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ANATOLIA
IN THE
OLD ASSYRIAN
PERIOD

BY
HILDEGARD LEWY

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CHAPTER XXIV

ANATOLIA IN THE OLD ASSYRIAN PERIOD

VII. HISTORY

THE oldest contact of Anatolia with the Akkadian-speaking peoples appears to go back to the time of the Dynasty of Agade. A legendary account, the so-called epic *King of the Battle*,¹ relates that a group of merchants from the Anatolian city of Purushkhanda sent a delegation to the king Sargon of Agade, urging him to undertake a campaign to their city and vividly describing the wealth of their country. Sargon is reported in the legend to have, after some hesitation, acceded to the merchants' request, leading his troops to Purushkhanda.

Another historiographical text, the Legend of Naram-Sin,² implies that the city of Purushkhanda belonged to the realm of Sargon's grandson. Here it is related that a strange host, descending from the city of Shubat-Enlil in the country of Subartu, i.e. from northern Mesopotamia,³ invaded Naram-Sin's kingdom, first attacking Purushkhanda and then, turning east and finally south, advanced toward the heartland of the Akkadian Empire. It is significant that Hittite versions of both of these tales have come to light at Boğazköy and that Sargon's exploits in Asia Minor are alluded to by the Hittite king Khattushilish I (c. 1650 B.C.) in an historical inscription;⁴ for this tends to show that the later population of Anatolia considered the Old Akkadian period the beginning of their country's recorded history. It is further worth noting that in the *King of the Battle* one of the principal actors bore the name of Nur-daggal, which stands for Nur-Dagan. Since, in the belief of the Akkadians, the lands dominated by the god Dagan lay west and north-west of the city of Tuttul (near the mouth of the river Balikh)⁵ the name Nur-Dagan perhaps implies that the merchants of Purushkhanda were not Akkadians but western Semites who were anxious to enter into commercial relations with Akkad.

¹ *C.A.H.* 1², ch. XIX, sect. I, with references; also *Arch. f. Or.* 20 (1963), 161 f.

² *C.A.H.* 1², ch. XIX, sect. III; § VII, 5.

³ § VII, 12, 331, n. 2.

⁴ § VII, 7.

⁵ § VII, 13, 15, n. 1.

The first ruler whose contacts with that part of Asia Minor which, in the Hellenistic period, was called Cappadocia, are well attested is Erishum I of Assyria (c. 1941–1902 B.C.).¹ Two copies of an original inscription of this king² recording his building activity in the complex of the Ashur temple in the city of Ashur were excavated in 1948 at Kültepe,³ a site near the modern village of Karahüyük, not far from Kayseri in central Asia Minor. With this ruler began an era in the history of Asia Minor which is characterized by close political and economic ties with Assyria. The latter country, in the middle of the twentieth pre-Christian century, had initiated a policy of expansion which, to judge by two royal inscriptions of this period, served the purpose of establishing commercial relations with foreign countries. In an inscription dealing with his campaign to Babylonia, Erishum's father, King Ilushuma (c. 1962–1942) remarks: 'The freedom of movement⁴ of the Akkadians and of their children I established. Copper for them I washed. From the marshy regions and the city of Ur and the city of Nippur, the city of Awal and the city of Kismar, the city of Dēr of the god Sataran up to the City [i.e. Ashur] I established their freedom of movement.'⁵ Accordingly, Ilushuma compelled the then overlord of Ur and Nippur, King Ishme-Dagan of Isin, and three vassal states of his, to grant the merchants of Akkad access to their cities and the right to market in these their own goods as well as merchandise which they purchased in Ashur. The phrase about 'washing copper' for them implies, on the other hand, that Ilushuma kept a state monopoly on the native copper found in countries dependent upon Assyria and processed through crushing and washing; but he obviously granted the Akkadian traders the privilege to purchase this copper from him and to sell it in their own country as well as in southern Babylonia. State monopolies of the copper trade existed in most ancient Near-Eastern countries. They were motivated by the fact that weapons of war were made of copper. By keeping the sale of the red metal in his own hands, a ruler could determine who was allowed to make, to market, and to own weapons.⁶ However, Ilushuma's son, Erishum, relinquished this last state monopoly

¹ Dates assigned here to these Old Assyrian kings are some forty years earlier than those of the general scheme followed in *C.A.H.* Some explanation will be given in the following chapter.

² At this period the Assyrians used the title 'king' (*šarrum*) only for the national god Ashur. Their earthly rulers bore the titles *waklum* 'overseer', *iššiakkum* 'priest-prince' or *rubā'um* 'prince'.

³ § VII, 10.

⁵ § VII, 25, 115, lines 49 ff.

⁴ *adurār*; see § VII, 20, 27, n. 57.

⁶ Cf. 1 Sam. xiii. 19 ff.

also, at least in so far as Assyria proper was concerned. In one of his inscriptions unearthed in Ashur he writes: 'I established the freedom of movement of silver, gold, copper, lead, wheat, wool', and two other commodities.¹

Three sites in Asia Minor attest the eminent success of this Old Assyrian trade policy. Near the aforementioned village of Kültepe, the ancient city of Kanesh, thousands of inscribed clay tablets have been found, attesting the activity of Assyrian merchants who dispatched goods from their homeland to Anatolia, sold them there, and sent back to Ashur gold and silver, at least part of which was to be used for the purchase of more merchandise for export. Smaller archives of the same nature were found at Alişar, the ancient city of Ankuwa, and at Boğazköy, the site of the famous city of Khatum, or Khatusha, where, several centuries later, the Hittite kings established their residence.

In view of the commercial character of these archives, historical data are rather scanty. For the purpose of estimating the length of the period covered by the archives mention must be made of the date formulae which are found on numerous juridical documents, in particular promissory notes. In the manner practised by the Assyrians throughout their history, the years in these date-formulae were named after an eponym-official called *līmu* (*limmu*) appointed annually at Ashur. Lists of these officials made it possible to ascertain their sequence, and the practice of making the king *limmu* in one of the early years of his reign served to co-ordinate the eponym-list with the king-list. However, neither of these lists has yet been found in Asia Minor.

The number of eponyms named in date-formulae on tablets from Asia Minor thus far amounts to about eighty-four.² Of these six occur on tablets from Boğazköy, five on texts from Alişar, and the remaining seventy-three on Kültepe tablets. There is some evidence, both archaeological and calendric, which indicates that the eighty-four years represented by these officials were not consecutive years, but that an older period of some seventy years, designated by the excavators of Kültepe as 'level II' must be distinguished from a very short later period, called by the excavators 'level Ib'. The occurrence in the texts of some royal names combined with a prosopographic analysis of some of the prominent merchant families makes it possible to delimit the two periods. The name of King Ikunum, who appears to have

¹ § VII, 9, II, no. 11, lines 20 ff.; § VII, 19, 99.

² § VII, 2, 79 ff.; corrections in § VII, 18, 34 ff.; additions in § VII, 21, 348 f. and in § VII, 3, 62 f.

ruled for only a few years, occurs in a promissory note from Kültepe.¹ His father, Erishum, was involved in one of the typical business operations which, however, dragged on beyond Erishum's lifetime, throughout Ikunum's reign, and into that of his son, Sharrum-kēn.² One of the documents recording this transaction is a letter, now preserved in the University Museum of Philadelphia,³ which bears an impression of the seal of King Sharrum-kēn.⁴ It is addressed to a merchant named Pūshu-kēn who is known from numerous letters and documents as the head of one of the prominent business houses. Mention is made in the letter of an interview which Pūshu-kēn had with Sharrum-kēn's father, Ikunum; and whereas the latter addressed the merchant as 'my son', King Sharrum-kēn respectfully called him 'my father'. Accordingly, Pūshu-kēn, while younger than Ikunum, must have been considerably older than King Sharrum-kēn. Pūshu-kēn's father, Sinea, on the other hand, who thus would have been a contemporary of Erishum I, does not appear as an acting person in the texts. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the older period, represented by Kültepe level II, began during the last years of King Erishum I, which means around 1910 B.C.

Pūshu-kēn's sons and daughters are known to have carried on the business after their father's death. A grandson of his, another Pūshu-kēn, son of Buzazu, appears as a witness in an unpublished Kültepe text. The same three successive generations are traceable in the family of another outstanding member of the Assyrian business community, Enlil-bani. His father, Ashur-malik, was a contemporary of Pūshu-kēn, and, like the latter, the first acting member of the family appearing in the texts. One of Enlil-bani's sons, Nāb-Sin, is mentioned in numerous texts, either under his own name or as 'Enlil-bani's son'. The three generations, or seventy *līmu*-years, of the level II period, must accordingly have covered the years from around 1910 to 1840 B.C.

The above-mentioned letter in the Philadelphia Museum is not the only document attesting the rule of Sharrum-kēn during the period covered by the Kültepe texts. A tablet in Edinburgh⁵ records a judgment by the highest court of Assyria which, as was traditional in the ancient Near East, was presided over by the

¹ § VII, 15, 184; see below, p. 7.

² § VII, 19, 101.

³ § VII, 19, 99 f.

⁴ On the legend of this seal see below, p. 7.

⁵ § VII, 4, no. 327. Three more impressions of Sharrum-kēn's seal are now known, § VII, 16, plate v, fig. 4, and § VII, 2, figs. 1-5.

king. In fact, the text begins by stating that the king (*waklum*)¹ sealed the case tablet. The cylinder seal which was rolled over the envelope bears this inscription: 'Sharrum-kēn, priest-prince of Ashur, son of Ikunum, priest-prince of Ashur.' A further text written under Sharrum-kēn's rule² lists, among various items carried by a caravan, 'five garments of Puzur-Ashur, son of the prince', obviously referring to Sharrum-kēn's son and successor, Puzur-Ashur II, as crown-prince. However, there is as yet no evidence to show that the archives covered either the reign of Puzur-Ashur II or that of his son, Naram-Sin.

The period in which the bulk of the Kültepe texts originated thus being definitely established, it is possible to interpret another group of seal impressions to which historical significance was attributed when they first became known. A case tablet in the Louvre Museum was sealed with a cylinder bearing the following legend: 'Ibbi-Sin, the mighty king, king of Ur, king of the four quarters [of the world]; Ur-Lugalbanda, the scribe, the son of Ur-nigin-gar, is your servant'. This legend first led scholars to the belief that the tablet in question was written at the time of the last king of the Third Dynasty of Ur³ (c. 2029-2006 B.C.), a conclusion which appeared all the more legitimate since the script as well as the seal impressions of the Kültepe tablets bear a considerable resemblance to those of the Ur III period. Yet a closer examination of the envelope and the enclosed tablet reveals that the seal was rolled over the case not by the scribe Ur-Lugalbanda but by an Assyrian royal scribe who, by using this seal, wished to emphasize that he was the legitimate successor of the royal scribe from Ur. An analysis of the persons involved in the text further reveals that they are all Assyrians, and that the scribe's royal lord was King Ikunum, the son of Erishum, and predecessor of Sharrum-kēn.⁴ Two tablets recently excavated at Kültepe bear a seal with the legend: 'Ibbi-Sin, the mighty king, king of Ur'. In this case, the Assyrian owner of the seal had his own name, Amurru-bani, engraved on the cylinder besides the name of the king of Ur.⁵ Even though the secondary use of the Ur III seals is thus proved beyond doubt, it remains an open question whether, slightly more than a century before the establishment of the Assyrians, the city of Kanesh and parts of the surrounding country had been under the domination of Ibbi-Sin of Ur. The very presence of the cylinder seals from Ur at Kanesh

¹ See above, p. 4, n. 2.

³ § VII, 24.

⁵ § VII, 22, 124.

² § VII, 6, no. 58, line 24.

⁴ § VII, 15, 184.

may be taken to point in this direction even though no other supporting evidence has come to light as yet.

As regards the later period of Assyrian settlement in Central Anatolia, a text acquired in the years before systematic excavations were undertaken at Kültepe is dated by the eponym Awilia.¹ This official is known by texts from Chagar-Bazar as well as from Mari² to have held office at the time when Iasmakh-Adad ruled over Mari, which means in the last few years of the reign of King Shamshi-Adad I (1813–1781 B.C.).³ Since, according to the previous computation, the older period ended around 1840 B.C., or some 25 years before the accession of Shamshi-Adad I, it is obvious that the year named after Awilia belonged to the later, or 'Ib', period of Assyrian occupation. The conclusion that this later period coincided with Iasmakh-Adad's rule over Mari is compatible with its comparative shortness as evidenced by the dearth of tablets as well as by the small number of eponym-years as compared with those of the older period; for Iasmakh-Adad's rule lasted no more than nine years.⁴ It was preceded by some four or five years during which Shamshi-Adad reconquered from Iakhdunlim of Khana the region of Mari and Terqa as well as the Khabur valley. Since, during these years, the newly conquered region was not incorporated yet into the Assyrian Empire, no *līmu* dates were being used at Mari. Instead, the documents were dated by formulae in Babylonian style recording events of Shamshi-Adad's reign.⁵ Even so, this conquest restored the communications between Assyria and Asia Minor which, of necessity, had been interrupted when the king of Khana expanded his realm by conquering seven neighbouring kingdoms, including Zalmaqum in northern Mesopotamia.⁶ With Iasmakh-Adad's defeat and the installation on the throne of Mari of Zimrilim, hitherto King of Khana, these communications obviously were interrupted again; for Zimrilim ruled not only over the Euphrates valley down to the Babylonian border but also over the Khabur valley and northern Mesopotamia. Accordingly, the later period of Assyrian activity in Cappadocia is likely to have lasted for no more than fourteen years, i.e. as mentioned before, nine years of Iasmakh-Adad during which Assyrian *līmu* dates were used at

¹ §vii, 4, no. 276; §vii, 2, 43 f.

² §vii, 1, vol. vii, 170, with n. 1. That Awilia's eponym-year occurred in that part of Iasmakh-Adad's rule which fell before his father's death can be inferred from §vii, 1, vol. viii, no. 9.

³ Cf. §vii, 14, 445 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ §vii, 23, 53, nos. 1–4; add perhaps the formula in §vii, 1, vol. viii, no. 45.

⁶ §vii, 23, 52, no. 2. On the conquests of Iakhdunlim of Khana see §vii, 11.

Mari and five years with names in Babylonian style preceding his accession. If the Mari texts contain altogether about eighteen different names of eponyms¹ this is due to the fact that they cover three unconnected periods of Assyrian overlordship, *viz.*, several years (including that of Ibni-Adad) before Shamshi-Adad's accession, several years of Sumu-iamam,² and the years of Iasmakh-Adad.

Whereas the end of the later period thus appears to be historically well established, the question remains to be answered what caused the apparent eclipse of the Assyrians between the end of the older and the beginning of the more recent epoch. In this respect attention must be called to the occurrence on tablets from Kültepe and Alişar of the names of several non-Assyrian princes who are known from Hittite sources. A promissory note excavated in 1925³ bears this unique date formula 'When Labarsha took over the princely functions'. Regardless of whether this take-over was a legitimate accession to an ancestral throne or a seizure following a conquest, the new ruler does not appear to have interfered with the activities of the Assyrian merchants; for the text stipulates that the debt recorded in the promissory note was payable as soon as the creditor, who bore the Semitic name Idi-Ishtar, should return from Khattum. The mention of Khattum raises the question whether it was the throne of this city-state to which Labarsha acceded and whether, accordingly, this Labarsha is identical with the King Labarnash who, according to Hittite tradition, heads the list of Hittite kings of the so-called Old Kingdom.⁴ Labarnash was accorded a special place in Hittite history because he allegedly enlarged his original kingdom by conquering the entire territory which separated it from the sea. If, however, it was Kanesh where Labarnash took over the throne, this date formula would represent the moment when a native replaced a Semite as prince of Kanesh.⁵ For the present discussion it is important to note that the Assyrian merchants, while finding this accession an event sufficiently important to replace with this unusual formula their usual dating by month and eponym, did not discontinue or interrupt their commercial activities.

A similar conclusion can be reached with respect to the city of Zalpa; here it can be shown that, about the time of the second of

¹ Seventeen of these in § VII, 23, 53 f.; the eighteenth is Akhiia-aia whose eponym-year occurs in § VII, 1, vol. VIII, no. 52.

² § VII, 11.

³ § VII, 8, 1 no. 178, lines 2 ff.; § VIII, 13, 114.

⁴ See *C.A.H.* II², ch. vi, sect. iv.

⁵ See § VII, 15, 181 ff.

the three generations of Assyrian merchants traceable in the level II period, a political change took place, Assyrian domination of the city being replaced by that of a native ruler.¹ Yet there too the Assyrians continued their business without interruption, no doubt because the native rulers found it to their own advantage to maintain the export-import trade at a high level.

The names of several local princes are mentioned in texts dealing with the affairs of the native population. The most noteworthy among these princes occur in the divorce record of a non-Assyrian couple which contains the following clause: 'In the hand of Pitkhana, the prince; Anitta [was] commander of the fortress'.² The Hittite inscription of a King Anitta, son of Pitkhana, found at Boğazköy, relates how this king, extending his father's conquests, took over large parts of eastern Anatolia and, after having conquered and destroyed Khattusha, the subsequent capital of the Hittite kings, assumed the title 'great king'. Proof of the identity of this King Anitta with the 'commander of the fortress' of the Kültepe tablet is furnished by one of the documents excavated at Alişar. Dealing with the release of six native prisoners, this text contains the clause: 'In the hand of Anitta, the great prince; Peruwa was commander of the fortress'. Another text from Alişar, obviously somewhat earlier, refers merely to 'Anitta, the prince'.³ Still another text from Alişar, this one from the Assyrian settlement, refers to the ruler of the town as 'the princess' and her 'commander of the fortress', it being *a priori* uncertain whether this princess preceded or followed Anitta.⁴ To round out the evidence concerning Anitta, it must be mentioned that a dagger bearing the inscription 'palace of Anitta, the prince', was unearthed on the mound proper of Kültepe—that is to say, not in, or near, the Assyrian settlement which was located in the plain surrounding the mound.⁵

Owing to the fact that three of the native witnesses of the divorce record mentioning Anitta's father, Pitkhana, can be traced in documents involving Assyrians, it is possible to integrate these native rulers into the three-generation scheme previously established for the Assyrians. The first of these witnesses was Khaduwa, who appears also in two documents⁶ listing

¹ § VII, 15, 196 ff.

² Literally, 'chief of the stairway'; see the text § VIII, 19, no. 214, studied in § VII, 17, 2, 111 ff.; and see *C.A.H.* II², ch. VI, sect. III.

³ § VII, 6, nos. 49 and 1 respectively.

⁴ *Ibid.* no. 5.

⁵ § VII, 2, 78.

⁶ § VIII, 19, no. 158; also in § VIII, 3, no. 163; see § VII, 17, 2, 124 f.

bundles of cloth which were presented as gifts to various natives, among them Khaduwa and the 'chief of the weapons'. These textiles are said to have been brought up 'to the palace', whence it seems that, as in the afore-quoted divorce record, Khaduwa was an official of the local prince. Now the list of textiles also states that the *kārum* at the place where this prince resided received some of the items for the account of Shu-Ishtar, son of Ilish-tikkal, and he is attested as a contemporary of the well-known Imdi-ilum,¹ who belonged to the first generation of Assyrian merchants.

Two more of the witnesses in the first-named deed of divorce are found again in another deed of divorce² in the company of a certain Ennanum, son of Alabum, and this man again is attested³ as a contemporary of Imdi-ilum.

From all this it results that Pitkhana was himself a contemporary of the first generation of Assyrian merchants, and probably a vassal of the Assyrian king, for in the second deed of divorce mentioned above⁴ it is said that two of the natives concerned in the action swore an oath 'by the City' (i.e. Ashur). Furthermore, according to the aforecited list of textiles,⁵ Pitkhana's principality was the seat of a *kārum*, and it will be shown⁶ that the Assyrian governing-body was called *kārum* only in those city-states where the local ruler had submitted to Assyrian supremacy.

Consequently Anitta and the conquests which prompted him to assume the title 'great prince' fell within the second generation of Assyrian merchants at Kanesh. It is therefore unlikely that his expansionist policy was the cause, or a contributing cause, of the abrupt end to the older period of Assyrian occupation at Kültepe. As will be seen below, the end of the 'level II' period is more likely to have been brought about by circumstances which made the caravan traffic between Assyria and Asia Minor unprofitable.

VIII. PEOPLES AND GOVERNMENT

At the time of the Assyrian penetration into Asia Minor this region was divided into a considerable number of small city-states each of which was ruled by a native prince (*rubā'um*) or princess (*rubātum*). Establishing a pattern of domination which subsequent generations of Assyrian rulers followed throughout their country's history, the Assyrians left these rulers unmolested on

¹ § VII, 4, no. 298; § VIII, 26, v, 41 b.

³ § VII, 8, II, no. 78.

⁵ § VIII, 19, no. 158.

² § VII, 4, no. 6.

⁴ § VII, 4, no. 6.

⁶ See below, p. 18 f.; § VII, 15, 189 ff.

their thrones if they were willing to submit to Assyrian supremacy. A vassalage treaty was concluded and sworn to by the two contracting parties by their respective gods, and the local prince became a 'son' of the Assyrian king who frequently sent a female member of the royal house to marry his new vassal and troops to protect his kingdom.¹

Among the few non-commercial documents that have come to light at Kültepe there are several which allude to the oath of allegiance sworn by a native ruler to the Assyrian authorities. In one of these texts it is reported that messengers of the Assyrian governing body of the town of Durkhumid had requested an audience with the prince of Tamnia in order to make him swear the oath; however, the prince refused to have the oath administered by the envoys from Durkhumid, asking instead that 'his fathers', the authorities of Kanesh, should come and administer the oath to him.² In another letter, the Assyrian administration of the town of Wakhshushana reports to its superiors at Kanesh that a message arrived from the prince of the city-state of Washkhania informing the Assyrians that he had acceded to his father's throne and added: 'Make me swear the oath!'³ In an unpublished letter, finally, the prince of the town of Khurumu-[...] writes to the Assyrian authorities at Kanesh: 'I am your son! I hold on to the oath'.⁴

To judge by the name Peruwa borne by the youngest member of the aforementioned dynasty of Kushshar, ethnically at least some of the native princes were Indo-Europeans, either Hittites or Luwians.⁵ The same seems to be true of the princes Warshama and Warpa known to have ruled at Kanesh.⁶ As regards the subjects of these rulers, the numerous documents dealing with the affairs of natives contain male and female personal names which can be regarded as Hittite or Luwian.⁷ On the other hand, it cannot be denied that among the geographical as well as among the native personal names a considerable number are Hurrian. It is certainly not a mere coincidence that the Cappadocian city name Ullama recurs as Ulamme in the region of Nuzi, near Kirkuk, where it is found in documents from the fifteenth pre-Christian century written in Akkadian by a Hurrian population.

¹ §VII, 1, vol. VI, no. 26; §VII, 12, 343 f. ² §VII, 2, 73 f.; §VII, 18, 27 ff.

³ §VIII, 28, no. 14; §VIII, 22, 17 ff.

⁴ *anāku mērakunu mamītam ukāl*.

⁵ Texts relating to the god Pirwa are written in both Hittite and Luwian, §VIII, 25, 68 ff.

⁶ On the former §VII, 3; on the latter §VIII, 4, no. 122, lines 15 f.

⁷ §VIII, 9, 74 ff.; §VIII, 10, 48 f.; §VIII, 8, 133 ff.

Hurrian also are the Anatolian town-names Taishama,¹ Taia,² Khurrama, and possibly Mama.³ Since, according to the Mari texts, Hurrian princes⁴ ruled over parts of northern Mesopotamia, from the slopes of the Tūr-'Abdīn westward, in the time of Shamshi-Adad I, it might appear that the region about the headwaters of the Khabur, subsequently the heart-land of the great kingdom of Khanigalbat, had previously been the centre of a Hurrian territory extending far beyond the Euphrates into Asia Minor.

Among the Hurrian personal names occurring in the Old Assyrian tablets the most typical are Zigi ('the little one'), Irwi-sharri ('The Lord is King'), Enish(ar)ru ('God is King'), and Taia, all of which are well known from the Nuzi documents.⁵ Unlike the Indo-Europeans whom the Assyrians contemptuously designated as 'barbarians' (*nu'ā'ū*), the Hurrians appear to have dealt with the Assyrians on equal terms. Enishru was one of the most influential merchants in Kanesh who controlled a considerable part of the trade in cereals and other agricultural products, buying grain futures from the Indo-European farmers and granting them loans at high rates of interest. His daughter, Khatala, married an Assyrian.⁶ Another Hurrian, Irwi-sharri, was treated like one of their own men by Pūshu-kēn, the aforementioned prominent Assyrian merchant, and his associates.⁷

Among the Semitic population, a distinction can be made between the Assyrians and the Amorites. The members of the Assyrian business community who left the bulk of the Old Assyrian texts belonged to the same aristocratic families which, in the mother country, furnished the eponym officials. Usually, the senior member of the family resided in Assyria and directed from there the export-import business with Cappadocia. The younger generation, in the meantime, managed the subsidiaries of the firm in the different towns in Asia Minor, especially in Kanesh, returning to Assyria only when the head of the family died or retired from business. Frequently their wives remained in Assyria, taking care of their houses and bringing up their children. In these cases, the men concluded temporary marriages with native women in Cappadocia, with the understanding that the alliance could be dissolved at any time by either of the contracting

¹ § VII, 3, 6, lines 5, 9, 19; also *Taišub(we)* in the Nuzi text § VIII, 2, 23, lines 5, 6, 31.

² § VII, 3, 35, line 11.

³ § VIII, 24, 53 ff.

⁴ E.g. Shukru-Teshub of Elakhut, *C.A.H.* II², ch. 1, sect. iv.

⁵ For Hurrian personal names in the Old Assyrian texts see § VIII, 8, 155 ff., but also *O.L.Z.* 60 (1965), col. 148, n. 1.

⁶ § VII, 8, 1 nos. 3, 67, 69.

⁷ § VIII, 19, no. 276, lines 14, 19.

parties against payment of divorce-money. Whenever the Assyrian husband was ready to return permanently to his homeland, he paid off his native wife and took, if he so desired, the children with him to Assyria.

Even the smaller communities had their own temple of Ashur, the national god, which contained the deity's statue, emblems, and cult objects. In a letter addressed to their superiors at Kanesh, the authorities of one of the provincial towns wrote that thieves entered their local temple of Ashur and stole all the gold and silver objects including a golden sun from the god's breast.¹ Golden suns as votive gifts for Ashur and other deities are repeatedly mentioned in the business letters, in one instance as much as one mina, or approximately one pound, of gold being spent for its manufacture.

In many of the aristocratic families at least one daughter was dedicated to the service of Ashur or one of the other protective deities of Assyria. In two letters, the wife of a prominent merchant writes to her husband in Kanesh: 'The little girl has grown considerably; arise, come here, and lay her in Ashur's lap and grasp your god's foot'.² The title of at least some of the priestesses was *gubābium*, whereas some others served as *qadištum*. In messages to their relatives abroad these priestesses frequently promised to pray to their god or gods for the addressees. Other typically Assyrian deities figuring prominently in the religious life of the community were Sin, the Moon-god; Ishtar, the planet Venus; Ishtar-šād, the star Sirius; Adad, the weather god; and Shamash, the Sun-god. Besides, each family or clan had its own protective deity which was usually referred to as 'my god' or 'your god' or 'our god', frequently also as 'the god of our fathers'.³ In tablets recording the last will of some of the prominent merchants, it is sometimes stipulated which among the testator's heirs should inherit the statues of these family gods. That these figurines belonged to the most valuable assets of a family can be gathered from the fact that, in case of a financial crisis, they could be pledged as security for a debt.

As regards the language used by the Old Assyrian merchants, it is a highly literary but archaic Akkadian dialect which, however, exhibits most of the features distinguishing the later Assyrian dialect from Babylonian.⁴ To mention only a few, regressive vowel harmony is applied consistently, the shift of

¹ See the text partly translated in § VIII, 14, 11.

² § VIII, 26, III, pl. 20, lines 38 ff.

³ § VIII, 18, 51 ff.; § VIII, 11, 35 ff.

⁴ § VIII, 16, 39 f.

initial *wa* to *u* is in the state of development, the treatment of the weak verb closely parallels that of Middle Assyrian. In contradistinction to Middle Assyrian, however, mimation is used by most scribes and probably the *m* was pronounced throughout. The shift of *št* to *lt* had not yet taken place, and double consonants are rarely expressed in writing. The characteristically slanted cuneiform signs, while bearing a certain resemblance to those used under the Third Dynasty of Ur, differ radically from the Middle Assyrian forms; *d*, *t*, and *z* are not distinguished in writing, nor are *g*, *k*, and *q* or *z*, *s*, and *š*. The plural sign MEŠ is unknown, the plural being indicated after ideograms by the symbol 𒄩.A. The use of ideograms is very limited, and determinatives before personal and geographical names are rarely employed, but word dividers are very frequent. The rows of script are usually separated from each other by straight lines drawn with a ruler. The scribe's name is not given in the text unless a scribe appears among the acting persons. Many letters and juridical documents are enclosed in clay envelopes on which the seals were impressed. Sealed single tablets are very rare and record only transactions involving natives.

The second Semitic element of the population of Anatolia at the time of the Old Assyrian texts was formed by western Semites whom the Assyrians called Amorites.¹ Whereas there is no doubt that many of these Amorites were permanent residents of Assyria who came to Asia Minor with the Assyrians, there is evidence to indicate that others had settled in Anatolia, perhaps even before the arrival of the Assyrians. To be sure, there are no written records in the Old West Semitic language spoken by the Amorites, but it is significant that the term by which the Old Assyrian tablets designate the priests of Akkadian as well as of non-Akkadian deities is *kumrum*, the Assyrianized form of the Aramaic term for priest. The passing of this word into the Old Assyrian language was obviously the concomitant of the reception into the pantheon of several West Semitic deities. Evidence to this effect comes from personal names containing theophorous elements such as Dagan,² Tibar (occurring in the name Shu-Tibar),³ Laban,⁴ and Ilaprat. The latter deity's name occurs not

¹ § VII, 4, 148, note a. That these were not nomads is established in § VIII, 23.

² For this god as ruler of western Mesopotamia and northern Syria see the inscription § VIII, 12, 37 ff. ('Sargon b2').

³ § VII, 8, 1, no. 96, ll. 3 f. The god Tibar belongs to Mt. Tibar in Palestine, see § VIII, 7, 191 ff. and § VIII, 21, 357 ff.

⁴ The frequent name Shu-Laban reflects the worship of the Moon-god in the region of the Lebanon.

infrequently in solemn affirmations together with that of the Assyrian national god. Thus we find in a letter addressed by a priest to his son: 'May Ashur and Ilaprat look on [as witnesses],'¹ or, even more characteristically, 'may Ashur and Ilaprat, the god of our fathers, look on [as witnesses]!'² In another letter of the same correspondence, mention is made of a sun-emblem for Ilaprat made of fifteen shekels of gold.³ By nature, he appears to have been a fertility god of much the same type as Tammuz, the Sumerian equivalent being NIN-ŠUBUR, 'The Lord Boar'. Some conclusions about the original home of the cult of Ilaprat can be derived from the Bible which defines the Hebrew equivalent of the name Ilaprat, viz., Efrath, as an old name of the city of Bethlehem.⁴ In view of the widespread practice of the ancient Semites in giving towns the name of the principal deity worshipped there it might appear that Ilaprat was originally the god of the town of Efrath (Bethlehem). This conclusion is well in line with a statement in Saint Jerome to the effect that, at the time when the fertility cult of Bethlehem enjoyed the protection of the Roman overlords of Palestine, the sculptured head of a swine adorned the gate by which one left Jerusalem for Bethlehem.⁵

Another west Semitic god whose name is a theophorous element in Old Assyrian personal names is Amurrum; this deity, too, is invoked by some of the writers of Old Assyrian letters in the formula 'May Ashur and Amurrum, the god of my father, look on [as witnesses]!'⁶ It is not without significance that the god Anna, who was considered by the Amorites the father of their god Amurrum,⁷ was recognized by the Semitic as well as by the non-Semitic inhabitants of Kanesh as their city's patron god. Evidence to this effect is contained in two contracts in which the oath is sworn by Ashur, Anna, and the prince,⁸ a formula in which (as in contemporary Babylonian documents from Sippar, Larsa, and elsewhere) the first-named deity was the god of the country and the second the numen of the city in which the contract was concluded. The fact that a west Semitic deity was the patron god of Kanesh tends to indicate that the Amorite community of this city looked back to a long and well-established

¹ § VIII, 4, no. 15, lines 17 ff.; § VIII, 18, 51.

² § VIII, 26, III, pl. 16b, lines 4 ff.

³ § VIII, 27, no. 30, lines 3 ff.

⁴ As in Gen. xxxv. 19; xlviii. 7; Ruth iv. 11; Micah v. 2.

⁵ *Eusebi Chronicon libri duo* (ed. A. Schoene), vol. II, 169 (year 2153 of Abraham).

⁶ E.g. § VIII, 26, v, pl. 1a, lines 31 ff. ⁷ § VIII, 23, 37.

⁸ § VII, 8, 1, no. 32, lines 10 ff. An unpublished contract names in addition an official, the *rabi sikkitim*.

tradition. It is well in line with this conclusion that Kanesh was, so far as can be judged by the material at present available, the only town in Anatolia where the local prince, at least at one time, was a Semite.¹

As the Amorites were assimilated to the Assyrians to such an extent as to be almost indistinguishable from them, it seems hazardous to attribute to them a particular function in the trade between Ashur and Cappadocia. Yet it deserves mention that a town in the immediate vicinity of the city of Ashur was named Amurru and that this town or suburb was the place where the caravans destined for Asia Minor were assembled.² As there can hardly be any doubt that the town of Amurru was so named because the majority of its inhabitants were worshippers of the god Amurru, it would thus appear that these westerners were particularly active in the shipping and transportation business.

For their governing body the Assyrians used the term *kārum* followed by the name of the respective city: *kārum Kaneš*, *kārum Purušhaddum*, etc.³ The actual seat of the government was the *kārum*-house which, at least in so far as Kanesh was concerned, was situated in the plain at the foot of the mound on which the *ekallum*, or residence of the prince, was located. Whereas primarily the *kārum* was an office where collectors of revenue were stationed,⁴ the function of these Old Assyrian establishments in Anatolia was manifold: first, they collected tolls and taxes from the arriving caravans and had the power to enforce the payment of these duties in cases where the merchants tried to circumvent them. To judge by one tablet,⁵ the *kārum Kaneš*, for this purpose, occasionally dispatched envoys to cities such as Khurrama and Timilkia where the so-called 'danger-road' (*harrān sukīnim*) branched off from the main highway to Kanesh in the direction of Durkhumid, Zalpa, and Khattum.⁶ Since by way of this road merchandise could be conveyed without passing through the customs offices at Kanesh, these envoys, who are known to have 'seized' some of the travelling merchants, obviously acted to enforce the payment of the import duty. Secondly, these bodies

¹ § VIII, 22, 24 ff.; § VII, 15, 181 ff.

² § VIII, 23, 48 and 62 ff.

³ Besides these two the following are attested as seats of a *kārum*: Durkhumid, Khahhum, Khattush (Boğazköy), Khurrama (near modern Elbistan), Nikhriia, Tawinia (in the region of modern Sungurlu, § VIII, 6, 12), Urshu, Wakhshushana, and Zalpa (Alaca Hüyük, see § VIII, 5, 239); see also § VIII, 22, 66, n. 280.

⁴ § VIII, 22, 37 ff. The designation of both seaports and riverports as *kārum* is obviously due to the collection there of import duties (*miksi kāri neberi*, § VII, 9, 1, no. 51, col. iii, 6).

⁵ § VIII, 17, no. 7b.

⁶ § VIII, 15, 103 f.

were the superiors (fathers) of the native princes who had submitted to Assyrian supremacy.¹ Thirdly, they functioned as courts of justice and saw to it that their decisions were carried out. An instance of this kind may be quoted;² a merchant had left a debt unpaid in the town of Shinakhūtum which belonged to the district administered by the *kārum Purušḫaddum*. This latter body ordered the merchant to return to Shinakhūtum and to pay the debt within ten days. It dispatched one of its own officers to accompany the delinquent debtor and to make sure that the debt was actually paid. In another case³ the *kārum Purušḫaddum* had paid a debt for two Assyrians, and then entrusted the same officer with the task of collecting the money in equal parts from the two debtors. Fourthly, the *kārum* provided storage facilities for merchandise and, lastly, acted as a financial institution, extending credit to, and maintaining accounts of, individual merchants and groups of merchants.

The *kārum Kaneš* had special functions in so far as it was the superior of all the others. Together with the 'envoy of the City [i.e. Ashur]', it received orders from the government at home which it transmitted to these others. In one instance, the metropolitan government requested ten minas of silver for the construction of fortifications;⁴ the *kārum Kaneš* was advised to levy this amount from the others under its control and forward the money to Ashur. The *kārum Purušḫaddum*, too, had special functions. To judge by the legendary traditions referred to above, Purushkhaddum appears to have held a privileged position since the very beginning of Anatolian history. It obviously owed this status to the proximity of copper deposits and the ensuing concentration of trade in copper and copper products. According to researches conducted on the site in 1958 by J. Lewy, the city is most likely to be buried under the huge mound known today as Açıem Hüyük located some ten miles west-north-west of Aksaray. As indicated by the name Madenşehir, 'Mine City', of a district (today completely abandoned) south of Aksaray, mines appear actually to have existed in that region. In the Old Assyrian as well as in the Hittite period, Purushkhaddum, obviously owing to its wealth, was the seat of a 'great prince' (*rubā'um rabūm*). As regards the *kārum* of Purushkhaddum, it appears to have controlled the mining operations in the city's surroundings, because it was one

¹ See above, p. 12.

² § VII, 8, vol. I, no. 21.

³ *Ibid.* no. 26.

⁴ See in particular the letter § VIII, 4, no. 1, translated in § VIII, 8, 197, discussed in § VIII, 22, 65 ff.

of the main centres of supply of raw copper. It sold large quantities of copper-ore to the Assyrian merchants who dispatched it to the smelting-furnaces, operated mainly by natives; by this process they were said either 'to make [it] long-lasting'¹ or 'to turn the copper into refined [metal]'.² This was then either sold or used as currency in Asia Minor.

Towns under the jurisdiction of the *kārum Kaneš* which were too small to have a *kārum* of their own were ruled by a body called 'the decade', apparently a group of ten of the town's senior citizens.³ In those parts of Anatolia, however, where the local princes had not submitted to Assyrian rule but were nevertheless anxious to maintain trade relations with foreign merchants, the Assyrians were organized in what the Kültepe texts call *wubartum* or *ubartum*.⁴ The settlements so designated were located at some distance from the native community of the same name, and they comprised not only merchants but also military personnel. As was customary in the ancient Near East, soldiers and officers were settled on farmland in the surroundings of the native towns, thus fulfilling a double function—while holding the natives in check and being ready to defend their region in case of an emergency, they were self-supporting farmers⁵ who paid their taxes to the government. The Assyrian authorities thus were able to control the roads over which their merchants and military supplies travelled while, at the same time, avoiding sieges of unfriendly towns the conquest of which might have been costly in matériel and human lives. On the other hand, it is self-evident that friction between the native troops stationed in the citadel of the town proper and the Assyrian soldiers in the surroundings was almost unavoidable. In fact, whenever the texts allude to hostilities between the Semites and the natives, they occurred in, or near, *wubartum*-settlements.⁶

IX. THE ARTICLES OF TRADE

The merchandise which the caravans transported from Ashur to Asia Minor consisted almost exclusively of commodities called *šubat kutānu* and *annukum*, textiles and a metal. From the rather uniform size and weight of the former it can be concluded that a

¹ *ka'unum*; § VIII, 26, I, pl. 19b, lines 1-5, and pl. 22a, lines 1 ff.

² *eri'am ana dammuqim tu'arum*. ³ § VII, 4, 255, n. a.

⁴ § VII, 15, 189 ff. The following *wubartum*-settlements are found in the texts: Ankuwa (modern Alişar), Badna, Karakhna, Khanaknak, Mama, Shalatiwar, Shamukha, Tukhpia, Ullama, Washkhania, and possibly Kushshara (see § VIII, 24); § VIII, 22, 59, n. 251. ⁵ § VIII, 22, 62 ff. ⁶ § VII, 15, 195 f.

šubat kutānu was a piece of cloth sufficient for one garment for a grown-up person.¹ For transport, the cloths were either wrapped in other cloths or put into bags designed to preserve the merchandise from the hazards of the weather. These containers were then loaded on asses at a rate of about twenty-five parcels to each animal. In addition to the cloths packed and sealed in the containers, most shipments comprised some pieces designated as 'cloths on hand'. These were sold *en route* by the ass-drivers and other caravan personnel and thus served to defray their travel expenses. Besides cloths of Assyrian manufacture, the merchants frequently re-exported cloths which they themselves bought from foreign traders such as e.g. Babylonians.² The prices of the parcels of cloth varied considerably not only in accordance with the quality but also depending upon supply and demand. The sale-price in Asia Minor amounted to approximately three times the purchase price in Assyria,³ which is not surprising if the length of the haul and the hazards of the journey are taken into consideration.

The identity of the metal *annukum* has been for many years a matter of controversy, some maintaining that it was lead whereas others believed that it was tin. At present, the evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of lead; in the first place, because this metal is found in abundance in the valley of the Greater Zab river, in the immediate vicinity of the capital city of Ashur, in territory under Assyrian control. In the second place, numerous leaden objects, pots and figurines as well as heavy sarcophagi, were discovered by the excavators both at Kültepe and at Ashur, whereas no objects of tin were found in either place. The purpose of the lead-exports to Asia Minor is not expressly stated in any of the extant texts since it was known to all concerned. Yet the unusual abundance of silver in circulation among the Assyrians in Anatolia suggests that the primary use of the lead was in the production of silver. As is well known, lead ores such as galena contain a small percentage of silver which can be recovered by the so-called cupellation process. This method, which all primitive metallurgists were able to carry out,⁴ is based on the observation that lead is easily oxidized while the noble metals, silver and gold, remain unchanged. In antiquity, there probably was enough wood in the valley of the Greater Zab to generate the temperatures necessary for the de-silvering process at, or near, the place

¹ §IX, 2, 183, n. 6.

² Cloths of Babylonian make were called 'cloths of the Akkadians'.

³ §VIII, 8, 289.

⁴ §IX, 4, 79 ff.

in Assyria proper where the lead was mined. However, large amounts of lead are also needed in de-silvering copper ores, for this requires two cupellation-processes—in the first the copper is oxidized and the non-oxidized silver is dissolved in the lead; in the second the silver is separated from the lead. Now since, at the time of the Old Assyrian texts, Asia Minor possessed a highly developed copper industry, it is likely that the de-silvering of copper ore was the primary purpose of the lead imports. In fact, the mention in several texts of the copper centre Purushkhaddum as the ultimate destination of such lead consignments and as the place of origin of the silver expected to 'come forth' in the process,¹ supports this conclusion. It also accounts for the abrupt end of the Assyrian caravan traffic to Asia Minor which, as was seen above,² cannot be explained on the basis of political developments. But as soon as the natives of Asia Minor discovered that their own country was rich in galena, the shipments of lead from Assyria became uneconomical and therefore had to be discontinued.³

The price of lead fluctuated less than that of textiles. The average quantity of the metal obtained at Ashur for 1 shekel of silver varied between 12 and 16 shekels, to all appearances depending upon the percentage of silver it contained or was assumed to contain. The sale-price in Anatolia averaged 1 shekel of silver for 6–8 shekels of lead.⁴ The lead was carried by asses, each being loaded with a maximum charge of $2\frac{1}{2}$ talents⁵ (i.e. about 150 American pounds). The asses used for this purpose are described in the texts as 'black asses', which probably means that they belonged to the dark-haired, particularly strong breed known to-day as Damascus asses.⁶ The owner in Ashur purchased the asses for each journey and the driver sold them upon the arrival of the caravan at its destination. As the texts never mention caravans proceeding from Anatolia to Assyria, the sale and subsequent re-purchase of the beasts of burden apparently was more economical for the owner than an empty east-bound trip would have been. The equipment which, together with the food for the asses, was likewise purchased at Ashur for each journey was also sold on arrival in Asia Minor.

Among the articles traded by the Assyrians wool is sometimes mentioned. The best wool came from Mama, a caravan station in

¹ E.g. §VIII, 27, no. 205, line 20.

² See above, p. 11.

³ According to §VII, 2, 42 the tablets from the later level of the Assyrian settlement at Kültepe make no mention of caravan-traffic.

⁴ §VIII, 8, 280.

⁵ §IX, 2, 183 ff.

⁶ §VIII, 23, 74.

the plain of Elbistan in eastern Anatolia, whence it was shipped to both Kanesh and Ashur. Agricultural products play a certain part in the local trade between various Anatolian cities, but the major article of the intra-Anatolian commerce was copper. It was transported both on donkey-back and by waggon. Large quantities, up to 10,000 minas,¹ were sent from the producer to the processor, from there to the fabricator, and finally on to the eventual user. In the trade with natives, copper served as currency. For this purpose it was shaped into the form of small tools such as sickles, axes, or plough-shares which were weighed out to the recipient.

The silver and gold which the Assyrian merchants traded for their lead and textiles was not transported to Ashur by caravan but was carried by trustworthy, speedy messengers. These were, to all appearances, the same men who carried the mail between the capital and the distant province. So far as can be seen, they left both cities at regular intervals throughout the travelling season which extended from spring into the late autumn. During the cold and rainy season communications, both east- and west-bound, came to a standstill and it seems that at least four months elapsed before traffic was resumed. This is not surprising since, no matter by which route they travelled through northern Mesopotamia, the caravans had to pass through difficult mountainous terrain once they reached the Anti-Taurus chain. In fact, some of the road junctions frequently mentioned in the texts such as Khurrama, modern Elbistan,² lie as high as 3300 feet above sea level, while the mountains surrounding it reach a height of almost 9000 feet. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that these roads became impassable by the end of October or early in November.³ In Anatolia itself, particularly between Kanesh and the towns further west, communications remained open much longer. Before reaching Asia Minor other climatic problems had to be reckoned with. Nowadays the direct road leading westward from Ashur through the desert and north of the Jabal Sinjār to the Upper Khabur is passable only in spring and in the autumn, since the river Tharthar alongside which this road runs is dry during the summer months. According to the Arab geographers, however, the Tharthar was, in antiquity, a navigable stream. There is as yet no evidence whether in the Old Assyrian period the caravans were able to proceed on this road during the hot season, or whether they travelled, like the merchants in the Islamic period, from the region of Ashur and Nineveh northward

¹ §VII, 19, 93.

² §VIII, 24, 52.

³ For climatic conditions in Anatolia see §IX, I, III ff.

along the Tigris up to Jazīrah-ibn-‘Umar, continuing from there westward toward Nisibis and then on to the Euphrates which they crossed, probably in the region of Malatya. From there they travelled, by way of Timilkia (Darende), Tegarama (Gürün) and thence directly westward to Kanesh; or else they could cross the Euphrates further south near Kızılın and journey from there to Kanesh via Khurrama (Elbistan).¹

X. MEASURES, WEIGHTS, AND TIME-RECKONING

Whereas the weights occurring in the Old Assyrian texts are those used throughout the centuries in both Assyria and Babylonia (viz. the talent, the mina, the shekel, and the grain, being to each other in the relation of 3600:60:1: $\frac{1}{180}$), the measures of capacity differ markedly from those known from later Assyrian sources. These latter, being used mainly for grain and cereal products, were adapted to the carrying capacity of the domestic ass in such a way that 1 ass-load comprised 100 *qa*, which means 100 times the minimum daily grain ration of a primitive worker. Since, as was mentioned before, the ‘black asses’ which were the basic means of freight shipment of the Old Assyrian merchants were a particularly strong breed, it is not surprising that the unit of capacity reflecting the load carried by these was larger than that in the later Assyrian texts. The Old Assyrian unit was called the sack (*naruqqum*) and comprised 120 *qa*;² the sack was subdivided into 4 jars (*karpatum*), each of which contained 30 *qa*. A further sub-unit not attested in other sources was the *šaršaranum*, which contained one half of the volume of a jar, or one-eighth of a sack. With regard to the measures of surface also the Old Assyrian texts do not agree with the later Assyrian. Whereas the Middle Assyrian texts use a system based on the Babylonian measure *ikū* as unit, while the Neo-Assyrians used as a unit the surface seeded with 1 ass-load of grain, the Old Assyrian texts reveal the use of a surface measure *šubtum*, i.e. ‘residence’³. It represented a lot large enough to build one house and was subdivided into 60 ‘(surface) shekels’. If, as it has been suggested,⁴ the *šubtum* was equal in size to the Old Babylonian SAR, it would have measured 144 square cubits, or 324 square feet. However, since the houses excavated at Ashur as well as at Kanesh are of much larger size, this identification is open to doubt.

¹ §VIII, 8, 96 ff.

² §IX, 2, 192 ff.

³ §IX, 3.

⁴ §IX, 3, 221.

As mentioned above,¹ the years in the Old Assyrian texts from Asia Minor are named after the *līmum*, eponym-officials who held office at Ashur for one year. Yet the date formulae from Cappadocia exhibit an important deviation from the usual Assyrian scheme. Very frequently, one finds, instead of the well-known date formula 'month A, *līmum* B, the son of C', the following wording: 'month A, *līmum* of the hand of B, the son of C'. The fullest version of this formula reads: '*līmum* [was the one] who took over (*isbutu*) from the hand of B, the son of C'.² This fuller wording as well as the interchange of the 'hand' formula with the version '*līmum* who [was] after (*warki*) B, the son of C' makes it clear that it designates the year as that of the successor of B, the son of C. The frequent use of such 'successor' formulae suggests that it was a consequence of the long distance which separated Kanesh from the mother country. Yet under normal travelling conditions a messenger on horseback who left Ashur immediately after the name of the new eponym had been announced could have reached Kanesh about three weeks later. Instead it can be shown that in every year at least three, but frequently as many as four and sometimes even five months are dated with the successor formula. This makes it clear that in the period in question the annual change of eponym took place at the beginning of winter when the regular messenger service between Ashur and Kanesh had ceased.

A further important difference between the calendar of the texts from Asia Minor and that of the later Assyrian sources is the frequent occurrence of seasonal festivals in the date-formulae. These festivals which occur predominantly in loans of agricultural commodities are the following: of *Anna*, of *Barqa* (or *Birqa*), of *Nibas*, of *Ḫariḫari*, and of *Duḫduḫanim*. At the time when only four of these festivals were known the view was expressed that they marked the beginning of the four seasons. As by now the number has risen to five, this view can no longer be maintained. It is likely, however, that each festival marked the beginning or the end of a certain agricultural activity, so that the loan in question was expected to be paid back from the sales price which a farmer received for his crop or else in kind from the crop itself. This is all the more likely since the contracts stipulating payment of a loan at one of the five festivals interchange with others in which the loan was to be paid 'from the wage for ploughing', 'at the time of the threshing floor', 'at the taking of the sickle', 'at the falling of the sickle', and the like.

¹ See above, p. 5.

² §VII, 18, 20, n. 3.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

<i>Date</i>	MERCHANTS IN ANATOLIA	KINGS OF ASSYRIA
<i>c.</i> 1910-1840	Older period (Level II at Kültepe)	Erishum I Ikunum Sharrum-kēn Puzur-Ashur II
<i>c.</i> 1794-1780	Later period (<i>c.</i> 14 years) (Level Ib at Kültepe)	Shamshi-Adad I Iasmakh-Adad (son)

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