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Some displaced Tablets from Kārum Kanesh (Kültepe)

(kt 86/k 48, kt 86/k 204 and kt 91/k 539)

Abstract

The phenomenon of “displaced” tablets is assessed, i.e. tablets that came to light during the regular excavations at Kültepe/Kaneš but were either in antiquity or in the process of the excavation „displaced“ and were not found or stored in their original archival context. Three texts that refer to persons or events known from other published sources (such as the famous Syrian text kt k/k 4) are edited for the first time, adding valuable new information to known events.

The Turkish excavations of *kārum* Kanesh in the lower city of modern Kültepe that started in 1948 finally provided scholars with complete archives along with information on the find spots of the tablets and their disposal in the archives. The possibility to study such “archives”, that is collections of cuneiform texts found in one house or one of its rooms, proves a great advantage, but also revealed that such collections are not always as homogenous as one might have expected. They frequently contain tablets that do not seem to relate to the owner of the archive (or his family and close associates), documents I have dubbed “strange texts”.¹ In most cases they must have belonged to other persons and have ended up in a particular archival room in various ways. Their owner may not have had a house of his own and have stored them in that of his boss, partner or relative, he may have temporarily left them in safe-deposit there (*ana nabšēm ezābum*), the records could have been ceded as debt-notes payable to “the creditor” or “the bearer of the tablet”, or they might have been handed over as security to a creditor (*ana šapartim/erubbātīm tadānum/nadā’um*). Some records² and a systematic study of an archive³ may occasionally yield clues that help to explain their presence, but at times we just have to take it for granted.

Other “strange” texts, whose excavation numbers relate them to a particular house or excavation season, are small lots of or isolated texts found in debris, in refuse, in an adjoin-

¹ K. R. Veenhof (2003), 115ff.

² A frequently quoted example is the CCTMMA 1, 84, the record of an interrogation, where the accused had taken away two boxes with tablets from the quarters (*bēt wabrim*) of the plaintiff, in which the latter is able to list all missing tablets, including two dozen itemized tablets left in deposit with him by others (line 40 calls them “strange tablets” or “tablets of strangers”, *ṭuppē ahiūtīm*).

³ Note the 25 letters of Aššur-mutappil (without a single debt-note in which he figures as creditor) excavated in 1990 as part of the archive of Šumi-abiya, edited and studied by C. Michel in TPAK 1, p. 30ff.

ing street, etc. They were apparently displaced and scattered when the houses of *kārum* Kanesh level II were destroyed, the foundations of those of the subsequent level Ib were dug out, or by still later and other disturbances. This is also borne out by the fact that some of the texts included in editions of archives from level II actually date from the younger level Ib, as prospographic data, eponymic datings and other features show.⁴ A further complication could arise when a house could not be completely excavated in a particular year due to the presence of a superimposed structure of level Ib,⁵ so that some tablets belonging to a particular archive were only discovered during a later year. They consequently bear numbers different from those of the main body of texts, which can be confusing if the archaeological record is still unpublished or not fully clear. The editions of excavated archives, especially in the volumes of the series *Ankara Kültepe Tabletleri* (I–IV, 1990–2006), do not pay sufficient attention to these issues, also because none of them publishes a complete archive and the archaeological data on their discovery are largely ignored. Only TPAK 1 offers a nearly complete edition of the texts excavated in 1990 and in its preface the excavator presents the necessary archaeological information.⁶

I met such problems also when studying the texts excavated in 1986, 1991 and 1992 (the first archive of that year), which Professor Tahsin Özgüç asked me to edit, and when working, together with Yasushi Kawasaki who had copied and studied them, on the texts excavated in 1989. Among the latter were two official letters, kt 89/k 315 and 325 (both still in their envelope), one addressed to and the other written by Kuliya, the messenger of *kārum* Kanesh, whose archive was found in 1992 and contained similar documents. They must have been displaced in one of the ways indicated above. Among the texts excavated in the other years there are various isolated tablets, occasionally records of transactions among Anatolians, with only Anatolian witnesses, whose presence is difficult to explain, in particular if their excavation numbers suggest that they were found among the records of the main archives.

This contribution publishes three of such “strange” and displaced texts from the excavation years just mentioned. They are selected because they may have originally belonged to or are connected with texts and archives studied or published by professor Hecker, especially those of the archive found in 1987 in a house near to those where the texts of 1986 were discovered.⁷ I offer them to him as token of admiration and gratitude for his many important contributions to Old Assyrian and for the fact that he enabled us to take cognizance of the unpublished texts he is working on.

⁴ E. g. AKT 3, 1–2, and TPAK 1, 110 (late eponym) and 121 (month-name *Sin*).

⁵ About a dozen texts with kt 90/k numbers (including TPAK 1, 40–42, 54 and 108) seem to belong to the archive of Ikuppi-Aššur, excavated in 1989 (the knowledge of which I owe to Yasushi Kawasaki), but were found in 1990, “when the area excavated in 1989 was cleaned”.

⁶ See for more detailed observations on the nature and problems of these publications, K. R. Veenhof (in press), part I, ch. II, 1.3.1–2.

⁷ According to N. Özgüç – Ö. Tunca 2001, texts from 1986 come from “the south part of the street in grid v/13–14” and from “a level II house in grid s/11”, those of 1987 from a “large level II house in grid s-t/12”.

1. Kt 91/k 539

In 1990 Hecker published the unique tablet kt k/k4,⁸ a letter written by Ehli-addu from somewhere in Northern Syria to a trader called Unapše, who lived or stayed in Kanesh. Hecker believes that this letter, as nearly all the texts numbered kt k/k 1–30, excavated in the beginning of the 1959 season, dates to the period of *kārum* Kanesh level Ib⁹ and he maps the features by which it deviates from the normal OA scribal conventions. They concern the tablet itself (“leicht zipfelig auslaufende vier Ecken”), the ductus (not the “leicht von links nach rechts hängende Duktus”), the paleography (abnormal shapes of some cuneiform signs), the orthography (writing of double consonants, use of some signs which are missing or extremely rare in OA), and its language/grammar (e.g. “OB” forms of the verb *epēšum*, *annikē* instead of *annakam*, loss of mimation, etc.). This unique tablet according to him is proof not only of commercial relations between Northern Syria and Central Anatolia,¹⁰ but also of the fact that “man auch am Kültepe syrische Keilschrift kannte”.

I mention his observations, because the archives of Elamma, discovered in 1991, contain another letter addressed to Unapše, to all appearances the same man, also because the end of this letter shows his contacts with Hurrian speaking traders.¹¹ Since I did not keep my promise to the jubilarian (see Hecker 1996a, 303, Addendum) to publish it soon, I take the opportunity to make up for it now. Though its excavation number (kt 91/k 539) suggests that it belongs to Elamma’s archive and therefore dates from the level II period, there is no connection with the persons and commercial activities documented in the other texts of this archive. How this tablet ended up in Elamma’s archive is unknown and it might be an “intruder”,¹² which raises the question of its date, which makes its separate publication worthwhile.

⁸ K. Hecker (no date), repeated with some additions in K. Hecker (1996).

⁹ See Hecker (1996b), 293, note 10. To his arguments one may add that several of the Anatolian contracts contain the “notarization” (which states that they were passed with the authorization of [*iqqātē*] the ruler of Kanesh), in which the level Ib rulers Inar, Pithana and Zuzu and the *rabi simmiltim* Halgiašu are mentioned (see for a survey of these notarizations K. R. Veenhof (in press), part I, ch. IV.2.5.1). But kt k/k 26, which mentions a *hamuštu*-eponym, must belong to level II.

¹⁰ Hecker (1996b), 293, note 7, mentions the fact that traders from Ebla are attested in OA texts. Additional references are in TPAK 1, 109:4, a silver debt owed to “the Eblaite” (see below), kt 91/k 338:2, some silver “due from the Eblaite (*išti Eb-lá-i-im*) who took wool”, and kt 94/k 421:28, “since it is not feasible, one does not trade (goods) to the Ebalites” (*lā naṭūma ana Eb-lá-i, lā uštebbulū*). The use in the first two texts and in BIN 6, 193 rev.: 6’ of the nisbe only to identify a man, on the assumption that it does not mean “the ruler of Ebla”, suggests that this was a well-known trader and that there were not too many of them. When ATHE 32:17 mentions the arrival (where is not known) of “many Eblaite” to buy copper, this may concern visiting traders or caravans, to be distinguished from individual traders from Ebla who stayed or perhaps even lived in Anatolia.

¹¹ Another(?) Unapše occurs in the judicial record kt c/k 79:8 (courtesy J. G. Dercksen), which mentions the handing over of merchandise to a certain Alpilī (*Al-pi-lí*, so rather than *Āl-bēlī*, in view of the spelling *Al-be-DINGIR* kt 89/k 289:19), “son of *Ū-na-áp-šé*”. It lacks a date and there is no way of establishing whether the same Unapše is meant. Note the occurrence of an Alpilī, son of Munnabitum, lit. “the fugitive”, attested in BIN 6, 250:6 and kt 91/k 187:9.

¹² The real archive of Elamma starts with kt 91/k 285 and its numbers continue until kt 91/k 561, but the excavator stated that kt 91/k 556–561 were found in refuse. Kt 91/k 562–3 (two letters in which Nuhšatum figures) found “when cleaning the walls”, may belong to the archive of 1990, where this lady appears (in TPAK 1, 63, 108 and 159).

- 1 *a-na Ū-na-áp-še qí-bi₄-ma*
um-ma Áb-du-a-ta-ma
Šu-A-nu[m] [x] x] ša
š[a]/[l[i] [x x] x ID
- 5 *i-[x x x] ša a-ki-ri*
a-x [x x (x) at-wu-ú-um
šu x [x D]U-ú
ta x x KÙ.B.-pì-šu ša ba-áb-/tim
ša i-Ma-ma NÌ.KA-sí
- 10 *ta-sí-a-ni TÚG.HI.A a-ha-/ma*
a-ša iq-bi₄-a-ku-ni
šé/í-s/ší-ma TÚG.HI.A
a-ší-mì-im lu ni-dí-šu-nu-ma
- lo.e. *ú KÙ.B.-pì ku-ta-ni*
- 15 *iš-tù ta-ší-ru-šu*
pu-šu ší (IŠ)-me-ma
šu-ma iš-tí-kà a-na a-hu-/tim
ta-šé-e-šu mì-ma
a-wa-tám ša i-pì-šu
- 20 *ta-ša-me-ú SIG₅.SIG₅-ma*
i-tù-pì-im lu-up-ta-ma
i-[n]a pu-úz-ri-im
šé-bi₄-lá-am um-ma Ab-du-ma
šu-m[a] a-bi₄-a-ta a-le-e
- 25 *a-wi-lá-am ga-ma-lá-am*
mì-ma ša ta-ša-pá-ra-ni
[l]e-pu-uš a-ma-kam a-na
[a-wi-tí-/a
i-zi-iz-ma lu ga-am-lá-ku
- u.e. *ṭup-pá-am a-na DUB.SAR*
- 30 *ša šu-bi₄-ri-a-ta-am*
- le.e. *i-ša-me-ú dí-ma li-iš-ta-sí*
- Say to Unapše,
 this is what Abduata says:
 “Šu-Anum who

 to discuss

 of his silver of outstanding claims,
 about which you settled accounts for
 me in Mamma. Separately, call for /
 obtain the textiles according to what
 he promised you, so that we can
 sell the textiles. And also, as concerns
 my silver for the *kutānu*-textiles,
 after you have fixed the price for him,
 listen to what he has to say and
 if you aim at him establishing
 brotherhood with you, then write
 every word you hear from his mouth,
if it is positive/ carefully
 for me on a tablet and send
 it me secretly.
 Abdu says/said:
 “Please, my father, I can
 do a man a favor,
 I will do whatever you will
 write me. Over there, stand up
 [for my case
 and let me enjoy (your) favor!”
 The tablet you must give to a scribe
 who understands Šubarian
 so that he can read it.

Notes

The letter is difficult, not only because of the damage, but also because the Akkadian written by Abduata is at times rather peculiar.

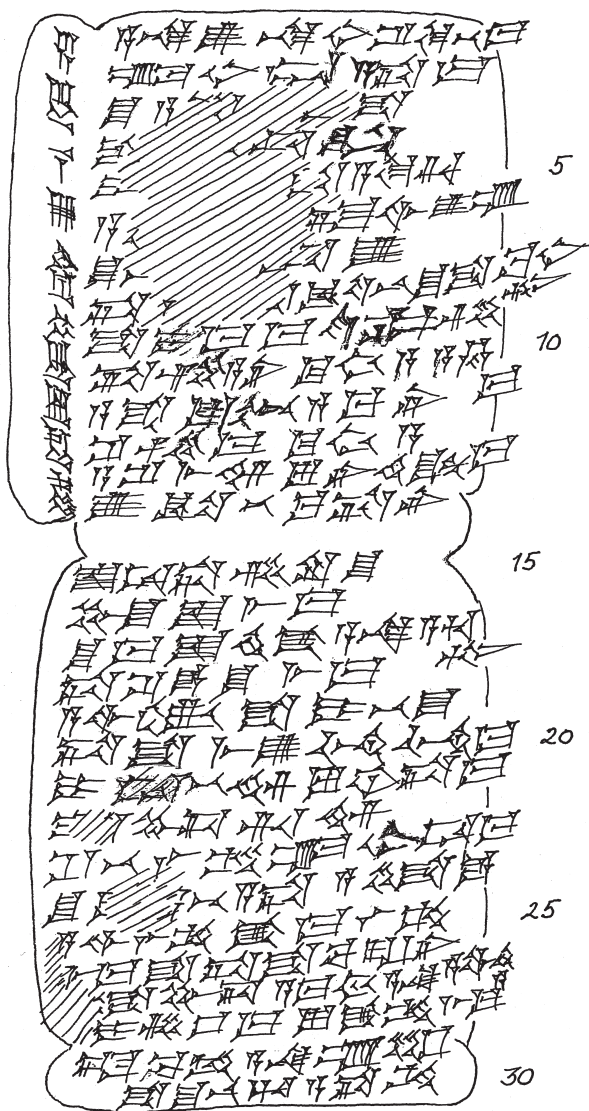
5. Taking *a-ki-ri* as “for a garden” (without mimation!) is unlikely in the context, although gardens are occasionally attested (kt a/k 583:18, kt o/k 52:4 and kt 94/k 125:6).

12. The imperative ŠÉ-ZI could render *šísí*, “to call”, from *šasā’um*, in the sense of “to call for, demand” (as one could “call” for silver at a merchant’s office), or *šēší*, from *wašā’um* Š-stem, “to produce”, “to obtain the release/delivery of”. The following “to sell” fits both interpretations, so that a choice is impossible.

14f. Since a construct state plural of *kaspum* is very unlikely, *kaspī* means “my silver”, scil. of the writer, either that which Unapše had to earn for him or what had to be paid to



Kt 91/k 539 (1-392-91, 6.3 × 5.3 cm.), reverse.



kt 91/k 539 (1-392-91)

kt 91/k 539 (1-392-91; 6.3 × 5.3 cm; middle of obverse damaged).

obtain the *kutānu*-textiles. See for *ešārum*, “to fix (a price)”, my observations in Th.P.J. van den Hout – J. de Roos (eds.), *Studio Historiae Ardens. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate* (Istanbul 1965), 330, nos. 19–21.

17f. *Ištika* does not belong with the verb, but with *ahhuttum*, “brotherhood with you”.

20. The unique SIG₅.SIG₅-*ma* (with repetition of the logogram, to indicate a plural, a form of the D-stem, or emphasis) seems to qualify the following *lapātum*, cf. the use of *damāqum*, in the D-stem in a hendiadys or “coupling”, as in BIN 4, 222:6f., *udammaqma ušebbalakkum*, 12f. *dammiqma ... šēbilam*. But since OA does not use logograms for verbs, it could be adverbial, “kindly” or “carefully”, or as an adjective it could belong with the preceding *mimma awātim*, while its position after *tašamme’u* and with emphatic *-ma* may turn it into a separate part of the sentence, perhaps, “if they are indeed favorable”.

23. I have no idea who Abdu is, hardly an abbreviation of Abduata, also because it would be strange for the writer to introduce himself again. Therefore I assume that Abduata in his letter quotes a wish uttered by a friend or partner of his, apparently involved in the same business, but it is not clear whether his words (lines 24–28) are addressed to Unapše (“A. says [to you]”) or to Abduata himself (“A. told [me]”). Anyhow, I assume that lines 23b–28 are an inserted quote and that Abudata himself is again speaking in 1.29ff., so that “the tablet” of 1.29 refers back to that (syllabic *ṭù-pì-im*) of 1.21, which implies that he is the one who asks to send it by means of a Hurrian speaking scribe.

24f. The word-order is abnormal, since *ale’e* should follow *gamālam*.

28. The stative *lū gamlāku* is unexpected and seems to be used as a passive.

29–31. I take *šubiriattam* as the nisbe *šubirīum* (from *šubarum* vowel harmony) + adverbial ending *-attam* (cf. GAG § 113,1), attested in OA in *emūqattam*, “with force”, cf. GKT § 102,1), with should mean “in Šubarian”, comparable to the NB *ahlamatti*, “in Aramaic” and *akkadattum*, “in Akkadian”.¹³

Comments

Damage makes it difficult to understand the beginning of the letter and the identity and role of Šu-Anum (does *kaspišu* in l. 8 refer to him?) are not clear. Šu-Anum is a common name and without a patronymic or an explicit context identifying him is looking for a needle in a haystack. But I feel tempted to refer here to TPAK 1, 109, where a Šu-Anum occurs who is in contact with an Eblaite trader. It is a quittance recording that Suejja had paid a silver debt to Šu-Anum because the latter had paid for him a debt owed to “the Eblaite”. The description of the debt-note (which apparently was not available and, as normal in such quittances, is said to be now invalid) states that it was sold by *Ga-ta-ta-a*, [son of (?)]-*at-he*, and *I-da-ma-da*, son of Ennānum”.¹⁴ The names of these witnesses are not

¹³ A nisbe with a feminine ending, referring to an omitted *lišānum*, “language”, should have been *šub(i)rītam*, see below note 24.

¹⁴ Rev. 1’–3’ were misunderstood in TPAK; line 3’ states that the persons mentioned as witnesses (which makes the restoration “[son of....]...” in 1’ very likely) “are lying (*na-lu-ú*) [on the tablet]”, an idiom used for having one’s seal impressed on a contract, attested several times in unpublished texts, but now also in AKT 4, 19:15.

Assyrian and extremely rare,¹⁵ which might be due to the fact that they were friends or associates of the unknown Eblaite creditor, perhaps even because the debt-note was drawn up where he lived or worked. This might also explain the unusual (but unfortunately broken) name of the father of the first witness, ending in *-at-he*. While I cannot prove it, the identity of both Šu-Anum's seems possible, since both have connections with Southern Anatolia or even Northern Syria.

The second person forms in lines 10 ff. tell us that Unapše had a meeting with a trader (probably Šu-Anum) in Mamma, in southern Anatolia (in the general area of Maraş or northwest of it, near Göksun). There he settled accounts with him for the writer (the dative suffix first pers. sing. in 1.10) and apparently reached an agreement on two different deals in textiles. The writer is anxious to learn how the other party had reacted and whether, in line with Unapše's goal (*še'a'um*), a mutual brotherhood had been established and asks him to write down carefully(?) everything the other party had said.

In the interesting lines 29–31 Unapše is asked to give the tablet to “a scribe who understands¹⁶ Hurrian to read it out” and this raises the question what kind of a tablet it was and why such a scribe was needed. In my opinion it must be the same tablet Unapše was asked (1.20f.) to write and send to Abduata secretly (for reasons unknown to us) and this happened by entrusting it to such a scribe who, as a real messenger, would deliver and read it to him. One might consider our letter proof that Abduata (if he wrote it himself) knew Assyrian and Unapše could understand it, just like kt k/k 4, written in Akkadian, was addressed to him,¹⁷ but then a scribe versed in Hurrian would have been superfluous. This scribe apparently had to translate the text from one language into the other (i.e. he had to be bilingual), because either Unapše wrote in Hurrian, which Abduata did not know, or Unapše wrote in Assyrian, which the Hurrian speaking Abduata could not understand. The choice is difficult and the names of the persons involved are not helpful, since Unapše, Ehli-addu, and possibly also Abduata – all three with non-Assyrian names – may have been speaking Hurrian. But since the tablet was meant for Abduata (1.22, *šēbilam*), the second alternative seems more likely, which would imply that Abduata spoke Hurrian and lived in a Hurrian environment.

While the rendering of *šubirūm*, when referring to a language, by “Hurrian”, does no longer require justification, the question remains where the Hurrian scribe was needed. In the early second millennium B.C. the Hurrians from their core area along the Upper Tigris and in the Khabur Triangle penetrated to the west, in the direction of the Upper Euphrates and even across it, into Northern Syria and perhaps Southern Anatolia. It might, at first, have involved rather a ruling elite than a population at large and this would also explain the use, already during the period of *kārum* Kanesh level II, of a few important Hurrian loanwords from the administrative sphere, such as the titles *alahhinnum* and *šina-*

¹⁵ I only know one occurrence of both names, *Ga-ta-ta-a* in kt d/k 5:13 (OrNS 36, [1967] 408 note c), and *I-da-ma-da* in kt 91/k 206:3,7, where he owes some silver to Šu-Hubur (eponymy year 103).

¹⁶ This must be the meaning of *šamā'um*, common in OA and OB for taking cognizance of the contents of a letter, originally to hear words spoken or read by somebody else, hence “to (be able to) understand”.

¹⁷ Unless, of course, one assumes that one of them used the services of a bilingual scribe or translator (*targumannum*).

hilum, and the term for corvée labor, *unuššum*.¹⁸ It is also reflected in the occurrence, roughly a century later, of several city-rulers with Hurrian names, such as those of Haššum, Zalwar and Ursum, attested in texts from Mari,¹⁹ and by the fact that around the same time a ruler with the Hurrian name Anum-hirbe (-hirwe),²⁰ ruled Mamma, southeast of Kanesh, the general area of Maraş. It is difficult to establish the extent and density of the presence of Hurrians in Southern Anatolia, because the number of Hurrian names in OA sources is very limited.²¹ Some persons with Hurrian names were traders from Assur (even a year eponym of the level Ib period had a Hurrian name, *A-ri/tal-LUGAL*, in kt n/k 22:11f.), a few others may have been active or living in the “core area” of the trade, the basin of the Kizilirmak and the areas east and west it, where, however, the main population groups were linguistically Neshite and Hattian. OA texts a few times use the nisbe “Šubarian” (*ša Šubirim*) for textiles they imported:

CCT 6, 7a:4,11: 22 TÚG.HI.A, *ša Šu-bi-ri-im* 1 A[NŠE?] ⁵ 3 *me’at* 17 TÚG.HI [...], *pirikkannū*¹⁰ [in all?] 3 *me’at* 91 TÚG [*qadum*?], [*ša šu*]-*bi-ri-im* (“including those of Šubarum”).

Garelli, *RA* 58 (1964) 117f., Sch. 17:4: TÚG.HI.A *ša Šu-bi-ri-im*, SIG₅ *lu’ pu-ki’ ašar ibasššūni, atammarā*, “look around where Šubarian textiles of good quality or *pūku*-textiles²² are to be found”.

Studies Garelli 231 no. 4:5: 1 TÚG *ša Šu-bi-ri-im*, 1 TÚG *pukum* 1 TÚG *ša ālim*^{ki}, due from M.; 35: 1 TÚG *kusītum* *ša Šu-bi-ri-im*, 2 TÚG *ša ālim*^{ki}, entrusted to somebody.

Prag I 686:20: *nibrāram*²⁰ *lū ša Šu-bi-ri-im lū ša ālim, lū kusītum ša akkidī’ē, ana litabšia šēbilam*.

Kt 91/k 344:12: 7 TÚG.HI.A *kabūtūim*, SIG₅ (erasure), *ša Šu-bi-ri-im*, K. *naš’akkum*.

It is important to note that “Šubarian textiles” in two of these texts occur alongside textiles “of the City (of Aššur)”, which must refer to their make (weaving technique and finishing) or style and therefore may apply to various kinds of garments, in the texts quoted also to a *kusītum* and a *nibrārum*. Note that “Šubarian” is not expressed by means of a

¹⁸ See now J. G. Dercksen (2007), 37f., with literature.

¹⁹ See D. Charpin – N. Ziegler (2003), 263f., and for the Hurrians in Northern Mesopotamia in that period and the use of S/Šubartu as a name for that area, P. Steinkeller (1998), 77ff. When Dadusha of Eshnunna in his stele writes: “Above, in the land Šubartum, from the land of Burunda and the land of Eluhum until the land/mountain Dīluba and the land Lullūm” (X: 12 – X: 3, see BaMi 34 [2003] 146f.), he refers primarily to the area of the Upper Tigris.

²⁰ See for his to all appearances Hurrian name (which occurs as Aniš-hurpe in sources from Mari), G. Wilhelm (1996), 176, note 15, and for his person and rule, J. Miller (2001), 65–101.

²¹ Also because the Old Assyrian sources of the level II period refer to local rulers anonymously, by their title *rubā’um* or by means of a nisbe. Rulers known by name from the “notarizations” and a few other sources of the younger level Ib period are nearly all those of Kanesh and they are not Hurrian. See for Hurrian names in ‘Kültepe texts’ J. G. Dercksen (1996), 163 with note 508, to whose collection a few more names can now be added from new sources.

²² My emendation of the difficult *ku pu na*? is suggested by the occurrence of *pūku*-textiles (cf. CAD P 503 s.v. *pūku* B) in some of the other texts quoted here.

nisbe formation of the type of *ša A-ki-dí-e*, “of the Akkadians” > “Akkadian”, which occurs in I 686:21 (kt 91/k 344:20 also mentions *Šulupki’ē*), but without *ša* and with the noun *Šubarum* in the genitive singular, with Assyrian vowel harmony, which can only mean a “land” or region of that name.²³ Therefore I cannot follow CAD Š/III, 170, which lists some of the above quoted occurrences under the adjective *šubarû* (*šubarīu*).²⁴

No text, however, mentions that one went to Šubarum to acquire these textiles, and I 686 shows that they were imported by caravan from Aššur, since the request to send them is followed by, “load the tin of PN and 20 thin textiles on a donkey and entrust them to a caravan to bring them here”. In OA we do not meet an area called “Šubarum” and the word is not used with a clearly geographical meaning, “in Šubarum”, as is *Amurru*.²⁵ The main reference²⁶ to persons designated as “Šubarian” is in a verdict of the City of Assur that forbids the sale of gold to “any Akkadian, Amorrite or Šubarian (*Šubirī’im*)”,²⁷ meaning in a general way to non-Assyrian traders of the three main ethnicities the Assyrians might encounter in Northern Mesopotamia. One may compare a text from Mari that underlines the value in this wide area of a messenger “who masters Akkadian, Amorrite and Šubarian”,²⁸ where the same sequence is used. If it is meaningful – Amorrites apparently were concentrated in the western part of the Upper Djezireh, Akkadians south of Assur and along the middle Euphrates)²⁹ – Šubarians close to Assur (in the eastern Khabur Triangle and along the Upper Tigris) might well be meant.

It is not clear what the mention in our letter of the city of Mamma (line 9), where Unapše had settled accounts for Abudata with Šu-Anum(?), implies, nor do we know where Abduata (not attested in other OA texts) lived or worked. It may have been in the region of Mamma (which harbored an Assyrian trading station, *wabartum*) or even further south (there was an Assyrian *kārum* in Uršu), since kt k/k 4 shows that Unapše’s commercial contacts ranged far. In connection with Mamma I also mention the text kt 92/k 196:40f, where there is mention of “Hanna-nārum, son of Elālī, who took up the position of scribe

²³ OA *subārum*, without vowel harmony, in most cases denotes a commodity (see CAD S, 340 s.v.; note also kt 94/k 477:8, among the costs of transport, *sú-ba-ar-ka* alongside *ukultum*, “fodder”). Where this is impossible, as in “PN *ša sú-ba-ri-im*” (RA 59 [1965] 20 no. 2:4), who is mentioned as witness alongside an Anatolian (*nu’ā’im*) and “our PN” [PN *niā’im*], an interpretation “of Subarum” is tempting (proposed by J. and H. Lewy [(1967), 15,3], although it is problematic because of the sibilant and the absence of vowel harmony (see P. Garelli [1966], 137f.), but an interpretation as a personal name (CAD S, loc.cit.) is unlikely.

²⁴ A “Šubarian slave-girl” in OA is called *amtam šubrītām* (with elision of the short -a-), but OB writes *šubarītām*, see CAD Š, loc.cit. The nisbe occurs also in a text from Shemshara (J. Eidem – J. Laessøe [2001], no. 50:7), “Šubarian sheep” (UDU.HI.A *šu-ba-ri-i*).

²⁵ See for references to *Amurru* (written syllabically and as ^(d)MAR.TU), Veenhof (in press), footnote 426), where also CCT 2, 29a:14, “two Amorrites from Nehriya”, is quoted.

²⁶ There may be another reference, in ICK 1, 7:7, 1 mina (of silver) *ana šu-bi-ri-im*, “for the Šubarian” (*šubirī’im*), but it offers no geographical clue.

²⁷ Kt 79/k 101:21, see K. R. Veenhof (1995a), 1733 with note 49.

²⁸ A 107, LÚ šū [ina A]kkadī’i Amurrī’i u Šubarī’i ile’i; see J.-M. Durand (1992), 125 f.

²⁹ The draft of a treaty with a ruler in Southern Anatolia forbids him to admit Akkadian traders to his land (kt n/k 794:1f., see: Dercksen [2004], 250 note 8).

in Mamma”.³⁰ The man must have worked as an Assyrian scribe, probably for the local administration, because it used Old Assyrian as written language, as did Anum-hirbe, a few generations later, to judge from his famous letter sent to the ruler of Kanesh.³¹

While we cannot answer the question where exactly Abudata lived/worked (and he may have needed a translator even when he was not in the town where he lived), the question remains to which period our letter’s request for a Hurrian reading scribe dates. While, as mentioned above, Hecker dates kt k/k 4 to the younger period of *kārum* Kanesh level Ib, both on the basis of a number of peculiarities of the tablet, its language and writing, and because nearly the whole first lot of kt k/k texts is from that period, it is not clear that this applies to our letter too. As the copy and photo show, it does not differ from normal level II texts and the linguistic peculiarities it exhibits are rather proof of the fact that the writer was not a professional and not Old Assyrian, than evidence of a late date.³² While most texts of the lot k/t n/k 1–30 (but not kt n/k 26, see note 9) are from the level Ib period, kt k/k 4 is a completely isolated letter. The tablet’s paleographic, orthographic and grammatical peculiarities (apart from three cases of failing imitation) do not necessarily require a chronological explanation, since its scribe was not Assyrian and the tablet was written in Northern Syria. It might be compared to some purely Anatolian documents written in Old Assyrian, where mistakes and some “sloppiness” could suggest a later date, while the document is not late. A decision is difficult, because we have little too compare and the tablet kt 90/k 360, which TPAK 1, p. 59 describes as “texte atypique (Syrie du Nord)”, remains unpublished.³³ On the other hand, also kt 91/k 539 by its subject matter and the persons mentioned is completely isolated and the group of texts numbered kt 91/k 535–551 does not seem to belong to Elamma’s archive,³⁴ so that our letter could be an “intruder”, possibly (though difficult to prove) even from the early phase of level Ib, unless the identity of Šu-Anum, mentioned above, proves to be correct. That according to S. Çeçen – as mentioned in Hecker 1996a, 303 “Nachträge” (3) – the judicial record kt n/k 1952 “grosse Teile von k/k 4 wörtlich zitiert” would speak for a level II date, to which the kt n/k archives belong. But this reference must be a mistake, since this record, a deposition before *kārum*

³⁰ *ša ʔupšarruttam ina Mammā iṣbutu*; the text figures as no. 51 in my *The Archive of Kuliya, son of Alābum*, in press and to appear as a volume in the AKT-series.

³¹ K. Balkan (1957), 18, criticizes the scribe who wrote it for a certain sloppiness and some colloquialisms, but nevertheless has to admit that he was “well trained in Assyrian. No barbarisms or solecisms ... The orthography is consistent and cultivated”. This picture nicely fits an Assyrian trader with a basic education as a scribe, employed by Anum-hirbe, who may have had some difficulty in phrasing this diplomatic letter, the more so if he had to convert Anum-hirbe’s originally Hurrian words into Assyrian.

³² Moreover, texts from the early years of the level Ib period show few differences with those of the level II period.

³³ Note also that kt 90/k 364 and 365 are from the archive excavated in 1989, that 362 and 363 (with a late year eponym) are from level Ib ruins, and that the excavator states (p. 9) that only specialists can decide to which level kt 90/k 358/9 and 360 belong.

³⁴ 91/k 530–533 are still letters written to and by Elamma, but the connection with him and his archive seems to be absent in the higher numbers. In most of the texts numbered kt 91/k 534–551 Šu-Ištar figures prominently, which suggests a separate lot, but there are no indications that kt 91/k 539 belongs to it. See for kt 91/k 556–561, above, note 12.

Hattuš by two witnesses, Bēlum-nādā and Aššur-pilah, does not quote kt k/k/4.³⁵ The dates of our two letters therefore for the time being remain unknown.

2. Kt 86/k 204

Kt 86/k 204 (2-85-86; 5.9 × 4.2 cm.) is the damaged reverse of an envelope (A) with the remains of two different seal impressions, which originally contained and validated the tablet kt 87/k 39 (B), which I could transliterate when visiting the excavations at Kültepe in July 1987. B was later edited by Dercksen [2004], 161, who already mentioned its envelope A. The text B, which need not be repeated here, records the new status of Kigarša(n), who left the *tuzinnum* of his father and was “bought” by two Anatolians, whereby he acquired a house and an *arhalum* of the local ruler. We cannot identify Kigarša(n) – his name is spelled with and without final -n, and it probably figures as Kigaršen in kt g/t 42+33³⁶ – and the ca. fifteen references for the name probably refer to various different persons of that name, including a priest of Higiša.³⁷

A

e. [i-na[?] t]ù-zì-ni-[im]

[he will leave] the *tuzinnum*

rev. [ša r]u-ba-im [ú-ši[?]]

of the ruler.

seal A (upside down)

É^{bi-tám} ú ar-h[a-lam]

The house and the *arhalum*

ša ru-ba-im ni-di-[šu]

of the ruler we gave [him].

5' [š]u-ma : Ki-ga-ar-š[a]

If Kigarša returns

a-na tù-zì-ni-[im]

to the *tuzinnum*

seal B

ša a-bi-šu i-t[ù-ar]

of his father,

3 ma-na KÙ.B. ú [É]

[he will give] 3 minas of

a-na A-a-ah-šu ù

silver and [the house]

10' [Tí-ik-ša-ar i-da-an]

[to Ayahšu and Tikšar]

Notes

1'–2' are difficult and my interpretation assumes that “the *tuzinnum* of the ruler” is a variant of what B:7f., 15f. and A:6'f. designate as “the *tuzinnum* of his father”. I take them

³⁵ The seals on the envelope of this record (numbered CS 808 and 809) were published by N. Özgüç 2006, pl. 82 and 273, where one can still read the words *kārum Hattuš / iddinniātima*, and on CS 808 part of the seal inscription: DUMU A-š[ùr[?].....]. *Kārum Hattuš* is attested during the level II period, cf. kt 92/k 203:5 (text no. 2 in my forthcoming edition of the archive of Kuliya).

³⁶ The text lists personnel and Kikaršen and his three boys (*šuhārūšu*, cf. our text B:18?) are said to be “in Kanesh” and to range under (“follow after”) Halkiašu, the head of the stores.

³⁷ OIP 57, 27:3 and kt n/k 32:2f. Men with this name figure as witnesses (kt 87/k 266:3; 312:4; 91/k 281:2; K., son of Šupunahšu, in TC 1, 68 = EL 86:1, which carries an impression of his seal), others as debtors (AKT 1, 57:B:3.7, with his wife; kt f/k 112:3; in KTH 36:21 a K. owes an Assyrian 10 minas of silver), creditors (AKT 1, 79:8; EL 64:5), or as buyer (of a house, TPAK 1, 157:3).

as abbreviations of “the *tuzinnum* of the ruler that his father held”, or the like. There are more texts, discussed by Dercksen, *Studies Larsen* 148 f., which mention that a person “holds” (*ka’ulum*), “takes” (*laqā’um*) or “gives up” (*ezābum*) a *tuzinnum*. Since in A:1’ f. “the *tuzinnum* of the ruler” is in the genitive, the verb *ezābum* is excluded in line 2’, hence my proposal *waṣā’um ina*, “to leave”, attested in OA with *ina bētim*.

3’–10’ are similar to B:3–14, but the latter read: “We gave him (*niddiššu*, without mimation, also assumed for A: 4’) a house of us.³⁸ He took/accepted (*ilqe*) the *arhalum* of the ruler and the house of the ruler”, a combination that shows, as pointed out by Dercksen (2004, 140 ff.), that the *arhalum* obligation was linked with the possession of a house granted by the ruler.

The reason for the sale of Kigarša(n), a presumably grown-up son who probably still belonged to his father’s household (*bēt abišu*), is not mentioned. The use of the verb “to buy” (even though no price is mentioned) suggests that it may have happened to cover his or his father’s debts, and if it was not a self-sale his father may have sold him. His ‘transfer’ meant that Kigarša was no longer attached to (or liable to work for, *taḥhu’um ana* in the stative) the *tuzinnum* of his father, presumably land held from a “lord” (in casu the king, if my understanding of B:1’–2’ is correct) and that he left the social organization to which he was attached.³⁹ Our contract is comparable to kt 87/k 285 (Dercksen [2004], 162), where the Anatolian woman Zibezibe and her son Kigaršan sell “their¹ son” Inar (to whom is not mentioned) for 12 shekels of silver. The consequence is that the latter leaves the house, while Zibezibe and Kigaršan “take” (i. e. retain?) the house and the *tuzinnum*. That the first witness of our contract, “Peruwa, the chief of the runners”,⁴⁰ is called Kigaršan’s lord” (*bēlšu*, B:22f), does not prove that he was the owner of Kigarša (even when the latter was an un-free laborer). It seems more likely that Kigarša (and his father) enjoyed the use of landed property in exchange for performing service as “runners” under the official Peruwa, who therefore had to agree with his sale, because it meant that he lost one of his service men. The new owners, Ayahšu and Tikšar, provide Kigarša with a house and impose a service duty (*arhalum*), linked to holding a house of the king. This implies that they ranged under the crown and probably were royal officials, who used dependent labor on the estates they had to exploit or held as royal grant, so that the house assigned to Kikarša was basically property of the king. One may compare the level Ib text kt 89/k 365 (Dercksen [2004], 169), where three Anatolians “take” a house and *arhalum* of Peruwa, “the protector of Kanesh”, while two others (their brothers?) separated from them and left the house.

³⁸ A writes as phonetic complements to É in line 3 *bé-ni* and in line 18 *bé-šu*. The repeated omission of *-et-* makes me hesitate to emend to *bé-<et>-ni/šu* (as Dercksen does); the spellings may render what the writer understood as forms with an assimilated dental, **bēnni* and **bēššu*.

³⁹ As pointed out by Dercksen (2004), 149 and 163 f. Note, in connection with Dercksen’s analysis of the meaning of *tuzinnum* that the passage kt 88/k 90:10–12, according to collation, reads not *ana tuzinnim* (*eṣādīm*) but *ana hu-ZI-nim*. The latter word, *hus/ṣ/zi/anum*, perhaps an agricultural product that is harvested, also occurs in the unpublished text LB 1216:9, whose writer registers the expenditure of 2 garments *a-lá-sí-me-e ša hu-ZI-nim labbušim*, “to provide clothing to the runners of the *huZinnum*” (see Dercksen, NABU 2005/38).

⁴⁰ This title is also attested in kt o/k 60:18 and 32, but without mention of his name.

In lines B:15–19 the words “if he does not return to the *tuzinnum* of his father, the house is his house and the boys (*ṣuhārū*) are his sons”,⁴¹ seem to state Kigarša’s reward if he accepts his new status as permanent, but it is only partly understandable and even the translation (“the house is his house”) is problematic. Did Kigarša already have young sons, who then would not longer be dependent servants (*ṣuhārū*) of his lords, but free sons who could inherit his property? I cannot answer this question.

It is clear that the envelope of this document was broken and separated from the tablet it contained when the house of level II was destroyed or by later disturbances. The envelope ended up in or near the house in grid s/11, while the tablet was found in in grid s-12, which N. Özgüç – Ö. Tunca 2001, 211, describe as “northwest of the street”.

3. Kt 86/k 48

In his lecture “Rechtslos in der Fremde”, held in Sept. 1995 in the Ankara Museum and published the next year,⁴² Hecker published the dramatic letter kt 87/k 249 (referred to as A in what follows), written by the Assyrian Baziya to a senior colleague (1.49, “you are my lord, I am your slave!”), called Ikuppi-Aššur, apparently in Kanesh.⁴³ He appeals for help to obtain his release, since he had been thrown into jail ten months ago, “for dying”, by an Anatolian ruler (of which town is not mentioned) in an attempt to force him to yield an expensive item, called *hinišannum*, without paying its price as he had originally promised. The small group of tablets found in the beginning of the excavation season of 1986, which Professor Tahsin Özgüç asked me to study,⁴⁴ comprises another, unfortunately damaged letter, kt 86/k 48 (referred to as B in what follows), apparently written by the same Baziya (though his name as writer is by mistake omitted), which deals with the same issue. It is addressed to Iddin-Suen and Aššur-bāni, who are called “my lords” and are asked to appeal to the Assyrian authorities to intervene. Since Baziya again mentions that he is already ten months in jail we have to assume that in his desperate situation he wrote letters to several Assyrians in Kanesh, who might help him.⁴⁵ The addressees of the new letter do not figure in the few readable texts of this disparate group of early 1986 texts. Since several persons bearing the names of both addressees figure in texts found in situ as

⁴¹ Lines 18f., *É^{bé-su} ú ṣuhārū mer’ūšu*.

⁴² In K. Hecker (1996b), 145–159.

⁴³ It is included in Michel CMK as no. 94a/b.

⁴⁴ Their numbers range between kt 86/ k34 and 52 (with museum number 2-17-86) and many of them are fragmentary and damaged. Kt 86/k 39 and 47 are sealed bullae, which were found (N. Özgüç – Ö. Tunca 2001, 209) “in the south part of the street in grid v/13–14.” The other readable texts are a few letters, (parts of) contracts, and judicial records. The next lot of tablets bears the numbers kt 86/ k 90–106 (museum numbers 2-19-86 until 2-35-86) and after another gap in the numbering (numbers apparently used for other excavated objects, including a group of rhytons and decorative pottery, numbered kt 86/k 133–150), there follows a much larger groups of well preserved cuneiform texts, numbered kt 86/k 153 (2-36-86) until 228 (2-110-86), found in a level II house in grid s/11, but which do not seem to make one coherent archive.

⁴⁵ Note that A was found with its envelope and therefore was not opened and read by the addressee.

the kt/k 87 archive,⁴⁶ it seems likely that our letter originally belonged to the archive or lot discovered in 1987, but was separated from its original archival context due to the circumstances mentioned in the introduction to this article.

kt 86/k 48 (2-13-86, 5.3 × 4.5 cm).

obv.	<i>a-na I-dī-Sú-en ú</i> <i>A-šur-ba-ni qí-bi₄-ma</i> < <i>um-ma Ba-zi-a-ma</i> > <i>be-lu-a : a-tù-nu a-na-kam</i> <i>a-ší-ra-am : ú-lá ar-tí-ší</i>	Say to Iddin-Suen and Aššur-bāni, <this is what Baziya says>: “Please, my lords, here I have been unable to find a helper.
5	<i>iš-tù : 10 ITI.KAM i-pì-i</i> <i>A-nu-a DUMU GAL-A-šur</i> <i>i-ki-šé-er-ší-im a-na</i> <i>[m]u-a-tim : na-ad-a-ku</i> <i>[um-ma] šu-ut-ma a-na</i>	Ten months ago, at the instigation of Anua, son of Rabi-Aššur, I have been thrown in jail, to cause my death. He told the
10	<i>[ru-ba-i]m-ma Ba-zi-a</i> <i>[IR^{dum} š]a ru-ba-im</i> <i>[x x x x x x x]-im</i>	ruler: ‘Baziya is only a slave of the ruler [.....]
	(lacuna of a few lines)	
rev.	<i>[x x x x] x x</i> <i>[x x x x K]à-ni-iš</i> <i>[ma-m]a-an ú-lá</i> <i>[e-š]a-ar-šu : be-lu-a</i>	[.....in/from] Kanesh nobody will help him.’ Please, my lords,
5’	<i>[a]-tù-nu : lu šu-um-ku-nu</i> <i>a-na a-lim^{ki} A-šur</i> <i>a-ma-kam na-áš-pè-er-tí</i> <i>ša a-kà-ri-im</i> <i>lá-pu-ta-at-ni IGI</i>	your reputation is at stake! vis-à-vis the City of Aššur. Overthere my letter, addressed to the <i>kārum</i> ,
10’	<i>kà-ri-im : šu-uk-/na-ma</i> <i>ú i-pì-ku-<nu> : ki-ma</i> <i>ša A-šur : a-wa-tum</i>	you must submit to the <i>kārum</i> and may your mouth utter words that are
e.	<i>da-mi-iq-tum</i>	as favorable as those
l.e.	<i>[lu-uš-a-ma k]à-ru-um</i>	of the god Aššur so that
15’	<i>[x x x x x]-ku-ni-ma KÛ.B.-áp</i> <i>[a-lim^{ki}] A-šur lá i-ha-li-i[q]</i>	the <i>kārum</i> may and no silver of the City of Aššur gets lost!”

Our letter is shorter than A, which has 50 lines, but it was written at the same time, since it also mentions that Baziya is already ten months in jail. It does not mention the frustrated sale of the *hinišannum* and how the at first friendly local ruler changed his mind at the instigation of the Assyrian Anua (spelled *A-nu-m/wa* in A) and it does not contain

⁴⁶ Four letters in the large kt 87/k archive are addressed to Aššur-bāni alone and with others, while one (kt 87/k 376) is (the copy of?) a letter written by him, and the archive also contains several letters written by Iddin-Suen and one to him (kt 87/k 439).

Baziya's protestation (A: 42ff.) that not only does he not owe the ruler anything but, on the contrary, has a large claim on him. The restoration of broken passages is based on A, but B: 37f., *šiprē aššēr rubā'im lišpuramma*, do not match the remaining signs [.....]-*ku-ni-ma* of 1.15' and there is also too little room for them. These signs could be the end of a 3rd pers. plural verb (the *kārum* features more often as a logical plural).

Little can be added to the commentary of Hecker and some lexical problems remain. *The hinišannum* that the ruler wished to acquire, must have been an expensive vessel,⁴⁷ but the meaning of A: 9, where the local ruler promises to pay its price *na-AS-BE-a-tù-a li-BU-a-ma* "when my", remains unclear. Hecker emends the verb to obtain the paranomastic combination *naspiātū'a li-<is>pu-a-ma*, but that may not be necessary, since a verb *bu'ā'um* is attested.⁴⁸ *Nas/šb/pi/ītum* (to be distinguished from *našbittum*, "handle") is probably also attested in AAA I/3 no. 6 (= Michel CMK no. 37), a letter addressed to the Envoys of the City [and *kārum* Kanesh], which reports that an Anatolian ruler (of Kapitra, line 4?), declaring he readiness to return losses suffered by Assyrians, adds "I have to perform *na-AS-BI-tām* and after the *na-AS-BI-tim* I will return the losses". One may compare kt a/k 478: 37, "Your wife is staying (here) and *ina na-AS-BE-tim* is going/wants to go to her father's house". CAD N/II, 30a lists the first occurrence under *naspittu*, "(mng uncert.)", but translates by "mourning rites", tentatively deriving it from the verb *sapādum*. While "mourning" as a reason for postponing an action would fit in A, it is excluded because the plural there asks for a root *tertia infirmæ*, which means that the other occurrences too could be the singular of the same word so that "mourning rites" is excluded. Moreover, if the verb is indeed *bu'ā'um*, its occurrences quoted above require a different meaning, also for *nas/šb/bītum*, but none of the possible verbs (*s/šab/pû*) seems to yield an acceptable meaning.⁴⁹

It is remarkable that Baziya is already ten months in jail without receiving any help from the *kārum*,⁵⁰ although – as pointed out by Hecker – he was able to write letters to Kanesh, under his own seal. The whole affair is strange and one wonders what Anuwa's remarks that Baziya is "a slave of the ruler" imply, since this ruler can only be the Assyrian king. We would assume that maltreatment of such a man should immediately raise protests in *kārum* Kanesh and in Aššur, which – as Baziya asked his correspondents – the *kārum* should notify of what had happened. And also that Baziya's accusation that Anua is responsible for his fate should have lead to legal action or at least an investigation by the *kārum*.⁵¹ Baziya's warning that due to his fate "silver of the City of Aššur might get lost"

⁴⁷ See J.G. Dercksen (2007), 33, [1], perhaps also AKT 4, 20: 1 (*hu-ni-ša-nim*).

⁴⁸ Kt n/k 512:10 (courtesy Günbatti), "in the City, in a meeting of the assembly, Ied your father (*a-bu-ka : a-bu-ma*) and by verdict of the City he will give back all the silver he took"; kt 94/k 839:42 (courtesy Larsen), "PN *ina awātīm i-bu-ma* and borrowed 10 minas of silver"; kt 94/k 1422:16, *kaspam ina awātīm i-bu-a-ni-ma kaspam ippal*.

⁴⁹ See also my remarks in AbB 14 (2006) 216, s. v. *s/š/zepûm*, for some of the verbs and the difficulties in distinguishing them and fixing their meaning.

⁵⁰ The perfect tense (*āšīram ula artiši*) in line 4 probably looks back: I have thus far been unable to obtain one.

⁵¹ Anu(w)a remains elusive and there are no unambiguous references to him elsewhere, only four uninformative occurrences of a man called *A-nu-a* (without patronymic), in AKT 3, 30:12, TPAK 1, 59:6, TC 1, 87 rev.: 21', and TC 3, 79:6–9.

(A:30f., 39f.; B:5'f.) probably has to be explained from his position as “slave of the ruler” (and not as a dramatic attempt to present his private losses as a “national” loss). We do have indirect evidence for his position, linked with the role of his father Asqudum in the service of the palace in Aššur, in KTS 55b:

“Of the 8 shekels of silver owed by Asqudum, the slave of the palace, 2 1/2 shekels are for my account, due from Baziya, the son of Asqudum.”⁵²

This is ‘our’ Baziya, identified as son of Asqudum on the envelope of letter A, and Larsen OACC 132f. already pointed out that this Asqudum occurs in several letters of Assyrian rulers as an agent of the royal palace in Aššur, who carried out sale commissions for the rulers in Anatolia. To his evidence we can now add CCT 6, 27b:13'f., whose writer (to all appearances Pūšu-kēn) lists as sent to Aššur, “1 packet of 15 minas of silver, with my seals and the seal of Asqudum for the ruler”.⁵³ It seems likely that Baziya first cooperated with and later succeeded his father as “agent of the crown”. He is attested in kt 87/k 155, from eponymy year 105, with a debt of eight shekels of silver, and in the much later contract TC 3, 236, from eponymy year 124, as debtor of Aššur-bāni, presumably the same man as the second addressee of letter B. The modest financial transactions recorded in these texts presumably were for his own account, but the substantial ones of A:44ff. – the purchase of 16 shekels of meteoric iron, equal to at least 10 to 12 minas of silver, and a claim of 25 minas of silver on the Anatolian ruler – may very well have been carried out in the service of the palace and would explain his warning that his death would entail “loss of silver of Aššur”.

These data make it even more curious that he was treated in this way and lingered in jail, expecting not to survive. The depreciating words of Anua, “(merely) a slave of the ruler” (in A:21 stressed by the added *šumšu*, Hecker “Wer ist schon Baziya?”), probably have the force of “he is not an independent trader and member of the *kārum*” and therefore ‘without a helper’ (*āširum*), that is somebody who could more easily be mistreated by a local Anatolian ruler. The fact that not only did Anua call him thus, but that he also had great difficulty in finding help in the Assyrian community is surprising and increases our curiosity about the status and power of Aššur’s ruler in the commercial society. The texts discussed at least show that “the City of Aššur” (used by Baziya), “the ruler (of Aššur)” and “the palace (of Aššur)” had shared interests.

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⁵² *ina* 8 GÍN KÙ.B., *ša libbi*, *Asqudim* ÌR, *ša ekallim* ŠĀ.BA 5 2 1/2 GÍN KÙ.B., *kišdātū'a, išti Baziya*, DUMU *Asqudim*. Cf. OACC 133, note 91 and APU no. 467.

⁵³ See my observations on this text, edited as APU no. 176, in JAOS 118 (1998), 585.

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