⁷. Il n'est pas question ici de discuter de problèmes onomastiques et linguistiques en détail, mais plutôt de définir en quoi un nom porté par une femme indique son appartenance à la population anatolienne de Kaneš. Et de fait, l'anthroponyme ne suffit pas toujours : un individu doté d'un nom assyrien peut tout à fait être issu d'un mariage mixte entre Assyrien(ne) et Anatolien(ne) et P. Garelli s'est intéressé à cette question il y a déjà 40 ans⁸ : « les groupes ethniques ne sont pas homogènes. L'onomastique révèle des brassages constants qui se manifestent sous une

³ Garelli 1963 : 127-168.

⁴ Laroche 1966 ; 1981 ; Matous & Zgusta 1969.

⁵ Je remercie J. G. Dercksen qui a mis cette liste à la disposition des collègues du *Old Assyrian Text Project*. Les sigles des tablettes paléo-assyriennes publiées et inédites ainsi que la bibliographie afférente sont ceux inventoriés dans Michel 2003a.

⁶ Michel 1991 : 33-36.

⁷ Kienast 1984 : 20, note 23, propose de faire du nom féminin *Um-mi-ma-ra* un « Heiratsnamen » qui serait constitué d'un élément akkadien *ummi-* « ma mère » et du nom abrégé de la fille du dieu de l'orage Hatti, Innara. Il existe plusieurs noms de femmes commençant par l'élément *ummi-* dans la documentation de Kaneš, certains d'entre eux portent un élément d'autres y associant un nom divin local tel Ummi-Ishara « Ishara est ma mère » (ICK 1 127, 3, 8 et UAR 25b), theophore assyrien comme Ummi-Ishara « Ishara est ma mère » (Ass 18784, 1). Notons l'existence d'autres y associant un nom divin local tel Ummi-Kubabat (Ass 18784, 18'), dont le second élément pourrait avoir un lien d'une femme appelée Ummi-Nawar (Kay 2300, 18'), dont le second élément pourrait avoir un lien avec la ville de Nagar (Tell Brak, Durand 1997 : 414) dont la Dame est vénérée dans les archives royales de Mari (Guichard 1994).

⁸ Garelli 1963 : 161 et plus généralement p. 161-168.

double forme. Soit directement ; un homme portant un nom caractéristique d'un groupe donné épouse une femme d'un autre groupe. Soit indirectement : un individu d'un groupe donné est père ou fils d'un individu dont le nom est caractéristique d'un autre groupe. Il est très vraisemblable que le deuxième phénomène est la conséquence du premier, c'est-à-dire qu'en cas de mariage mixte, les enfants recevaient des noms traditionnels dans deux familles. » Il relève alors un certain nombre de cas de couples mixtes ou de parents ne portant pas un nom du même groupe ethnique que leurs enfants.

La documentation de Kaneš ne donne qu'exceptionnellement, dans certains contrats, les noms à la fois du père et de la mère d'un individu, et le patronyme n'est jamais donné dans les lettres. Il est par conséquent à peu près impossible de définir avec précision l'appartenance ethnique d'une personne, *a fortiori* d'une femme, dont nous ne possédons que le nom. Ayant recensé les anthroponymes anatoliens féminins attestés dans la documentation de Kaneš⁹, il s'avère qu'un certain nombre d'entre eux appartiennent dans les femmes qui ont pour père un individu au nom assyrien ; celles-ci ont sans doute hérité pelli (TMH 1 21d) ou de Tammanika, fille de Bizebize, fille d'Aššur-femmes, ayant épousé des hommes aux anthroponymes assyriens, dotent leurs filles de noms assyriens. Ainsi, Sišahsūkar, l'épouse d'Aššur-nâda, donne sa fille Ištar-Lamassu de mariage à Puzur-Ištar (Prag I 490)¹⁰.

Certaines femmes portant un nom anatolien semblent toutefois appartenir à la communauté locale, leur père ayant également un nom anatolien. Tel est le cas par exemple de Hatala, l'épouse de Laqēpum, dont le père est le célèbre marchand d'Eniš(a)ru¹¹. Mais pour d'autres, bien plus nombreuses, nous ne connaissons pas le nom du père, dans les meilleurs des cas, seulement le nom de la mère. Celui-ci peut alors tout aussi bien être assyrien qu'assyrien. Ainsi Hamananika est donnée en mariage par sa mère au nom assyrien, le père étant sans doute décédé (TPAK 1 161). En revanche on peut par conséquent imaginer qu'elle a hérité son nom de la famille de son père¹².

Ces différents cas et les problèmes de prosopographie qu'ils impliquent montrent l'importance de la mixité entre les populations anatoliennes et assyriennes, mixité qui s'est accrue au cours du temps, et expliquent la complexité des études relatives à un type très spécifique des relations familiales, qui concerne ici les mariages entre Assyriens et Anatoliennes. Je me contenterai donc d'analyser les mariages entre les marchands ayant un anthroponyme assyrien et leurs épouses portant un nom anatolien, appellés ici par convention respectivement Assyriens et Anatoliennes, sans tenir compte du degré d'appartenance à l'une ou l'autre communauté des individus concernés.

⁹ Hecker 1978 donne une liste de femmes mentionnées dans les tablettes alors publiées ainsi que des renseignements les concernant.

¹⁰ Michel 2001 : 480-481 ; Larsen 2002 : xxv-xxvi.

¹¹ Ce marchand anatolien a fait l'objet d'une étude par Veenhof 1978 : 279-311. Eniš(a)ru, fils de Kuntas (ICK 1 129, 2) a une fille, Hat(u)ala, mariée à un Assyrien, Laqēpum (Michel 2001 : 501-502) ; il apparaît fréquemment comme créancier de couples anatoliens.

¹² Michel 2001 : 499.

1.2. Sources relatives aux Anatoliennes

Les femmes sont relativement bien documentées par les archives paléo-assyriennes, mais une distinction s'opère entre les habitantes d'Assur et celles de Kaneš car elles ne disposent pas du même type de sources. Les femmes d'Assur, seules pendant de longues périodes, ont écrit de nombreuses lettres riches en détails sur leurs opérations financières et sur leur vie quotidienne aux membres masculins de leur famille en résidence à Kaneš. Par contre, nous n'avons pas retrouvé de textes relevant du droit familial les concernant, ceux-ci devaient être conservés dans leurs maisons à Assur. Les habitantes de Kaneš, Assyriennes et Anatoliennes, quant à elles, lorsqu'elles ont écrit, ont envoyé leurs lettres à Assur et dans d'autres comptoirs commerciaux d'Asie Mineure et leur correspondance n'a, le plus souvent pas été retrouvée. Certaines ont reçu des lettres de leurs époux en déplacement en Anatolie centrale. En revanche, quelques contrats de mariage ou de divorce exhumés à Kaneš les concernent¹³.

Les Anatoliennes apparaissent dans les lettres et les contrats. Elles interviennent principalement, aux côtés de leur époux anatoliens, dans les créances en tant que codebtaries et solidairement responsables du remboursement du prêt. On les trouve également dans des contrats familiaux et dans les en-têtes des lettres. Néanmoins, toutes les informations offertes par les tablettes de Kaneš sur les femmes anatoliennes doivent être utilisées avec précaution car elles émanent de sources principalement assyriennes qui n'illustrent que le point de vue assyrien de la situation.

2. Des mariages mixtes

Le mariage à l'époque paléo-assyrienne est avant tout documenté par les contrats retrouvés dans le quartier des marchands de Kaneš ; un certain nombre d'entre eux concernent des mariages mixtes entre la population assyrienne et la population anatolienne. Les relations matrimoniales entre les époux sont également documentées par de nombreuses allusions dans la correspondance.

2.1. Le mariage dans la documentation paléo-assyrienne : des maris « bigames »

Les coutumes matrimoniales des habitants de Kaneš sont relativement bien connues grâce à des contrats de mariage, actes de divorce, contrats d'adoptions, testaments, dépositions, procès-verbaux et verdicts rendus par les autorités assyriennes de Kaneš ou d'Assur ainsi qu'une abondante correspondance¹⁴. Les contrats de mariage retrouvés révèlent qu'une abondante correspondance¹⁴.

¹³ Eisser & Lewy 1930/35 présentent plusieurs types de contrats familiaux ; Rems 1996 recense la bibliographie relative à ces contrats ; pour la bibliographie ultérieure, cf. Michel 2006a : 159, n. 12.

¹⁴ Pour une synthèse sur ce sujet, cf. Veenhof 2003 : 450-455 et Michel 2006a pour les clauses particulières relatives au marchand bigame.

systématiquement des clauses atypiques : anticipation d'une éventuelle infertilité de couples assyriens, anatoliens ou mixtes. Ces textes sont logiquement conservés dans les archives des personnes concernées au premier chef et les quelques enveloppes retrouvées montrent que ceux-ci appartiennent le plus souvent à la famille de la fille ou encore à cette dernière¹⁵. Seuls ceux faisant état d'un versement par le mari sont conservés par ce dernier en guise de preuve de paiement¹⁶.

Le mariage paléo-assyrien s'accompagne de différents cadeaux nuptiaux, dot et équivalent pour l'homme et la femme, montant alors fixés, d'un montant semblables dans le mariage. Les contrats de mariage ou actes de divorce concernant des couples anatoliens reflètent des coutumes propres et insistent sur une communauté des biens des époux¹⁷. Dans les cas de mariages mixtes entre Assyriens et Anatoliens, les coutumes des uns et des autres sont en revanche plus difficiles à mettre en évidence et il est presque impossible de discerner les influences réciproques.

Les deux communautés pratiquent un mariage monogame. La même peine pécuniaire, d'un montant dissuasif, peut être appliquée au mari s'il prend une seconde épouse ou divorce de la sienne¹⁸. Toutefois, il est autorisé à prendre une seconde femme afin de s'assurer une descendance lorsque la sienne est supposée être stérile ; cette femme, choisie uniquement pour procréer, n'acquit pas le statut d'épouse ; c'est une esclave¹⁹. La société assyrienne autorise aussi les marchands, absents du foyer pendant de très longues périodes et installés dans des comptoirs de commerce loin de chez eux en contraté que dans le respect de deux règles fondamentales : un marchand assyrien ne peut pas avoir deux épouses de même statut et il ne peut pas non plus avoir deux épouses au même endroit. Le statut de l'épouse est défini le plus souvent par les termes *alšatum*, principale, et *amtum*, qui signifie la « servante » et que l'on traduit conventionnellement par « épouse secondaire »²⁰.

¹⁵ Sur les enveloppes des contrats AKT 1 76, Kt 1 29e, Kt v/k 147b, TC 1 67 et CCT 5 16b figurent les empreintes des sceaux des témoins et du mari, par conséquent ces documents étaient effectivement conservés par la famille de la jeune femme ou encore par cette dernière.

¹⁶ Tel est le cas de l'enveloppe TPAK 1 161b scellée par la mère de la jeune femme et où il est précisé le montant du contre-don (*šimum*) versé par le mari.

¹⁷ KTS 2 6 = AKT 1 21, Michel 2006a : 161, n. 21.

¹⁸ AKT 1 76, Michel 2006a : 162, n. 23.

¹⁹ Michel 2006a : 163.

²⁰ Le terme *qadîsum* (ICK 1 3) est parfois utilisé pour désigner une « épouse » de statut secondaire ; c'est une assyrienne et par conséquent son cas n'intervient pas dans le cadre de cet article.

2.2. L'épouse anatoliennes : *assatum* ou *amtum* ?

À la lecture des différents contrats de mariages retrouvés, il s'avère que le statut de l'épouse n'est pas lié à son appartenance ethnique : Assyrienne et Anatoliennes peuvent être désignées comme *assatum* ou *amtum*. Lorsqu'un marchand se marie pour la première fois, sa femme est systématiquement désignée comme *assatum*, que ce premier mariage ait lieu à Aššur ou en Asie Mineure. Un Assyrien déjà marié ou engagé par contrat à une femme ne peut avoir pour seconde épouse qu'une *amtum*, en Anatolie si son *assatum* habite Aššur ou à Aššur si cette dernière réside en Anatolie. Il n'y a pas de règle de localisation pour l'épouse principale ou l'épouse secondaire, l'une ou l'autre pouvant résider à Aššur ou à Kanes²¹.

Les contrats retrouvés ne sont cependant pas toujours explicites sur le statut de l'épouse : certains ne le précisent tout simplement pas. C'est le cas par exemple d'un document examiné en 1994 et où l'on apprend qu'Aššur-malik a épousé la fille d'Irmâ Aššur, il doit l'emmener avec lui dans ses déplacements en Anatolie et n'a pas le droit d'épouser une autre (femme) à Kanes. Il ne peut pas non plus contracter un nouveau mariage car il est déjà engagé à la fille de Dada à Aššur ; le contrat n'indique pas laquelle de ses deux épouses doit être considérée comme son *assatum*, mais il est probable que c'est celle à laquelle il a été tout d'abord engagé par contrat, c'est-à-dire celle d'Aššur²².

Dans d'autres textes, le scribe fait preuve d'un manque de rigueur en utilisant alternativement les mots *assatum* et *amtum* pour la même femme. Dans le contrat de mariage TPAK 1 161 établi entre Aššur-malik et son épouse anatoliennes Hamananika, celle-ci est désignée comme *amtum* sur la tablette et *assatum* sur l'enveloppe ; toutefois la clause interdisant à Aššur-malik de prendre une autre épouse *assatum* en Anatolie confirme le texte de l'enveloppe²³. Cette confusion, qui peut paraître curieuse dans un contrat où le statut de l'épouse prend toute son importance, semble se généraliser dans les lettres et les autres documents d'ordre commercial. Ainsi, l'auteur de la lettre AKT 3 40 désigne-t-il la femme d'Eradi tantôt comme *amtum*, tantôt comme *assatum*²⁴. Il en va de même pour l'épouse anatoliennes d'Uzua, Zuška(na) qui est désignée alternativement comme *amtum* et *assatum* par les collègues de ce dernier²⁵.

Il est possible d'imaginer que, loin d'Aššur et des épouses résidant dans cette ville, il ne paraît pas nécessaire de préciser, dans le cadre du commerce, voire du quotidien, le statut précis de chacune de ces femmes, actives aux côtés de leurs maris. Si l'on ne connaît pas l'existence des enfants d'Aššur-nâdâ à Aššur par les lettres que lui envoie

²¹ Veenhof 2003 : 452 ; Michel 2006a.

²² KT 94/k 149, Michel & Garelli 1996 : 298-299.

²³ TPAK 1 161a tablette, l. 9, 16-17 : *A-šur-ma-lîk (...) a-ma-sû : a-šar, li-bîš-su i-ra-deš*. TPAK 1 161b enveloppe, l. 11, 18-20 : *A-šur-ma-lîk (...) a-ša-sû, a-šar li-bîš-su, i-ra-deš*.

²⁴ AKT 3 40 : *l. 6 : a-na a-ma-at E-ra-di et l. 11-12 : a-ša-at, E-ra-di*.

²⁵ Zuška(na) est l'épouse *assatum* d'Uzua (TC 3 266, 2) et mentionnée comme telle dans un procès verbal (CCT 5 17a, 6, 9), mais elle apparaît comme *amtum* d'Uzua dans une lettre expédiée par Amur-Ištar à Imdûm (BIN 6 76, 11).

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son père Aššur-idi, il serait aisément d'imaginer que Šikâlpusar est l'épouse principale d'Aššur-nâdâ ; seul ce dernier fait allusion à elle en la désignant comme une *amtum*²⁶. La plupart du temps toutefois, le statut de l'épouse d'un marchand en Anatolie, *a fortiori* d'une Anatoliennes, n'est pas précis et c'est à l'historien de le deviner. Tel est le cas, par exemple, de Kumanîya : seul l'examen de sa correspondance permet de supposer qu'elle était l'épouse-*amtum* d'Aššur-mitappi²⁷.

D'après les contrats, les épouses anatoliennes des marchands assyriens peuvent aussi bien avoir le statut d'*assatum* que celui d'*amtum*. Parmi les premières, on recense Anana, (TPAK 1 161) ; Hatala, fille d'Enisaru, femme de Lâqepum, fils de Wardum (ICK 1 3) ; Walîwali, épouse de Lâqepum, fils d'Aššur-malik (ICK 2 76) ou encore Zibezibe, fille d'Aššur-bêli, femme d'Aššur-amaram, fils d'Emman-Aššur (TMH 1 21d). Parmi les secondes qui ont le statut d'*amtum*, figurent entre autres Anana, femme de Salim-Aššur (TC 3 232), Haššanîka, femme de Puzur-Šamaš (KT d4 29) et Walâwala, l'épouse de Pilah-Ištar (ICK 1 32). On peut imaginer que les Anatoliennes qui ont épousé des Assyriens parmi les premières générations de marchands venus s'installer en Asie Mineure ont le plus souvent le statut d'*amtum*, leur mari ayant déjà un foyer à Aššur. Par la suite, certains marchands assyriens ont fondé leur foyer principal à Kanes ou dans (*assatum*) des autochtones. C'est sans doute le cas pour Walîwali car son mari est attesté à la toute fin du kôrûm II, sous l'épomyme Su-Rama (KEL 131)²⁸.

2.3. Une épouse peu mobile ?

Plusieurs contrats de mariage prennent en compte les fréquents déplacements des marchands en Asie Mineure et stipulent que l'époux qui contracte un mariage à Kanes que l'épouse d'Aššur demeure dans cette ville où elle attend le retour de son mari, la femme épousée en Anatolie est donc amenée à voyager fréquemment. Cependant, à la lecture des contrats, il s'avère que cette clause figure le plus souvent dans les actes concernant le mariage d'un Assyrien avec une épouse *amtum* assyrienne. Ainsi, le contrat Purushattum ou à Hattum partout où ses voyages l'entraineront, et il la ramènera à

²⁶ KTS 1 13a (Larsen 2002 : no. 56), l. 21-22: *a-na am-tim, di-na-šu* ; KTS 13b (Larsen 2002 : no. 57), l. 33 : *a-na a-am-tim di-in*.

²⁷ Michel 1998 ; Michel 2001 : 493-499.

²⁸ S'il s'agit bien du même Lâqepum, fils d'Aššur-malik qui intervient dans le document Prague I 446, 5, 7, 24.

²⁹ Michel 2006a : 165-166.

³⁰ Prague I 490, l. 4-10 : *a-na⁵ Pu-ru-uš-ha-tim⁶ lu a-na Ha-tim a-šar⁷ ha-ra-šu-ni iš-ti-šu⁸ -iš-ri-deš-ši ; ū qâ-di-šu-ma⁹ a-na Kâ-ni-iš¹⁰ ū-ra-ra-ši*.

Kanès avec lui». Il en va de même pour le mariage entre Aššur-malik et Suškana, fille d'Irma-Aššūn³¹: «partout où Aššur-malik se rendra, il l'emmènera avec lui». La correspondance échangée entre les Assyriens et leur épouse assyrienne d'Asie Mineure confirme que ces dernières devaient suivre leur mari. Ainsi, Puzur-Aššur menace sa promise, Nuhšatum, de prendre pour une épouse une jeune fille de Wahšūšana si elle ne le rejoint pas dans cette localité³². De même, dans une lettre pathétique qu'elle écrit à son mari Ima-Sin, Ištar-nâda explique que chaque fois qu'elle a tenté de rejoindre son époux, celui-ci était déjà reparti³³; de Purushatum, elle s'est rendue à Kanès, puis à Timilkîya et enfin à Habum d'où elle envoie sa lettre.

On pourrait imaginer que, contrairement à l'épouse *aššatum*, qui ne quittait pas Aššur, l'épouse *amutum*, quant à elle, devait suivre son mari. Toutefois, cette clause n'apparaît pas, à ma connaissance dans les contrats liant un Assyrien à son épouse *amutum* assyrienne, et à l'inverse, sur la retrouve dans un contrat relatant le mariage d'Aššur-malik avec une épouse *aššatum* assyrienne du nom de Šamananîa³⁴: «Aššur-malik n'épousera pas une autre femme *aššatum* dans Kanès, Purushatum, Durhunit ou Wahšūšana ; si l'emmènera son épouse *aššatum* (env.)/amutum (tab.) là où il le voudra.» L'hésitation du scribe sur le statut de l'épouse s'explique peut-être par la présence inhabituelle de cette clause dans cette configuration.

La correspondance échangée entre les femmes assyriennes et leurs maris assyriens confirment que celles-ci ne voyagent guère ; elles demeurent le plus souvent à Kanès où leurs époux les rejoignent de temps à autre. Tel est le cas, par exemple, de Hatala, la fille d'Enīšaru et épouse *aššatum* de Lāqēpum ; son mari lui demande de surveiller attentivement la maison dans laquelle elle demeure³⁵. Šišahšūsar, l'épouse *amutum* d'Aššur-nâda, reçoit plusieurs lettres de son mari avec des instructions ; l'une de ces missives fait allusion à un voyage qu'elle aurait dû entreprendre mais qui a été annulé en raison du mauvais temps (CCT 3 7a)³⁶. Kunannîya, la femme d'Aššur-mūtappâ, lorsqu'elle doit rejoindre son mari, se voit dans l'obligation de prendre des dispositions pour faire garder sa maison en son absence et confier sa fille à une servante indigène (KTH 6). Elle se rend également à Aššur, mais seulement après le décès de son mari, afin d'obtenir une part dans sa succession³⁷.

Ces femmes restent donc le plus souvent dans leur maison à Kanès, maison qui abrite, outre leurs enfants, quelques domestiques, parfois d'autres membres de la famille

³¹ Kt 94/k 149, 1. 5-7 : ⁵a-šar A-šur-ma-lîk ⁶i-lu-ku : iš-ti-su ⁷i-ra-deš-ši.

³² BIN 6 104, Michel 2001 : no. 397.

³³ Kt h/k 73, Michel 2006a : 170, n. 56.

³⁴ TPAK 1 16(a) : ⁹A-šur-ma-lîk a-ša-tîm ¹⁰lu i-na Kâ-nî-iš ¹¹lu i-na Pu-ru-uš-ha-tim ¹²lu i-na Dur-⁴ha-mi-¹³lu i-na ¹⁴Wa-oh-šu-ša-na ¹⁵Id e-ha-az ¹⁶a-ma-sû : a-šar ¹⁷Il-bî-šu i-ra-deš.

³⁵ Contrat de mariage entre Hatala et Lāqēpum : ICK 1 3. Hatala reçoit les lettres ICK 1 69, BIN 4 228, CCT 3 50a et Prague I 669 de son mari, cf. Michel 2001 : 501-502.

³⁶ Michel 2001 : no. 361 ; Larsen 2002 : no. 50, cf. également les lettres nos. 51-58, ainsi que no. 73 qui serait une copie d'une lettre de Šišahšūsar à son mari.

³⁷ Michel 1998.

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et ponctuellement des associés de leur mari. En effet, certaines lettres reçues par ces femmes ont au moins un autre destinataire, le plus souvent assyrien. On peut imaginer que les personnes mentionnées vivent dans la même maison et ont éventuellement un lien familial avec l'expéditeur³⁸.

La superficie moyenne d'une maison du niveau II du *kârum* de Kanès serait de 90 m² dont un peu plus de 60 % de surface habitable répartie sur une moyenne de 5 pièces³⁹. Les Anatoliennes habitent dans la maison de leur mari qu'elles considèrent comme leur, et sont parfois elles-mêmes propriétaires⁴⁰. Rares sont finalement celles qui sont amenées à voyager, comme Šasšana qui rend successivement à Tegarama puis à Wahšūšana sur les injonctions d'Aššur-taklaku, peut-être son époux⁴¹. Par conséquent, si elles voyagent de temps à autre, contrairement aux femmes d'Aššur, il semblerait toutefois qu'elles soient moins libres de leurs mouvements que les Assyriennes implantées en Asie Mineure.

3. Les activités des Anatoliennes dans leur foyer et dans le commerce

Les lettres envoyées par les Assyriens à leurs épouses assyriennes ainsi que divers contrats commerciaux permettent de reconstituer les activités de ces femmes à Kanès. Contrairement aux préoccupations des femmes d'Aššur, principalement inquiètes du devenir de leur production textile dans le cadre du commerce international⁴², les Anatoliennes de Kanès n'évoquent jamais une éventuelle activité de tissage. Toutefois leur implication dans les activités commerciales de leurs époux.

3.1. Activités agricoles et domestiques

Parmi les tâches quotidiennes des épouses assyriennes figurent les travaux agricoles, un aspect qui n'est pas documenté pour les femmes d'Aššur. Les courriers envoyés par Aššur-nâda à son épouse Šišahšūsar font allusion à plusieurs reprises aux travaux des champs : elle doit veiller à l'achat de bœufs de bonne qualité et rassembler le fourrage pour les nourrir (TC 2 47), puis faire en sorte qu'ils soient prêts à passer la charrue (VS 26 20). Elle est également en relation avec les paysans des environs qui lui livrent d'importantes quantités de céréales.⁴³ Elle achète de la paille, du bois, des roseaux et

³⁸ Veenhof 1982 : n. 24.

³⁹ Özgüç 1986 : 1-15 et plans ; Michel 1997 : 286 ; Perello 2004 : 15-18.

⁴⁰ Wilcke 1982 : no. 1, Kienast 1984 : no. 39, Ummimara achète des maisons dont une précédemment acquise par Suškana ; celle-ci est autorisée à demeurer.

⁴¹ Michel 2001 : no. 395 (HUC 4, 40, 55).

⁴² Veenhof 1972 : 103-123 ; Michel 2006c.

⁴³ Larsen 2002 : xxix et texte no. 52 (TC 2 47).

divers ustensiles pour la maison et les travaux des champs. Kunanniya reçoit des instructions de son mari, Aššur-mūtappil, à propos d'un élevage de porcs dont elle aura la charge⁴⁴: « Si les porcs n'engraissent pas, vends-les, s'ils sont gras, qu'ils soient disponibles ». L'implication de ces femmes dans l'agriculture et l'élevage explique sans doute qu'elles ne se déplacent guère, ou tout du moins sont peu mobiles comparées aux Assyriennes venues s'installer à Kané.

De même que les femmes d'Aššur, les épouses anatoliennes des marchands assyriens ont pour tâche de préparer quotidiennement la bière pour la consommation de la maisonnée. Aššur-nādā expédie à son épouse du malt (TC 2 47) et lui demande de faire tremper 10 sacs de malt et 10 sacs de pain de bière (VS 26 19). Ces femmes élèvent bien sûr leurs enfants qu'elles doivent habiller et nourrir. Šīnahšūsar, en plus des réserves de céréales qu'elle achète, reçoit de son mari divers produits, dont du lard (TC 2 47), Kunanniya, de son côté, réceptionne des condiments et du cumin, ainsi que des étoffes pour nourrir et habiller les enfants (KTH 6)⁴⁵.

Les maisons qui abritent ces femmes à Kané contiennent aussi des marchandises et une partie des archives comptables de leurs époux assyriens. Elles reçoivent par conséquent de nombreuses consignes pour renforcer la surveillance de la maison et les biens qu'elle renferme, à commencer par les créances⁴⁶. Alors que Kunanniya s'apprête à partir, sans doute pour rejoindre son époux, celui-ci lui demande de prendre des dispositions pour faire garder la maison en son absence (KTH 6). Plus tard, alors que son mari est décédé et que Kunanniya s'est rendue à Aššur, elle constate à son retour qu'on lui a volé des caisses et du mobilier (TTC 26)⁴⁷.

3.2. Acquisitions d'esclaves et de biens immobiliers

Ces femmes sont aidées dans leurs tâches quotidiennes par des servantes⁴⁸. Elles gèrent leur domesticité en achetant ou vendant ces servantes à leur guise⁴⁹. L'argent nécessaire à l'achat de ces esclaves peut être prélevé sur leurs biens propres : l'argent issu de la vente d'objets de Kunanniya a servi à l'achat de deux servantes (CTMMA 1 78). En d'autres occasions, l'argent est prélevé sur les biens du couple : Lāqēpum autorise sa

⁴⁴ BIN 6 84, l. 35-37 ; Michel 2006b : 171-172.

⁴⁵ CTMMA 1 78 : Le mari de Kunanniya lui demande même de bien nourrir sa fille.

⁴⁶ Hatala doit surveiller attentivement la maison (ICK 1 69). Kunanniya, femme d'Aššur-mūtappil, doit veiller nuit et jour sur les tablettes que lui a envoyées son mari (BIN 6 1). Kunanniya doit surveiller la maison, les pièces et coffres scellés et éviter de quitter sa maison (CTMMA 1 78).

⁴⁷ Michel 1998 ; Michel 2001 : 493-499.

⁴⁸ Celles-ci s'occupent parfois des enfants en cas d'absence des maîtresses de maison (KTH 6, l. 17-20).

⁴⁹ Achat d'une servante par Nakilwišwe, femme d'Aššur-mūtappil (ICK 1 123). Achat d'une servante par Waliwali, femme de Lāqēpum (ICK 2 76). Achat d'une servante par Walawala (ICK 1 19, Kienast 1984 : no. 28).

femme Hatala à revendre une servante si cette dernière ne lui plaît pas et à utiliser l'argent de la vente comme elle l'entend (ICK 1 69).

Certaines femmes sont suffisamment aisées pour s'acheter la maison dans laquelle elles demeurent. C'est le cas de Šūkana, peut-être l'épouse de d'Aššur-nādā (KTH 28b, 19) ou encore celle d'Uzun (TC 2 266, 2), qui achète un immeuble appartenant à Ikiñum ; plus tard, alors que la maison est rachetée par une autre femme, Ummi-nara, femme d'Ennab-Aššur, elle est autorisée à y demeurer (Wilcke 1983 : n° 1).

Pour la gestion de leur maisonnée, les Anatoliennes reçoivent de l'argent et divers produits de leurs maris assyriens. Hatala obtient de l'argent ainsi que des noix et des endettements auprès d'Aššur-nādā⁵⁰, Aššur-mūtappil envoie de personnes coupées, des peaux de moutons, mais aussi de l'argent pour acheter de l'orge et un mouton servant de réserve de viande pour la maisonnée⁵¹. Toutefois, ces envois ne suffisent pas voire d'orge et de blé, pour assurer leur subsistance et celle de leur progéniture en période d'empêtrage⁵² ; elles sont alors solidiairement responsables du remboursement de l'emprunt dont le montant, en cas de non remboursement peut être prélevé sur le patrimoine du couple⁵³.

3.3. Activités commerciales et financières

La situation financière de ces femmes anatoliennes, qui dépend fortement du rendement des affaires commerciales de leurs maris, est parfois suffisamment bonne pour qu'à leur tour elles effectuent des prêts⁵⁴ ou participent à des opérations financières. Avec leurs propres capitaux, elles prennent part au commerce ; Hatala confie par contrat 6 sicles d'argent à un marchand pour effectuer des achats vraisemblablement à Aššur (ICK 1 67). Šīnahšūsar obtient un bracelet d'une valeur de 5 sicles d'argent (KTH 26). Les sommes alors en jeu sont toutefois relativement faibles.

⁵⁰ BIN 4 228 (Michel 2001 : no. 388) ; Prague 1 669.

⁵¹ TC 2 47 ; RC 1749C ; Michel 2001 : 476-480 ; Larsen 2002 : 73-83.

⁵² KTS 2 31 (Michel 2001 : no. 379) ; CTMMA 1 78 Michel 2001 : no. 380.

⁵³ La tablette BIN 4 165 fait état de plusieurs dettes d'Anana ('s'il s'agit bien de la femme d'Iddin-Adad) pour un montant de 1 à 2 ½ mines d'argent. Žūkana est solidiairement responsable d'une dette avec son mari (KTH 28). CCT 5 49d mentionne une dette en orge et argent de Hapuaḥšūsar et de son mari Karua. TC 3 218 concerne une dette en orge et argent de Hapuaḥšūsar et de son mari Šūmāhūm. Kt d/k 48 fait état d'une dette en orge, blé et argent de Iskuṇanika et de son mari Šalmūh ; ils sont solidiairement responsables. VS 26 125 signale une dette de Kulukaya et de son mari Šalim-alum.

⁵⁴ Michel 2003b.

⁵⁵ Hatala prête de l'argent (Prague 1 669). Anana prête 4 ½ sicles à un couple anatolien de (ICK 1 16). Zizizi femme d'Atata (TC 3 250) prête de l'argent (AKT 1 60).

Néanmoins l'essentiel des activités de ces femmes consiste à aider leurs maris dans leurs affaires. Elles se rendent auprès des débiteurs de leurs époux et récupèrent les remboursements des emprunts en veillant bien à intégrer le montant des intérêts.⁵⁶ Elles sont par conséquent amenées à ouvrir les archives conservées dans leur maison et à y rechercher des créances⁵⁷ ; elles ont pour consigne d'être fermes dans leurs négociations et d'empêcher quiconque de prendre de l'argent appartenant à leurs époux⁵⁸. Elles ne sont pas toujours bien reçues par les débiteurs et doivent alors se faire accompagner par des représentants de leur mari⁵⁹.

Souvent, la femme Anatolienne tient lieu d'associée de son mari à Kanēš et surveille les activités de ses représentants sur place. Ainsi, Sišahšūsar recourt pour instruction de contrôler les démarches effectuées par les représentants d'Aššur-nādā à Kanēš auprès de ses débiteurs et de ses collègues en charge de ses marchandises vendues à crédit, et de le tenir au courant de leurs actes⁶⁰ ; elle en profite à l'occasion pour se plaindre de l'oubli d'une livraison. Elle doit aussi approvisionner son mari en huile de bonne qualité et lui renvoyer ânes et serviteurs⁶⁰. De même, sans doute parce que l'huile produite à Kanēš est excellente, Kunmaniya doit faire parvenir cette denrée à son mari⁶¹.

Par conséquent, les femmes Anatoliennes des marchands assyriens ont des activités tout à fait semblables à celles des épouses assyriennes de leur maris résidant à Aššur à la différence près qu'au lieu de confectionner des étoffes dans le cadre du commerce international elles effectuent des travaux agricoles et pratiquent l'élevage domestique ce qui a pour effet de limiter leurs déplacements. Elles reçoivent de leurs maris itinérants toutes sortes d'instructions d'ordre commercial ou domestique, ainsi que des capitaux pour approvisionner leur maisonnée.

4. Relations entre les Anatoliennes et leurs époux assyriens

La femme Anatolienne, dont le mari a fréquemment une autre épouse à Aššur, connaît généralement l'existence de cette dernière, qui elle-même n'ignore pas la présence d'une autre femme aux côtés de son époux à Kanēš. C'est peut-être le cas de Sarrat-Istar qui

⁵⁶ C'est le cas de Hatala (BIN 4 228, CCT 3 50a, ICK 1 69).

⁵⁷ CCT 3 50a (Michel 2001 : no. 390), instructions de Laqēpum à sa femme Hatala.

⁵⁸ RC 1749C (Larsen 2002 : no. 51) et CCT 3 7a (Michel 2001 : no. 361, Larsen 2002 : no. 50), consignes données à Sišahšūsar par son mari Aššur-nādā.

⁵⁹ Sišahšūsar, alors qu'elle réclamait le prix d'une étoffe d'Aššur-nādā auprès d'un collègue, s'est fait injurier ; les collègues d'Aššur-nādā sont alors sommés de faire régler cette dette vieille de 10 ans et de remettre l'argent à Sišahšūsar (KTS 1 13b, Larsen 2002 : no. 57). Sišahšūsar est mandatée pour réclamer le remboursement de dettes dues à son époux et pour négocier un délai dans les livraisons promises par Aššur-nādā (RA 60 140a, Michel 2001 : no. 360, Larsen 2002 : no. 53).

⁶⁰ Cf. les textes VS 26 19, RC 1749C, RC 1749D, AKT 1 15 = Larsen 2002 : respectivement nos. 54, 55, 51, 73.

⁶¹ KTH 6, KTS 2 31, Michel 2001 : nos. 378, 379.

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pourrait être la sœur, la fille, voire l'épouse assyrienne d'Aššur-nādā, et qui dans une lettre à ce dernier, exprime ses bons sentiments vis-à-vis de son épouse Anatoliennam⁶² : « Le véritable *sîrum* est pour l'*amtum* de Kanēš (...) Je veux aimer ton épouse-anatolienne qui est avec toi à Kanēš. » Elle est très certainement le cas de la femme principale d'Aššur-taklāku, assyrienne ou Anatolienne, et qui, selon ce dernier, intrigue contre son épouse secondaire, Istar-ummi, qui réside à Aššur⁶³ : « Alors si tu m'aimes vraiment, mets-toi en route et viens. Cette femme que j'ai épousée intrigue contre toi ! Tu n'auras plus rien à ta disposition ! ».

4.1. Un nouveau foyer dans un cadre juridique sensiblement différent

Cette dernière lettre montre qu'Aššur-taklāku s'est construit un second foyer en Anatolie centrale dont l'ambiance ne le satisfait toutefois pas pleinement. Lorsqu'un marchand assyrien prend une épouse en Asie Mineure, il crée en effet un nouveau foyer dans une maison qu'il loue ou acquiert et où sa femme devient la maîtresse de maison. Malgré ces deux exemples, il semble que les contacts entre la famille d'un marchand constituée à Aššur et celle construite en Asie Mineure soient inexistantss. De fait, Idmār-Istar, le fils père, est totalement absent de la correspondance échangée entre Aššur-nādā et son épouse Anatolienne Sišahšūsar⁶⁴.

Dans certaines circonstances, le marchand assyrien, au lieu de se bâtir un nouveau foyer, demeure chez ses beaux-parents. Tel est le cas de Lalfiya qui, en épousant l'anatolienne Kapsiašwe, s'installe chez les parents de cette dernière, Algaria et latalka ; lorsqu'il divorce de cette femme, selon les termes même du contrat, il « divorce » également de ses beaux-parents et doit leur verser une compensation⁶⁵.

Le statut d'*amtum* d'une épouse avait certainement des répercussions sur les droits à l'héritage de ses enfants, et peut-être également sur les conditions d'un éventuel divorce⁶⁶. On peut aussi imaginer que des influences de régimes juridiques différents

⁶² BIN 4 88 (Larsen 2002 : no. 72), l. 8-9, 28-29; *sî-it-ra-am a-na qî-im*, *sa Kâ-nî-iî* (...) *a-ma-[al] kâ ka <Kâ-nî-iî, i-na pâ-di-kâ lâ-ar-ta-a-am*. Pour les relations de parenté entre Aššur-nādā et Sarrat-Istar, cf. Larsen 2002 : xxv.

⁶³ RA 51, 6 (Michel 2001 : no. 396) ; Michel 2006a : 172, n. 62. Ce texte présente un cas unique où le mari envisage d'avoir ses deux épouses au même endroit.

⁶⁴ Larsen 2002 : xxxii.

⁶⁵ Prague 1 513, Matous 1973 : 309-318 ; un fragment de son enveloppe est ICK 2 221+237. *Lâ-li-a* DUMU *A-sûr-i-<c>* *me-er-a-at* : *Al-qa-ri-a, Kâ-âp-zl-a-dî-we* ; *e-hu-uz, Lâ-li-a* ; *Al-qa-ri-a, lâ-ka-<c>-al-kâ, e-zî-bu-ma, o-wa-hi-su-nu u-ga-<me>-ru-ma*, 10 ½ GIN KU BABBAR *Lâ-li-a, a-na Al-qa-ri-a, lâ-ka-<c>-al-kâ, iš-qu-âl Al-qa-ri-a, l-a-ta-al-kâ, a-sâ-su* ; *u-kâ-âp-zl-a-dî-we, me-er-a-at* ; *a-na, Lâ-li-slu-a-lâ i-tîru, su-ma* ; *i-tîru* 1 *ma-na, KU BABBAR a-na Lâ-li-a, l-sa-qâ-su* ; *IGI Pê-rû-u, IGI Lâ-ba-âra, IGI Tu-ma-ma*.

⁶⁶ Michel 1998 ; 2006a ; Veenhof 2003 : 452, n. 10.

peuvent être mises en évidence selon le lieu où le mariage a été contracté⁶⁷. En effet, même si, dans les comptoirs de commerce d'Asie Mineure, les marchands assyriens se trouvent sous une extension juridique de l'application du droit assyrien, dans les mariages qu'ils contractent avec des Anatoliennes s'y mêlent certainement l'influence du régime matrimonial Anatolien.

Des différences sont effectivement perceptibles dans les relations entre époux. Lorsque le couple subit des revers de fortune, il peut perdre ses biens mis en gage ; la femme peut elle-même être mise en gage pour les dettes de son époux. Certaines femmes sont protégées vis-à-vis des dettes contractées par leurs époux par une clause ajoutée dans leur contrat de mariage⁶⁸. Les femmes assyriennes mises en gage sont rares, mais plusieurs sont saisies et retenues par des créanciers mécontents⁶⁹. Dans les prêts effectués à des membres de la communauté Anatolienne par contre, les garanties sont fréquentes, et parmi celles-ci figure la prise de personnes en gage dans la famille du débiteur. Le plus souvent, l'emprunt est contracté par le couple Anatolien et par conséquent mari et femme sont solidialement responsables du remboursement. Il en va de même dans quelques exemples de couples mixtes (mari assyrien – femme Anatolienne), où les emprunts sont effectués par les époux et où l'épouse, ses enfants, sa maison sont inclus dans la clause de responsabilité jointe⁷⁰.

C'est en fait principalement lors de la dissolution du couple que l'on peut observer les particularités des couples mixtes par rapport aux couples assyriens ou Anatoliens.

4.2. Les actes de divorce

Certains contrats familiaux retrouvés à Kaneš envisagent le divorce et quelques documents régulent la séparation des époux. Dans la plupart des contrats de divorces retrouvés, qui sont de nature consensuels, l'homme et la femme semblent avoir un statut identique : tous les deux peuvent initier le divorce et les peines pour rupture du contrat de mariage sont identiques pour les deux partenaires, et souvent dissuasives. Toutefois, selon qu'ils concernent des couples assyriens, des couples Anatoliens ou des couples mixtes, les documents ne s'intéressent pas nécessairement aux mêmes aspects. En cas de divorce entre Assyriens, l'amende infligée à l'instigateur du divorce, qu'il s'agisse de l'époux ou de la femme, varie de 20 sicles d'argent à 2 mines, voire 5 mines⁷¹. Quant le divorce de

⁶⁷ Cela expliquerait l'insistance de certains Assyriens pour que le mariage ait lieu à Aššur, Michel 2006a : 169.

⁶⁸ KTS 1 47a, Eisser & Lewy 1930/35 : no. 2 ; Michel 2003b : 29 ; Veenhof 1998b : contrats 1b et 1c ; Veenhof 2001. Concernant la protection de la femme contre les dettes de son mari, cf. entre autres Kt 91/k 132 et 200, Veenhof 1998b.

⁶⁹ Veenhof 2001 : 131-137.

⁷⁰ Cf. par exemple TC 3 237.

⁷¹ Clauses réciproques : si le mari ou la femme engage le divorce, la peine est de 5 mines d'argent (1 490), 2 mines d'argent (AKT 1 77), voire 20 sicles d'argent (CCT 5 16b, Kt 94/k 149). Le document Kt 91/k 132 interdit le divorce mais fixe des indemnités si le mari maltraite son

implique un couple d'Anatoliens, l'acte est alors supervisé par une autorité publique⁷² ; quelques exemples montrent que mari et femme semblent avoir des droits égaux dans le divorce⁷³, et une fois le divorce réglé, toute contestation paraît impossible, punie de mort⁷⁴.

Plusieurs documents concernent le divorce de couples mixtes, dans la mesure où le mari, Assyrien, décide parfois de retourner à Aššur. En effet, plusieurs marchands de retourne pour leurs vieux jours à Aššur. C'est par exemple le cas d'Enil-blāti, qui a passé une quinzaine d'années à Kanek, d'Alābum qui y est resté une vingtaine d'années ou encore d'Imdilim qui est retourné à Aššur après 25 ans passés en Anatolie⁷⁵. Si certains de ces actes possèdent des clauses classiques comme une peine pécuniaire pour l'instigateur de la séparation⁷⁶, la plupart ont pour caractéristique d'assurer des revenus à l'épouse Anatolienne, sous la forme d'une indemnité de divorce, et de régler le sort des événuels enfants.

L'indemnité de divorce, *ezibum*, dont le montant n'est le plus souvent pas précisé (ICK 1 32), peut être versée même si l'épouse est en tort. Ainsi, un contrat inédit découvert en 1994 précise que si l'épouse se comporte mal, son mari est autorisé à la mettre à la porte mais doit lui verser ½ mine d'argent en guise d'indemnités de divorce⁷⁷.

épouse ; il s'agit là toutefois d'une situation exceptionnelle dans la mesure où le mari est en fait garanti du père de la jeune femme (Kt 91/k 200).

⁷² Veenhof 2003 : 454 ; Derckxen 2004 : 140-145, 168 et 172-173. Beaucoup de ces contrats sont datés du *kārum* Ib (TC 1 122 ; TC 3 214 ; Kt r 19 k).

⁷³ KTS 2-6, Michel 2006a : 161, n. 21. Dans le document TC 1 100, Eisser & Lewy 1930/35 : no. 4, le mari part la mains vides mais laisse également ses dettes à son épouse.

⁷⁴ Prague I 702, Matouš 1973 : 312 ; TC 1 100, Eisser & Lewy 1930/35 : no. 4 ; Kt jk 625, Donbaz 1987 : 84, 97.

⁷⁵ Veenhof 1998a : 123. Mais tous les Assyriens ne sont pas revenus à Aššur, certains ont terminé leur vie en Anatolie centrale, tel Aššur-nîda (Larsen 2002).

⁷⁶ ICK 1 3, Michel 2006a : n. 19, 26, 27. Kt dk 291 concerne Puzur-Samas et Hašularnika : si le mari offense son épouse et divorce, il doit lui verser une indemnité de 1 mine, si l'épouse commet des méfaits, elle doit partir en « étant sa fidèle » qui retient son vêtement et donc part « nue », c'est-à-dire « les mains vides » ; elle abandonne toute possession. Cette clause rappelle les testaments de Nuzi où l'épouse investie comme chef de famille ne peut se remarier que si elle abandonne ses biens. *Puzur*^a UTU, *Ha-su-sa-ar-ni-ka*, *o-na-am-ru-tim*, *e-hu-e-si^b su-ma*, *Puzur*^a UTU, *i-sa-ma-uh-ma*, *e-zid-ib-si*, *1 ma-na KU BABBAR*, *i-sa-qul*, *tu-ma Ha-su-sa-ar-ni-ka*, *si-lá-tu-om*, *ta-ar-si*, *i-sa sá-ht-it*, *nu-dim-tim*, *ti-si*, *IGI Aššur-ma-lik*, *IGI Sá-ak-lá-nim*, *IGI Pe-re-a* (tablette déchirée en juin 1991).

⁷⁷ Kt 94/k 141, l. 6-10 : *su-ma*, *sá-ra-at-ú-ul mi-ma*, *tu-sa-lá-al*, *si-ba-sá ù na-ah-lá-á-pu-ta-sa*, *lu-ha-ma-su-ma* (tablette déchirée en septembre 1995). « Si elle est menteuse ou bien si elle commet n'importe quel acte d'impudence que ce soit, il la dépolluera de son *sibtu* et de son manteau ». Ce contrat autorise le mari à dépolluer son épouse qui s'est mal comportée de ses vêtements et à la chasser « nue », cf. note précédente.

Lorsque le mari, lors de son mariage, s'est installé dans les meubles de ses beaux-parents en Asie Mineure, il peut être amené à dédommager ceux-ci⁷⁸.

Le sort des enfants d'un couple mixte fait également l'objet d'une clause particulière ; les jeunes enfants sont confiés à l'un ou l'autre parent selon certaines conditions. Le jugement TMH 1 21d, daté du *kārum* Ib (épomone *Alillya*) autorise le père à partir avec ses trois fils après avoir versé une indemnité de divorce à son épouse⁷⁹. Il en va de même dans l'acte de divorce établi entre *Pilah-Istar* et son épouse Anatolienne ; il est autorisé à emmener sa fille *Lamassi* avec lui sachant qu'il a au préalable versé à sa femme et à la famille de cette dernière les frais d'éducation et de bouche de sa fille. Le document précise la destination du marchand : il retourne à *Aššur*⁸⁰. Toutefois les enfants ne sont pas systématiquement confiés à leur père. Un document propose un partage des enfants entre les deux parents : la femme, *Tallama*, garde sa fille et peut la marier à sa guise, tandis que l'homme, *Atata*, est autorisé à emmener son garçonnet une fois que ce dernier a atteint un certain âge et après avoir versé à son ex-épouse un dédommagement⁸¹.

Une fois divorcée de son époux assyrien, l'Anatolienne est autorisée à se remettre selon son désir ; il en va de même pour l'époux. Plusieurs jugements vont dans ce sens⁸² ; l'un d'entre eux, pour lequel le formulaire « mari et femme ont divorcé » est semblable à un acte établi entre Anatoliens, précise même que la femme divorcée, *Šakrušwe*, est libre d'épouser un Assyrien ou un Anatolien⁸³. Ces différents actes de divorce montrent que

⁷⁸ Prague I 513, Matouš 1973 : 309-318, cf. ci-dessus note 65 ; *Lallya* a versé 10 ½ sigles d'argent à ses beaux-parents. Kt 91/k, 158t (enveloppe Kt 91/k 240). Veenhof 1998b : 373 ; une fois le divorce prononcé, *Pur-Bîstar* et *Huna* sont autorisées à se remettre comme ils le désirent. Elle repart avec sa dot augmentée d'une indemnité de divorce ; sa mère, *Alayâga*, seraït veuve, par conséquent l'expression « leur mère » signifierait mère et belle-mère à la fois : le couple vivait chez elle.

⁷⁹ Le texte est édité par Eisser & Lewy 1930/35 : no. 276.

⁸⁰ IKC 1 32, 1, 1-2, 20-26 : *Pi-lá-ah-ib-sá-tár Wa-lá-dá-wa-lá, a-ma-sú [e-zí-ib]-ma (...) Lá-mu-sí-me-er-a-sú, Pi-lá-ah-ib-sá-tár i-nu-mi, a-na A-lín^b, i-lu-ku i-ra-di-ší, ta-ar-bí-tám, ú-kú-ul-tá-sá, šá-bú-ti.*

⁸¹ TC 2 76 : le père est autorisé à prendre avec lui son garçon après avoir réglé à sa femme des indemnités d'entretien, versement qui intervient « lorsque le garçonnet aura peur devant un bœuf », 1, 21-22 : *i-nu-mi šá-ib-ru-um, i-pa-ní GU, i-pó-rí-du*. Ce texte est édité par Eisser & Lewy 1930/35 : no. 6. Dans leur commentaire de ces lignes, les auteurs, note b), p. 7, considèrent que GU_a intervient ici comme un nom divin, malgré l'absence du déterminatif divin et ils traduisent le verbe par « se séparer de », note c). Hirsch 1972 : 70-71 traduit aussi GU_a par Stier(gottes) et suggère qu'il pourrait s'agir d'un rite religieux lors de la puberté. Il me semble que cette phrase peut être prise au pied de la lettre car une telle peur chez un jeune enfant n'est en effet pas innée, elle arrive vers deux ou trois ans, période qui coïncide par ailleurs avec le sevrage.

⁸² Kt 91/k, 158t et son enveloppe Kt 91/k 240, Veenhof 1998b : 373 ; Kt 78k 176, Bayram & Çeçen 1995 : 12. Dans ce dernier texte, la promesse de mariage n'ayant pas été honorée, les parents sont libres de marier leur fille selon leur désir.

⁸³ KT n/k 1414, Sever 1992 : 665. *Sákrišwa*, une fois son divorce d'avec *Aššur-taklāku* reconnu, est libre d'épouser soit un *nu'a'um* (Anatolien), soit un *tamkārum* (Assyrien). Pour les

les épouses anatoliennes, lors de leur mariage avec un Assyrien, prévoient de se retrouver seules lorsque leur mari décide de retourner à *Aššur* ; il n'est semble-t-il pas envisageable d'y suivre leur époux.

4.3. Des veuves abandonnées

Pourtant, de telles perspectives peuvent être réduites à néant dans le cas où le mari marchand assyrien en Asie Mineure, ses biens et l'ensemble de ses tablettes sont généralement renvoyés à *Aššur* ; là les héritiers règlent les créanciers puis partagent les possessions⁸⁴. Dans la mesure où le marchand a également une famille en Anatolie, cette dernière est alors en mauvaise posture pour faire valoir ses droits à une éventuelle succession. Parmi les rares exemples où l'on peut suivre le devenir d'une Anatoliene qui se retrouve veuve après avoir été mariée à un Assyrien, sa situation ne semble en effet pas particulièrement bonne. *Kunnanya*, à la mort de son mari, *Aššur-mittappi*, fils de *Pūšukén*, se trouve en conflit avec sa belle-famille désireuse de récupérer des documents précieux qui auraient été entreposés chez elle⁸⁵. La situation de sa fille n'est pas plus glorieuse dans la mesure où la famille de son époux ne lui reconnaît aucun droit. Les de sa fille, restent vaines et, à son retour, elle découvre que tablettes et mobilier ont été volés.

Dans les meilleurs des cas, il ne reste plus à ces femmes que l'usufruit de leur maison, dont le sort n'est sans doute pas systématiquement décidé à *Aššur*, et dans plusieurs contrats d'achats d'immeubles à Kané mentionnent la présence de femmes, généralement veuves, autorisées à y demeurer jusqu'à leur mort⁸⁶. Une fois encore, le cas de *Kunnanya* est instructif ; elle aurait elle-même disposé d'une maison dont elle perçoit le loyer, mais, après le décès de son mari, elle perd ce revenu car c'est un neveu de son époux qui récupère l'argent du loyer⁸⁷. *Kunnanya* perd également la propriété de sa maison dans laquelle elle demeure et pour laquelle sa belle-famille lui réclame le versement d'un loyer⁸⁸.

En résumé, si les Assyriens ne déclinent pas de leur vivant le sort de leur épouse anatolienne et des enfants issus de ce mariage, ceux-ci ont tout à perdre face à la famille assyrienne de leur mari et père. A ma connaissance nous n'avons pas encore trouvé de

Assyriens, le terme *nu'a'um* désigne un autochtone et n'a aucun caractère négatif ; les Anatoliens désignent les Assyriens par le mot *tamkārum*, cf. Dercksen 2002 : 37 ; Edzard 1989 : 107-109.

⁸⁴ Michel 1996 ; Veenhof 1998a.

⁸⁵ Michel 1998 ; Michel 2001 : 493-499.

⁸⁶ Kt a/k 1255, Bayram & Veenhof 1992 : 98 ; Donbaz 1999 : no. 28.

⁸⁷ AKT I 14 (Michel 2001 : no. 383).

⁸⁸ KTH 5 (Michel 2001 : no. 385).

testament rédigé par un Assyrien marié à une Anatoliennes. Logiquement, le marchand qui possède deux foyers, l'un à Assur, l'autre à Kané, ne devait pas avoir de difficultés pour diviser son patrimoine entre ses deux épouses, mais les enfants du premier lit pouvaient aisément revendiquer la propriété de son patrimoine immobilier, ce qui arriva sans doute avec Kunannaya.

Pourquoi, en fin de compte, certaines femmes anatoliennes ont-elles épousé des marchands Assyriens ? Telles qu'elles apparaissent dans la documentation assyrienne, les Anatoliennes semblent tenir un rôle important et indépendant dans la société ; des princesses anatoliennes exercent le pouvoir et les femmes ordinaires ont des droits égaux à ceux de leurs maris. Certaines sont impliquées dans les transactions commerciales qu'elles valident avec leur seigneur personnel⁸⁹. Cette apparente égalité de l'homme et de la femme dans le couple anatolien semble avoir attiré quelques veuves assyriennes qui, comme Istar-bâšti choisissent de rester à Kané pour y épouser des autochtones⁹⁰.

Quoique les premiers Assyriens arrivent en Asie Mineure, il s'agit principalement d'hommes, des marchands et leurs employés qui, travaillant en Asie Mineure loin des leurs, se sentent seuls. Le commerce fructueux auquel ils s'adonnent les ont sans doute rapidement rendus attractifs vis-à-vis de la population locale. Par leur mariage avec ces marchands assyriens, les femmes anatoliennes s'assurent un toit pour construire leur foyer et une vie facilitée par la présence de serviteurs. Dans l'éventualité, envisagée parfois dès le contrat de mariage, d'un retour de leur époux au pays, elles savent qu'elles disposeront alors d'un capital en argent, sous la forme d'indemnités de divorce, de la possibilité de conserver la maison dans laquelle elles vivent et seraient libres de se construire une nouvelle vie ; l'avenir de leurs enfants serait également assuré dans l'hypothèse où ceux-ci suivraient leur père à Assur. En définitive, ce qui peut arriver de pire à ces Anatoliennes est la mort soudaine de leur mari assyrien qui, en l'absence d'un testament, peut les laisser démunies et sans protection vis-à-vis de l'éventuelle belle-famille assyrienne.

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⁸⁹ Veenhof 1982 nuance ce point de vue en notant que la responsabilité jointe des époux dans les reconnaissances de dettes n'avait pas nécessairement un caractère positif. Il pense que les contrats de mariage et divorce concernant des couples mixtes sont fortement influés par la tradition assyrienne.

⁹⁰ VS 26 33 (Michel 2001 : no. 355).

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THE USE OF WRITING AMONG THE ANATOLIANS*

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This paper is focused on the question whether the Anatolians writing documents in Old Assyrian style at Kaneš had learned the art of writing from the Assyrians. Therefore we first have to investigate the nature of the Old Assyrian script and the way the Assyrians themselves learned it.

Writing among the Assyrians

The Old Assyrian inventory of cuneiform signs seems to be a quite limited one, but here caution is required. There are about 120 signs for syllabic writing for approximately 275 syllables. A few of these, signs as well as syllables, are rarely used. Some of these are even not used at all after a certain point in the course of the history of the level II settlement of Kârum Kaneš, with the only exceptions to be found in later copies of older texts. A fine example is version A of the Kültepe Eponym List (KEL A). This copy was written down very near the end of level II (c. 1836 BC) and only in the first part of this text one can find examples of these rarely used signs. This evidence shows quite clearly that we have here a copy and/or compilation of older lists. These particular signs are not found in the later parts of KEL A.¹

The total number of word signs used in the Old Assyrian script cannot be established with any certainty. We surely have to expect a number far bigger than we have now, as is evident from the existence of school texts, even if they are still not very numerous.² But we move on safe ground saying that the number of word signs used in the daily business of the merchants was very limited; KÜ.BABBAR for *kaspum* "silver" and AN.NA for *annukum* "tin" together represent nearly half of all the references for logographical writings in the Old Assyrian material.

We now know with some certainty that there have been two main ways of learning the art of writing for the Assyrians. One way is demonstrated by the above mentioned existence of school tablets. The greater number of non-commercial documents has to be taken into account here too.³ This is the traditional way of learning at a scribal school. We

* This article is based on the paper read during the symposium. A detailed study on Old Assyrian writing will be jointly prepared by Jan Gerrit Dercksen and the present author.

¹ See Veenhof, OALE, 11-13.

² See the overview in Michel, OAAS 1, 139f.

³ For the non-commercial documents, see Michel, OAAS 1, 133-141 with the additions in Michel, OAB 1, 445. More texts, especially incantations, are known but not yet published.

have only few references for this way of learning in the Old Assyrian sources, but occasionally the texts mention someone who has learned or is going to learn to the *tupsarrutum*, as in CCT 4 6d. In this letter Su'eyya informs his father in Kaneš, the famous merchant Păšu-kēn, about the fact that he and others not mentioned by name are learning the art of writing.⁴ We know that Su'eyya was for a while responsible for affairs of Păšu-kēn's family firm in the town of Purušattum⁵ and one may raise the question if Su'eyya has attended a scribal school in this most westerly outpost of the Assyrian trading network. This however cannot be proven and it is far more likely that he learned to write at home in Assur and went to Anatolia later. In CCT 4 6d Su'eyya uses the sign *bi*⁶ which is very rare in the Old Assyrian material. When this sign is used it is often by very skilled writers and many references can be found in the letters of the Assyrian rulers.⁷ But Su'eyya's version of the sign is very inaccurate and it fits into the picture we have from his other letters, which in most cases contain several writing mistakes. In the end, although Su'eyya claims to learn the art of writing, he surely is not a typical learned scribe and it is even doubtful whether he ever finished his apprenticeship.

To learn everything that was needed for someone involved in the trading business one surely did not have to pass a true scribal school. The merchants reduced the script to the most necessary, thus ensuring that a substantial part of their community was able to write a letter or any other document in such a way that everybody with at least the same level of knowledge of the script was able to read it.

But even within this artificial product "merchant script" we are able to identify different traditions. As already mentioned the number of signs used for syllabic writing in Old Assyrian tablets is limited. Nevertheless there are two alternative ways of writing for a number of syllables. Here is a rough and incomplete (but representative) overview of the most prominent of these signs:

Group A	Group B
<i>lá</i>	<i>la</i>
<i>ti</i>	<i>ti</i>
<i>ab</i>	<i>ab</i>

It is immediately clear that the signs on the left side, here "group A", are the much simpler alternatives compared to their counterparts of "group B". And consequently it is not surprising that group A signs with their phonetic values appear in 90 per cent or more of the references for the respective syllables. But this fact makes it much easier to identify users of the group B signs. It becomes evident that people using *la* tend to use *ti* and *ab* users of the group B signs.

⁴ *a-na Pu-su-ke-en₆ q̄i-bi-ma um-ma Sá-e-a-ma DUB.SAR.tám wa-di lá-am-da-ni* (CCT 4, 6d, 1-5).

⁵ As shown in a number of legal documents certified by the Kārum in Purušattum: KUG 13 (EL 332); TC 2, 77 (EL 331); TC 3, 273 (EL 330a) and others.

⁶ In *qi-bi-ma*, l. 3.

⁷ On the paleography of the *waklum* letters see Kryszat 2004.

also, and further examination of texts from these people shows that there is not only a difference in the use of signs and/or phonetic values, but also in some sign forms. A very good example for this feature is the sign *tim*, which in group A occurs in its "normal" form, but which appears in some texts containing group B signs in a different form, in which the two verticals are written as two additional *winkelhaken* following the big horizontal wedge *tim* always has. This form of the sign I will call *tim_b*.⁸ It has to be added that people using signs of group B do not do this exclusively, and a writer may well use *la* in one line and *la* in the next.

A first look at the references of group B signs shows a decrease in the use of these signs. From a certain point roughly corresponding to the beginning of the reign of Naram-Su'en (c. 1872 BC), signs of group B are not used at all, with the only exceptions being copies of older texts containing these signs.

An initial study of the use of group B signs in the archive of Imdilum has shown that the art of writing was obviously passed on from one generation to the next within this family.⁹ It seems most likely that this was not only the case in this particular family, but was the normal procedure.

Writing among the Anatolians

The family of Imdilum is also in a different way important for us, because here we do not only have a family of which all known members could write, but we also know that a daughter of Imdilum, Zizizi, married an Anatolian after her first (Assyrian) husband had died.¹⁰ Zizizi has later on obviously started some business of her own, and it seems only natural that she taught her Anatolian husband the art of writing and most likely also the Assyrian language.

However, at this point it should be stressed that none of the texts that may be considered as being written by an Anatolian features signs of group B. They are exclusively written with group A signs. But how does one recognize that an Old Assyrian tablet was written by an Anatolian scribe? One might suppose that a very clumsily written text might point to an Anatolian. But we know for certain that there were many Assyrians who did not write very nicely too. Some tablets written by Anatolians feature a script, which is considerably larger than that of most Assyrians, but this is no proof either. And the fact that we have archives of Anatolian traders also does not tell us by itself that the tablets in these archives were written by natives. Many of the texts from Anatolian

⁸ Although *tim_b* was already included in Sydney Smith's Sign-List in CCT 1, plate A, it is missing in the later lists of Thureau-Dangin (TC 2, 4-6), Borger and Labat.

⁹ For a survey of the use of writing among the members of the Imdilum family, see Kryszat OAAS 2, 30-32. For preliminary remarks on these group B signs, see also Kryszat 2001, 266f. A detailed analysis will be given in the article announced above.

¹⁰ For Zizizi see now Kryszat 2007.

archives are debt notes of some kind. But among the witnesses we often have one person with an Assyrian name and this one is in all likelihood the scribe.

But there are other, more reliable, criteria. As an example we will look at TC 3 214A, a text from Kārum Kanēš level Ib and only recently reedited by Dercksen.¹¹ Here is the text of the tablet:

Obv. 1	<i>Ni-ki-li-et</i>
	<i>u Sa-sa-li-kä</i>
	<i>mu-tum u a-su-tum</i>
	<i>i-ta-ap-ru-su</i>
5	<i>Sa-sa-li-kä</i>
	<i>a-na-or-ha-lam</i>
	<i>e (over u) lâ-at a-sar</i>
	<i>li-bi-su u lâ-ak</i>
	<i>su-ma ma-ti-ma</i>
10	<i>lu u-bo-tl-num x x</i>
lo.e.	<i>lu ma-ma-an</i>
Rev.	<i>lu u-bo-tl-nu</i>
	<i>lu DAM.GÄR-su</i>
	<i>sa a-na Sa-sa-li-kä</i>
15	<i>i-tü-wa-ar</i>
	<i>5 ma-na KÜ.BABBAR</i>
	<i>i-da-an</i>
	<i>u i-du-ku-su</i>
	<i>i-qid-i Pi-il-ha-na</i>
20	<i>ru-bo-im</i>
u.e.	<i>A-ni-ta</i>
	<i>GAL si-mi-il-ts-ti</i>
i.e.	<i>ar-nu sa Ni-ki-li-et</i>

In this divorce agreement we find in l. 7-8 the statement *aśar libbišu illak* "He may go wherever he wants to" where we should have *aśar libbiša tallak*, what is without any doubt meant here, because the statement regards the woman. And consequently we have to translate "She(!) may go wherever she(!) wants to". Mistakes like this one, especially in the use of the suffixes mixing up the genera, are typically for tablets written by Anatolians. The Assyrian differentiation in grammatical gender was alien to them, at least for the Hittites. A look at the names of the witnesses on the case does not show a single Assyrian name, and with only one exception (Siliara, l. 7) all of them are Anatolian functionaries of some sort. Burkhardt Kienast has taken a more detailed look on the problem of orthography and language of the sale documents from non-Assyrian sources in *Das Altassyrische Kaufvertragsrecht*:

¹¹ For an up to date translation and for older literature on this text, see Dercksen 2004: 173f.

Wie eine Durchsicht des Materials zeigt, stimmen von den hier behandelten kaufrechtlichen Urkunden (No. 1-31 und 32) nur wenige in altassyrischen Texte aus Kleinasiens Hinsicht mit der Masse der Urkunden mit kappadokischen Kontrahenten (vgl. § 20-22) und den acht Urkunden mit gemischten Vertragspartnern (vgl. § 23) ist jeweils nur eine (No. 6 bzw. No. 19) ohne entsprechende Fehlleistungen; alle anderen Kontrakte weisen mehr oder minder schwere Verstöße gegen die Norm der altassyrischen Schrift und Sprache auf, was gewiss kein Zufall ist. Ein Teil der unten genannten Anomalitäten kommt, wenn auch selten, gelegentlich sonst in den altassyrischen Texten vor; außfällig aber bleibt ihre Häufigkeit in den Texten aus kappadokischem Milieu. Andere Fehlleistungen sind derart ungewöhnlich, dass wir aus ihnen zwingend auf die nichtassyrische Herkunft der Schreiber schließen müssen...¹²

While I do not agree with all the features listed by Kienast in the pages following the statement quoted here, he is surely right with his assessment of the mistakes in the morphology (§ 40, p. 33), namely *Verwechselung von Singular und Plural, Verwechselung von Maskulinum und Femininum und Verwechselung genitivischer und akkusativer Personalsuffixe*. It has to be stressed that many of the texts showing the above mentioned features belong to level Ib or at least to the later period of level II, which leads to the assumption of an increasing number of Anatolian scribes in the course of the history of the trading colonies, which is not very surprising but important to see.

A new phenomenon is now found in Kt 88/k 713. This text reads:

Obv. 1	<i>KIŠIB Na-ki-li-e-et DUMU [Sa-al-ku-a]-ta-d̄</i>
	<i>KIŠIB Sc-er-wa-[ar] a-hu-[su] KIŠIB</i>
	<i>[Sa]-al-ku-a-ta-d̄ KIŠIB Lá-[ba]-ar-na-a-d̄</i>
	<i>DUMU Ma-[si]-e-e KIŠIB Ha-tü-us DUMU Na-ki-li-e-e</i>
5	<i>[KIŠIB Ha]-pu-a-su DUMU A-ra-wa-d̄</i>
	<i>KIŠIB Ha-al-ki-a-su DUMU Kä-[lu]-wa</i>
	<i>KIŠIB Kä-ta-kä-ta-a-si-ti-su</i>
	<i>KIŠIB Kä-ru-nu-wa-d̄ DUMU [Kä-lu]-a</i>
	<i>KIŠIB Ti-ut-bi-li-d̄</i>
10	<i>1 ma-na KÜ.BABBAR si-im [Tu-ut-bi-li]-a</i>
	<i>[a] na Ha-al-ki-a-su</i>
	<i>u Kä-ru-nu-wa-d̄ Kä-[ta-kä]-ta</i>
	<i>Nu-nu iš-qú-ul iš-am-su</i>
	<i>IR ma-ra-su-nu ša Nu-nu</i>
Rev.	

¹² Kienast, FAOS B 1, 31.

- 15 *šu-ma ma-ma-an*
Ti-ut-bi-ll-a
i-na qd-te-e Nu-nu e-ti-ii-ir
2 ma-na KÚ.BABBAR a-na Nu-nu
i-sa-gal šu-ma
- 20 *Ti-ut-bi-ll-a*
i-na L^š-et Nu-mu
lā-ta-ib-šu 1 ma-na KÚ.BABBAR
ū-ta-ar-šu-um DAM-šu DUMU-e-šu
um-mu-šu ū e-mu-šu
- 25 *a-na Ti-ut-bi-ll-a*
ū-lā i-ta-hi-ū-šu-ur lu še-am
lu hu-za-bi lu wa-or-e [...]
lu x-zu-nam a-na É [Nu-nu]
Ti-ut-bi-ll-dš
- 30 *i-za-bi-ll¹³*

To our surprise most of the male names ending on -a feature the Hittite ending -aš/as:

- Šalkuat(š), l. 1. 3
- Labarna(š), l. 3
- Arawa(š), l. 5
- Karumu(š), l. 8. 12
- Tuthiliya(š), l. 9. 29, (but Tuthiliya in l. 10. 16. 20. 25)

The writing of these case endings is highly unusual and may be considered a reliable token for the author's Cappadocian heritage. The reason why the name Tuthiliya loses its ending in most of the other occurrences in this text is lost to me, since we seem to have it in all cases. The mistake tāħšu for tāħšum also points to a Cappadocian scribe.¹⁴ Unfortunately the tablet gives us no hint for a reliable dating and it could be a level II text as well as one from level Ib.

Another indication for a scribe's Cappadocian background can be seen from the spellings of Assyrian names. A very good example was recently published by Donbaz in the proceedings of the IV. Internationalen Kongressen für Hethitologie held in Würzburg in 1999.¹⁵ Donbaz presented a number of tablets of which some belong to late level II and some to level Ib. One of the late level-II texts writes the well-known Akkadian name Lā-qep in the form Le-qi-ē/p which demonstrates that the scribe had no idea as to the

¹³ Published in Donbaz 1993: 145.

¹⁴ See Kienast 1.c.

¹⁵ Donbaz 2001.

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meaning of this name.¹⁶ It is however of interest to state that this tablet contains no other mistakes and apart from *Le-qep* it seems to be written in perfect Assyrian. Another of these texts, this time from level Ib, spells the well-known name Nimr-Adad as *Ni-im-ri-im-⁴IM*, impossible in Akkadian.¹⁷ Does the fact that we have these most likely Anatolian writings in the same archive tell us that there was an Anatolian archive continuing all the time from the late level II through the destruction of this level's settlement and far into level Ib? This question cannot be answered now, but the possibility is there. And the mere fact that we have to raise a question like this shows us how important the matter of the use of writing among the Anatolians is. But now that we know that there must have been quite a lot of Anatolians able to write the most pressing question is why they abandoned it after the end of the Assyrian presence in Anatolia.

Abbreviations and Bibliography

The abbreviations used here follow those in the *Old Assyrian Bibliography* of C. Michel, OAAS 1 and the additions in *AfO* 51, 2005-2006, p. 436-449 (= OAB 1).

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¹⁶ *Le-qé-ep* DUMU Pázur-Istar (Kt 98/k 121, 4), Donbaz 2001: 112.

¹⁷ In Kt 98/k 123, 19: *Ni-im-ri-im-⁴IM* DUMU Na-ra-[am-ZU], Donbaz 2001: 108.

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