

ACROSS THE EUPHRATES

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1. *Introduction*

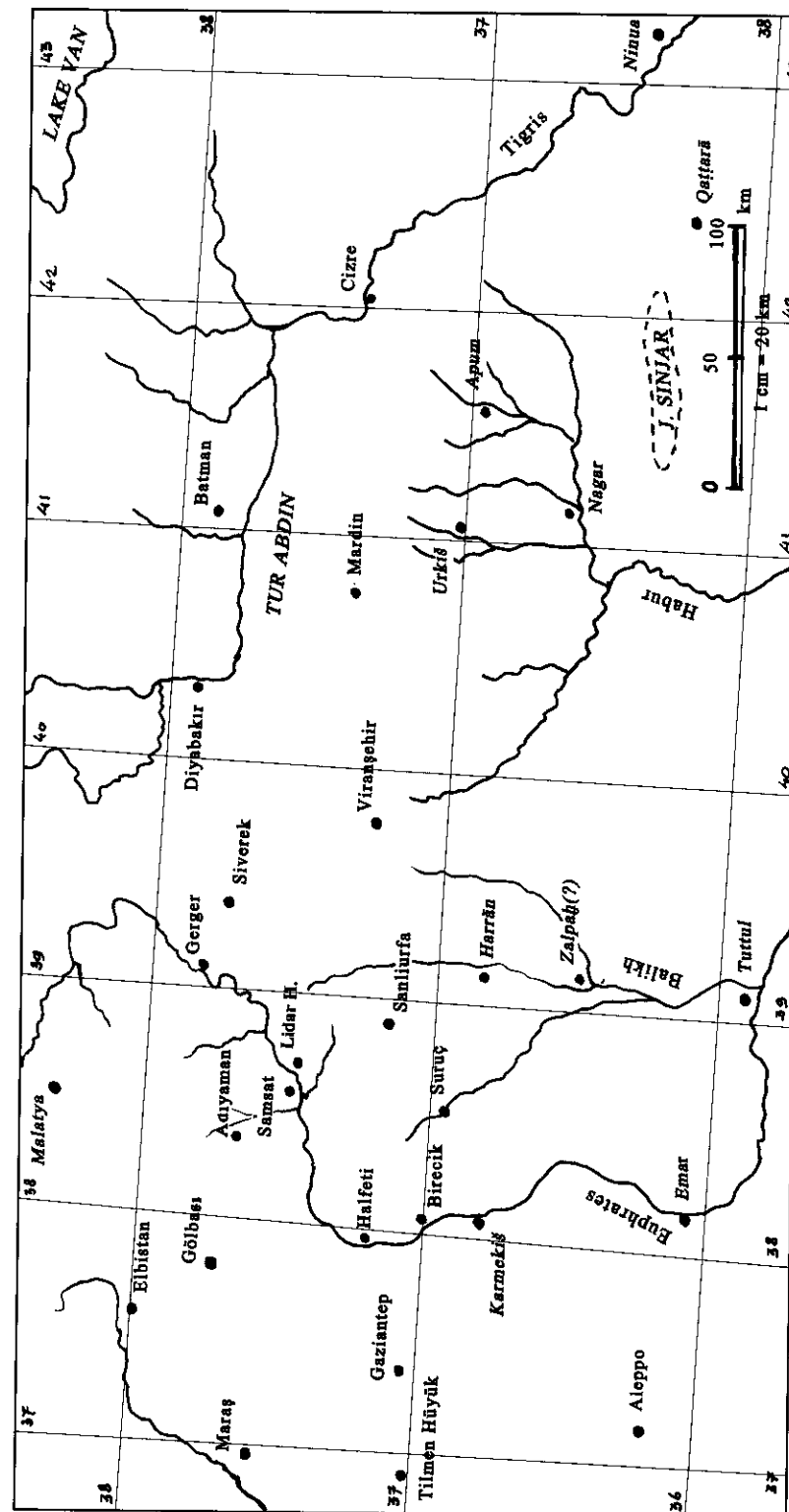
The Euphrates is an important geographical feature in the area where the Jazira, Northern Syria and Southern Anatolia border on each other. Throughout history it functioned in various ways as a dividing line, occasionally also as a political boundary. Where the river flowed between high embankments and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

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

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

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

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



Map of the area discussed.

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

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

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

⁴ Discussed in Barjamovic 2005.

⁵ The only occurrences of *Purattum* are in Kt 87/k 275: 17 (Hecker 1997: 165f.; see below § 6 with note 36), where a man promises to bring a slave-girl across the Euphrates (*Pu-ra-tām ušebbaršī*), and probably in the “itinerary” Kt g/k 200 (Günbattı 2002: 81). The last text registers payment of the *dātu*-tax and other expenses during a journey from Assur to Tegarama and in lines 27ff. books “55 shekels (of tin) in the mountains of Ḥaqa,²⁹ 25 shekels *ša sa’etim*,³⁰ 7 shekels *ša pu-ra-tim*”. Its editor and Forlanini (2006: 166 note 96) take it as a reference to buying *purādu*-fish, but the use not of *ana* but of *ša* (as in the expenses *ša titurrim*) may well refer to the costs of (crossing the) Euphrates. The amount paid, 7 shekels of tin, equal to c. 1 shekel of silver, compares well the amounts of 1 shekel of silver and 15 shekels of tin paid for “crossing” in the two text quoted above. Anyhow, we cannot link this expense with the town of Ḥaqa and deduce from it that this town was situated close to a river (Forlanini), because lines 25ff. are a kind of appendix to the list of *dātu*-payments and the mention of Ḥaqa and *Purattum* are separated by line 29, which mentions another general item.

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

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

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

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

⁷ TPAK 1, 42: 6f., *ina* [*šapat n*]*ārim nimmiḫir*; Prag I 469: 2ff. [*ina*] / *Ḫaḫḫim ina wa-š[a-i-a]* (or: *wa-š[a-bi-a]*) / *ina Ḫabnuk* [*ina*] / *šapat nāri[m]* E. *amḫu[r]*. Whether ICK 2, 156: 1ff., “When he set out on his journey, on the bank of the river, at Zalpa”, refers to the Euphrates is not certain.

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

⁹ Edited in Eidem 1991.

Mesopotamia that have been identified, such as Urkiš, Nagar, Kaḫat, Ḫarrān and Karkemiš, do not occur in the Old Assyrian texts and the exact location of many road-stations, in particular several towns where the Assyrians had settled down in a *kārum* or *wabartum* - in alphabetical order Batna, Buruddum, Eluḫḫut, and Neḫriya - is unknown, and this also applies to cities on or across the Euphrates such as *Ḫaḫḫum*, Uršu and Zalpa. Most of these do occur in the somewhat later texts from Mari and some also in Hittite sources, but not Batna, which housed an Assyrian *wabartum* and occurs a dozen times in OA texts. Moreover, many towns in that area known from Mari texts and in part also listed in the “Old Babylonian Itinerary”¹⁰ are absent from the OA sources. Texts from Mari and the OA corpus both know the towns of Buruddum/Burundum, Eluḫḫut, Naḫur, Neḫriya, Talḫat or Talḫayum (already mentioned by Naram-Sin of Akkad), and Puḫidar/Paḫudar (conquered by Yaḫdun-Lim according to a year-name), but their exact location is disputed.

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

2. *Ḫaḫḫum and the crossing of the Euphrates*

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

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

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

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

Judging from the frequency of its mention the main crossing of the Euphrates must have been in the area of Ḥaḥḥum, most probably to be located, with Forlanini, at or near Samsat, on the right bank of the Euphrates, rather than at Lidar Hüyük, c. 10 km upstream, on the left bank, which was favored by Liverani.¹² The evidence collected by Nashef 1987 and new sources leave no doubt that Ḥaḥḥum, seat of an Assyrian *kārum*, where several traders had a house,¹³ was an important market town, where goods could be sold, bought, deposited or entrusted for transport,¹⁴ and therefore a very important stop on the route to Anatolia. It is frequently mentioned in the so-called *dātu*-texts (that register the payment of the road-tax during the caravan trips, analyzed in Nashef 1987), several of which register such expenses of a caravan for two stages only: Assur–Ḥaḥḥum and Ḥaḥḥum–Kaneš (see Nashef 1987: 70 table 6).¹⁵ The treaty between *kārum* Kaneš and Ḥaḥḥum from the period of *kārum* Kaneš Level Ib, recently published by C. Günbattı (2004), contains two valuable pieces of information that link the town with the river.¹⁶ Col. II: 11ff. in my reconstruction mentions “a ferry-man” (*ša [nē]birim*), who might be instigated by the local administrators to sink a boat, obviously a ferry used by the Assyrian caravans crossing the river, and it also stipulates that any losses, whatsoever, “on the river, in your mountains and in your land” shall be compensated by the authorities of Ḥaḥḥum.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For this area the “itinerary” CCT 5, 44c¹⁸ is important, which registers expenses from Qaṭṭarā until Ḥaqa and lists in lines 11’ff. successive payments in Apum, Amaz, Naḥur, [ina/ana] Luḥayum, Abrum, [x’], and [Ḥa]qa. Forlanini, in view of the probable location of Amaz and Naḥur, which he situates to the northeast and northwest respectively of Nagar (*Tell Brak*), uses it to reconstruct his southern route, with caravans traveling via Naḥur¹⁹ in the direction of Viranşehir. Via Luḥayum,²⁰ in the most western part of the Ḥabur Triangle²¹ and Ašīḥum, for which he proposes a location about halfway between Viranşehir and Siverek, caravans would have reached the Euphrates at Ḥaḥḥum (Samsat), 75 km to the west. From there the journey recorded in CCT 5, 44c would have followed the Euphrates upstream to Abrum, where (as the name of the town would indicate) the river could be forded and which he locates c. 25 km northeast of Samsat

¹⁷ For this important city-state, the eastern neighbour of Eluḥḥut, see Guichard 2002: 149ff., who uses the qualification “royaume hourritisé”.

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

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

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

²¹ According to A 109, people from Talḥayum (the capital of Yapturum, southwest of Burundum) and *ḥapirū* had raided the town of Luḥaya, said to be “opposite Zalmaqum” (*pāni Zalmaqim*), which should mean the most western part of the Ḥabur Triangle. Forlanini situates the town north of Talḥayum and points to its contacts with Abrum.

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

3. *Abrum and Ašihum*

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

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

²³ See the maps in Charpin/Ziegler 2003: 77, 171 and 186 (note that neither Luḥaya/um nor Amaz figure in their list of towns on p. 272ff.). Amaz appears, together with Ašnakum and Talḥayum, in the letter A 3194 (p. 222f.), which suggests the western part of the Habur Triangle, but p. 237 with note 633 only states “au nord du Sindjar”, which is reflected in the map of p. 187. The map Forlanini 2004: 426 suggests a location c. 15 km north of Nagar/Tell Brak.

²⁴ RA 59 (1966), 40f. no. 17 mentions a payment to the palace when leaving Abrum, followed by expenses during two further “stops” (*nāmattum*, sic!) where the night was passed in an inn (*bēt ubrim*), followed by visits to Hurupša, Neḥriya, Šinariḥum and a final town, whose name is damaged and which, considering the area covered in this text (even though Hurupša and Šinariḥum are thus far unique), is unlikely to have been Ulama (located far north of Kaneš in Ḥattum).

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

²⁶ See Forlanini 2006: 165f. with note 91. CAD A/II, s.v. *aqdamātu* (attested at Mari), wants to read *a-naktamātim*, “for covers”, a hapax, otherwise only attested lexically and rather unlikely in such expense accounts. The sum of 1 shekel of silver “for crossing” is also attested in Kt 94/k 924 (*ana nēbartim*).

risky²⁷ and there seem, moreover, to have been two towns of this name, which Charpin/Ziegler (2003) distinguish as “in the area of Karkemiš” and “of Šubartum”, but the second location is rather vague. The latter, apparently somewhere west of the Jebel Sinjar,²⁸ hardly fits the OA occurrences. The former could be the OA one, if we may locate it somewhere (north)east of Karkemiš, within the bend of the Euphrates, in the northern part of Zalmaqum, perhaps west or northwest of Šanlıurfa.²⁹ Anyhow, the problems of the exact location of Ašihum make it not very helpful for locating Abrum, and the data from Mari make Forlanini’s proposal (northeast of Haḥḥum) rather unlikely.

Important for the location of Abrum is also Kt 86/k 192 (see below, Appendix text no. 4), which lists expenses made in Neḥriya, Haqa, Zalpa and Abrum, where 1 shekel of silver was paid, but its purpose (perhaps similar to that in CCT 5, 48d: 6f.) is not mentioned. The order of the last towns differs from that in CCT 5, 44c, and from the sequence Abrum–Haqa–Zalpa suggested by Forlanini, though it points in the same general direction and suggests that Haqa, Zalpa and Abrum were all three situated east of Haḥḥum. Perhaps the difference is due to the fact that the caravans in question, for whatever reason, crossed Euphrates at different points, near Haḥḥum or more to the east.³⁰

4. *Haqa, Šimala, and Neḥriya*

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

²⁷ The only other occurrence is in Kt c/k 216 (Şahin 2002: 206 note 19), where the *massu’um* of this town receives half a mina of copper (exactly the same amount as in CCT 5, 48d!), followed by the payment of tin, oil, *dulbātum* and sundries to the palace, perhaps of this town. It appears there among a few rare or unique towns, in the order Panaga–Ḥumahuḥ–Zurzum–Ašihum–Ḥurumuḥašum, which is not very helpful for its location (see Forlanini 2004: 411), though the last town occurs in TPAK 1, 50: 38, “3 servants of yours have entered Ḥurumuḥašum”, preceded by “you made me take the road to Neḥriya”. A possible clue for a location depends on the (unanswerable) question whether and how these two movements were related.

²⁸ It occurs in the itinerary of Šamši-Adad’s journey from Šubat-Enlil to Mari described in ARM 1, 26: 14–23, where he travels via Tilla, Ašihum, Iyatu, Lakušir and Saggarātum, the last two towns located on the Habur. See also LAPO 16, 116f. and Charpin/Ziegler 2003: 210, note 375, and 233.

²⁹ Evidence from Mari indicates that this Ašihum belonged to Zalmaqum; its governor Šuprerah was chased away by Šamši-Adad I and fled to Karkemiš (see LAPO 16, 472 note a).

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

a location across the Euphrates.³¹ In CCT 5, 44c it was visited after Abrum (but the break in the tablet allows for one more place name between the two), and TC 3, 164: 1f. (Nashef 1987: no. 26) registers that it was reached after Eluhhūt, which must be located in the area south of the Kašiyari Mountains. This last reference has to be used with care, because it mentions that the caravan paid 12 shekels of silver to hire a donkey-driver, which would accompany it from Eluhhūt until Ḥaqa. This amount (even when the man was hired together with his donkey) allows for a trip of at least one week, enough to reach a crossing of the Euphrates, e.g. at Ḥaḥḥum (c. 200 km west of Eluhhūt).³² The statement of the writer of Kt 89/k 236: 9ff. (courtesy Kawasaki), that he paid tin on behalf of a colleague owed to people from Neḥriya and Ḥaqa,³³ points to the same general area, because Neḥriya is usually located somewhere south or southeast of Ḥaḥḥum (see below). Interesting is Kt 87/k 433 (courtesy Hecker), a letter dealing with an amount of silver that has to be shipped (perhaps from Kaneš) overland (*eqlam etāqum*) until Ḥaqa, “but if there is no traveler who, as an affiliated trader, can transport a purse until Ḥaqa, than take care to (send it) to Šimala, to where it is safe”.³⁴ If the final goal of the shipment was Assur, Ḥaqa and Šimala may have meant two different routes, perhaps to where the Euphrates was crossed. Note that in the “itinerary” Kt g/k 199 (Günbatı 2002: 82f.) the road-tax (*dātum*) for the caravan is specified for the stretches Assur–Ḥamisānum–Šimala–Zalpa, but additional expenses for hiring donkeys and donkey-drivers refer to the stretches Assur–Qaṭṭarā–Burullum–Ḥaḥḥum–Zalpa. This means that before reaching Zalpa, which certainly is in Southern Anatolia, across the Euphrates, presumably somewhere northeast of Adiyaman, both Šimala and Ḥaḥḥum were passed, probably in that order.³⁵

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

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

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

³³ *ša Ni-ḥa-ri-a-e / ú Ḥa-qá-i-e / aššumišu āpul.*

³⁴ ²⁵ *šumma / ana Ḥaqa ālikum/ mer'a ummiānim / ša kīsam iradde'u / laššu ana Šimalama ana* ³⁰ *ašar šalāmim epšā.*

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

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

contract with a stipulation on taking a second wife suggest that it was considered a different, perhaps foreign city-state and “land”, far from Kaneš, which might support a location across the Euphrates.³⁷ Forlanini wants to identify Neḥriya with Lidar Hüyük, on the left or southern bank of the Euphrates (which therefore cannot be Ḥaḥḥum), also because of the evidence on the battle at Neḥriya between Tudḥaliyas IV and the Assyrians.³⁸ He assumes that the Hittite king only wanted to establish a bridgehead on Assyrian territory and did not carry out a deep penetration. Mari specialists, however, want to locate this town, one of the “capitals” of Zalmaqum, more to the south, on the upper course of the Baliḥ, possibly at Kazane Höyük, which is c. 40 km southeast of Ḥaḥḥum.³⁹ Identification with Lidar Hüyük seems rather unlikely, because it would mean the existence of two Assyrian *kāruns* at a distance of only c. 10 km, in two apparently independent cities (both had a ruler and a palace). And what would be the strategic importance of Neḥriya on the left bank of the river, if caravans (also?) crossed the Euphrates at nearby Ḥaḥḥum? This makes a more southern location likely, also because otherwise not a single town in the area of the upper course of the Baliḥ would occur in OA records. Unfortunately, the OA evidence on Neḥriya, notwithstanding its twenty occurrences, is rather diffuse and it occurs in only two so-called “itineraries”. The first (RA 59 [1966], 40 no. 17; Nashef 1987: no. 30) has the sequence Abrum–Ḥurupša–Neḥriya–Šinariḥum–[x], the second (Kt 86/k 192, text no. 4 of the Appendix below) lists expenses incurred in Neḥriya, Ḥaqa, Zalpa, and Abrum. If we take the first one at face value Neḥriya was reached three or four days (stops) after Abrum, while in the second Abrum follows Neḥriya, Ḥaqa and Zalpa. The problem would be solved if the caravan of the first text was heading south and that of the second went up to Anatolia, in which case a location south of a main crossing of the Euphrates (perhaps at Ḥaḥḥum) seems likely.

5. Batna, Uršu and Zalpa

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

³⁷ In Kayseri 5064, a debt owed has to be paid from the sale of prisoners (*asīrū*), which for that purpose will go overland to Naḥriya (*da'assunu adi Naḥriya ša Š. I. umalla, eribtašu ša Naḥriya Š. eppa*). They probably had to be sold in a foreign land/city, where redemption and return would be difficult. In AKT 1, 77, a man is forbidden to marry a *qadištum* as second(ary) wife either in Kaneš or in Neḥriya, which amounts to neither in the land of Kaneš nor in the neighboring land, which could mean across the Euphrates (but see below note 71). Neḥriya must have been part of what the Old Assyrians called Amurru (cf. “two Amorites from Neḥriya” in CCT 2, 49a: 14). For Amurru in OA sources, see below § 6, with note 55.

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

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

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

Batna harbored an Assyrian *wabartum* and occurs three times in a so-called *dātu*-texts as a town where payments were made.⁴¹ Two of them (BIN 6, 265 and Kt c/k 1615⁴²) register the payment by caravans of amounts of tin as import-tax (*niṣḫatum*) there, which suggests (as does the presence of a *wabartum*) that the town could also be used as a basis for trade in the area. In the first, which registers expenses made by a trader called Kurub-Ištar, payments in Batna are followed by one in Zalpa and two other records about caravan expenses by the same trader also mention Zalpa, this time alongside the town of Dadaniya.⁴³ If we identify OA Batna with the town of Batnae, known from Roman sources and located in the area of Suruç, the question is where caravans passing this town were heading, because the amount of *niṣḫatu*-tax paid there was relatively small and apparently a toll paid at a road-station on the way. From Batna one could travel due north to Ḫaḫḫum (a distance of c. 65 km) and the new treaty between the Assyrians and Ḫaḫḫum shows that this city-state was Ḫaḫḫum's southern neighbor and potential rival, comparable to Timilkiya (in the area of Gölbaşı?), c. 75 km to the north-east of Ḫaḫḫum.⁴⁴ This location of Batna seems to be rather far to the (south)west for a caravan heading for the area of Samsat, unless a visit to Batna was a deliberate choice, which

⁴⁰ Not Zalpaḫ, mentioned in the "OB itinerary", which is located on the lower course of the Baliḫ, perhaps identical to Hammām et-Turkman; also not Zaluwa, probably İkiztepe, situated at the mouth of the Kızılırmak, which harbored an Assyrian *wabartum*.

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

⁴² Kt c/k 1615 (a transliteration of which was supplied to me by B. Landsberger) reads: "4 minas 8 ½ shekels of tin I paid for the *niṣḫatu*-tax in Batna, 2 1/3 minas 5 8 2/3 shekels of tin I gave in Batna to the scribe. 8 In all 6 ½ minas 7 shekels of tin I paid in Batna on behalf of the caravan (*ellutum*). 20 *dulbātum* I gave in Razamā".

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

⁴⁴ Kt 00/k 10 III (actually col. I): 26'ff., dealing with the effects of war on the trade, mentions a possible war between Ḫaḫḫum and the rulers of Timilkiya or Batna (*Ba-at-na-e-im*), which suggests that they were its main political rivals to the north and south. This could fit a location of Ḫaḫḫum in the area of Samsat, but one more to the west (e.g. at Özgören, c. 20 km downstream from Samsat) might also be possible. But such a conclusion is risky, not only because the location of the towns is uncertain, but also because during the later period of *kārum* Kaneš Level Ib, to which the treaty with Ḫaḫḫum dates, the political landscape may have changed. During the Level II period one might expect Neḫriya to have been the nearest southern rival.

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

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

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

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

⁴⁵ Miller 2001: 75.

⁴⁶ Kt 94/k 673 (courtesy Larsen), which reads: "I sacrificed (*naqā'um*) one sheep on the bank of the river, I sacrificed one in Uršu to Ištar, Lady of, and also one in Mamma". The information contained in CCT 6, 14: 30f., where a trader states that *kā-ru-um Kā-ni-iš Za-al-[pá Ḫu-r]a-ma Ur-šu ú A-ma-a* know certain facts, even when these towns are enumerated in a geographical order and if the unknown *A-ma-a* is a mistake for *Ma-a-ma* (Mamma), is still too vague and only allows the conclusion: (north)west of the Euphrates. Note also that ARMT 23, 524 registers amounts of tin sent as gifts (*šūbultum*) to the rulers of Karkemiš, Uršu (written *Ur-su-ū*) and Yamḫad, which suggests a location in line with the proposal of Garelli and Forlanini.

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

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

6. The Euphrates as a political or cultural boundary

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

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

⁴⁸ In Adada 237Ö two fugitives have to be caught in Mamma, Zalpa or Tegarama; CCT 5, 3b: 3ff. contains the advice to travel on from Zalpa to Tegarama; CCT 1, 29: 8ff. list a payment for a messenger sent to Tegarama (!) and for drinks in Zalpa.

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

The ethnicity of such city-states remains largely unknown, because we are never told the names of their rulers (with the exception of the somewhat younger case of Anum-ḫirwi of Mamma), while language is still the main criterion on which statements on ethnicity can be based. In the northern Jazira, apart from scattered Akkadians, two ethnic groups seem to be prominent, speakers of the Hurrian and the Amorite languages. This is confirmed by a famous verdict of the City-Assembly of Assur that forbids Assyrians to sell gold to Akkadians, Amorites or Subaraeans.⁵¹ The Subaraeans – whatever the origin of the term – must be the inhabitants of the area called ŠUBUR or *Šubartum*, already in an inscription of Naram-Sîn of Akkad, which according to the evidence from Mari covered the area stretching from the upper course of the Tigris to the western part of the Ḥabur Triangle.⁵² The linguistic evidence consists of persons with Hurrian names and the use of terms like *unuššum* and *šinaḫilum* (also in the Haḫḫum treaty). It links up with the attestations of Hurrians in Northern Mesopotamia already in the Old Akkadian and Ur III periods (when Uršu had a ruler with the name Dašal-ibri) and the Mari period, when quite a number of rulers of city-states have Hurrian names, including those of Eluḫḫut (Šukru-Teššub), Burundum (Atal-šenni), Urkiš (Terru), Amaz (Sambuganni) and Uršu (Šennam).⁵³ Lack of personal names from this area during the OA period makes it impossible to say more, also because the OA texts, with the exception of the verdict quoted, do not mention “Subaraeans”, although there are some references to “Subaraean textiles” (*ša šu-bi-ri-im*). I also mention the letter Kt 91/k 539, written by a certain Abuduata to a man with the good Hurrian name Unapše, probably the same man as the

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

⁵⁰ It is not certain that the damaged beginning of the Haḫḫum treaty mentions a “boundary”, *tuḫūmum* for normal *taḫūmum*? (Kt 00/k 10 I: 7, [x x x x x x] x-at tu-ḫu-u[m] ⁸ [x x x x x u DUMU *kārim*...]).

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

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

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

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

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

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

7. Talḥat, a foreign city

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

a) Kt 91/k 120: 6-19: *ṣu-ba-sà-a ù ṣi-it-/ar-ša-a / eṭ-ra-šu¹ a-na DUMU A-šur / ù DUMU Kà-né-eš¹⁰ lá ta-dá-na-šu¹ / a-na Ta-al-ḥa-tim / di-na-šu¹ / ú a-ša-ar / ta-dá-na-*

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

⁵⁵ *ṭuppam ana DUB.SAR³⁰ ša šu-bi₄-ri-a-ta-am / išamme'u dimma lištassi.*

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

⁵⁷ Hecker 1997: 165f., lines 11ff.: *šumma ana Ḥattim / lū ana mātim : amtam / ridē : ina Kaneš / u māt Kaneš¹⁵ lā taddanši umma P.-ma / Purattam ušebbarši.*

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

ni¹⁵ um-ma a-tù-nu-ma / a-na ma-at / Kà-né-eš / a-wi-il₅-tām / lá tù-ta-ra-nim, "Deprive her of her garment and head-scarf, do not sell her to an Assyrian or Kanešite, sell her to a Talḥatite and where you sell (her) you must say: 'Do not bring the woman back to the land of Kaneš'".

b) Kt 91/k 139: 26-29: *a-na²⁵ Ta-al-ḥa-ti-i-im / di-na-šu¹ a-na DUMU A-šur / ù DUMU Kà-né-eš lá ta-dá-na-šu¹ / ḥa-li-qá-šu¹ ù ma-at / Kà-né-eš lá i'-na-mar*, "Sell her to a Talḥatite, do not sell her to an Assyrian or a Kanešite, get rid of her and she must not turn up (again) in the land of Kaneš!".

c) Kt 91/k 181: 20f.: *a-[am]-tām ḥa-li-iq / a-na Ta-al-ḥa-tim / di-i-ši a-na / DUMU A-šur lá ta-dá-ši*, "Get rid of the slave-girl, sell her to a Talḥatite, do not sell her to an Assyrian".⁵⁹

d) TC 3, 252 reports how the girl Ḥuzura is sold into (debt-)slavery "instead of 45 shekels of silver" (apparently for an unpaid debt) to the Anatolian capitalist Enišru. The contract, discussed long ago by J. Lewy, by myself and edited by B. Kienast,⁶⁰ stipulates: "If they (the sellers) bring within one month <30>+15 shekels of silver, her purchase price, they can take her along. If they do not bring it, he (the buyer) will sell his slave-girl to Talḥatites or wherever he¹ wishes" (*ana Tal-ḥa-ti-e ul ašar libbiša^{sic} iddašši*).

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

In 1978, I mentioned two similar stipulations from other periods and areas, which probably served the same purpose. According to an Old Babylonian contract from Ur, UET 5, 97: 19ff., the adoptive parents may sell their rebellious son as slave "to Elam, Sutūm or Yaḥmuṭum", all three foreign lands or areas, outside Babylonia.⁶¹ A contract from Ugarit, PRU 5, 116: 15, stipulates that guarantors, unable to meet their financial obligations, could be "sold to Egypt" (*mšrm tmkrn*). In all cases the issue was sale abroad, to foreigners, which would rule out redemption or return of the slave. This means that

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

⁶⁰ J. Lewy, *AHDO* 1 (1937), 96ff.; K. R. Veenhof, in: *Festschrift Lubor Matouš*, II (Budapest 1978), 295-98; B. Kienast, *Das altassyrische Kaufvertragsrecht* (Stuttgart 1984), 150ff. no. 32.

⁶¹ A similar stipulation occurs in Tell Sifr no. 13, edited in D. Charpin, *Archives familiales et propriété privée en Babylonie ancienne* (Genève 1980), 208, where a rebellious adoptive girl will be sold (lines 14f.) ^{kur}*Sú-tu-um ù Ya-aḥ-mu-tú*. The Amorite name Yaḥmuṭu (from the root *ḥmt*) designates probably a tribe or tribal area on the fringes of Babylonia.

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

Unfortunately, our information on Talḥat (once Tilḥat, VS 26, 31: 7; in texts from Mari the town appears as Talḥayûm) is rather limited. The town and its nisbe are not rare in OA texts, but it was not the seat of an Assyrian *kārum* of *wabartum* and it does not occur as a road-station in “itineraries”. We meet a few persons said to be Talḥatites and one who had a house in the town, but judging from their names they probably were no Assyrians. According to Kt 87/k 463: 5ff. (courtesy Hecker) two Assyrians are asked to send a message to a certain En(n)uniya, who stayed/lived in Talḥat, because of a substantial sum of gold given to him.⁶² Kt b/k 682: 6ff.⁶³ list an amount of tin that is “with the steward (*alahḥinnum*) of Talḥat” and 34 textiles which the writer “left behind in Talḥat, in the house of Ummisar” to two men. TPAK 1, 194: 10 and 16 mention “the Talḥatite Iniata”,⁶⁴ to whom Sakliya owed more than 2 minas of silver, and Kt j/k 90: 13ff. record a debt due by a certain Niri to Abiriḥ, which the former “has to pay in Talḥat, if he goes there, or else in Kaneš”. Kayseri 72: 6 mentions a Talḥatite called Kaluru, and BIN 6, 237: 6f. records an amount of silver owed by [an Assyrian] to “the Talḥatite Kurkur(r)ānum”. None of these names, except the last (also in CCT 5, 3b: 20ff.), seems to be Assyrian or familiar among Assyrians. In other cases “Talḥatites” with whom the Assyrians do business remain anonymous and two occurrences of the singular, “the Talḥatite”, might refer to the local ruler.⁶⁵ These texts reflect business contacts with people from this town, but not necessarily always in Talḥat, because they could have met the Assyrians elsewhere. Kt 87/k 469: 17f. (courtesy Hecker) tells an Assyrian that a claim rests “on your merchandise of Talḥat”, and Kt 94/k 533: 9f. (courtesy Larsen) asks a trader to “send what can be purchased in Talḥat or in its hinterland” (*šimū lū ša Talḥat lū barkišama šēbilam*). Products from or named after Talḥat occur repeatedly, especially *epattu*-cloaks(?) and “belts” (*išrum*), and the former were exported both to Anatolia and to Assur.⁶⁶ A group of texts of the Kt n/k archive (courtesy Çeçen) deals with the purchase of “items of Talḥat” (*ša Talḥat*), probably textile products,⁶⁷ Kt n/k 1452: 10ff. mentions a *kusītu*-garment from Talḥat and Kt 94/k 1672: 20 *saptinnu*-textiles from that town.

The exact location of Talḥat is not known. Naram-Sîn’s statement (UET 1, 274 I: 17ff.) that he went (all the way to) Talḥatum (“a road no king had thus far taken”) in

⁶² *lū ina Talḥat <lū>¹⁰ ašar ušbuni ana / pānišu šuprāšumma*.

⁶³ Published in Gül 1990: 58.

⁶⁴ The same Iniata in TPAK 1, 106: 5’, which deals with the same affair; VS 26, 125: 11’ mentions an Iniata, son of Wawata.

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

⁶⁶ See Veenhof 1972: 128ff.

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

combination which the information that the rulers of Subartum and the kings of the upper lands brought their food offerings before him”, is rather vague. Apart from showing the early importance of the town, it might point to the region north or northwest of Nagar (Tell Brak), where his power was already well established. The information in the damaged text Kt 94/k 817: 9’f. (courtesy Larsen) unfortunately is not helpful,⁶⁸ but ARM 13, 144: 27f., one of the letters of its ruler Yawi-ila, speaks of “the land of Yapturum, the town of Talḥayûm and its villages” (*kaprānišu*). Other texts from Mari mention the town in combination with Naḥur, Qirdaḥat and Ašnakkum (ARM 5, 51) and alongside Amaz, Ašnakkum and Šubram (A 3194).⁶⁹ In ARM 28, 60: 26ff. Ibal-Addu, the ruler of Ašlakka (in the western part of Idamaras) tells Zimri-Lim: “I live near to the Upper Land so that information about Eluḥḥut, the Lullû, Ḥaḥḥum, the Land of Zalmaqum, Burundum and Talḥayum is at my disposal”.⁷⁰ These data suggest that the town, capital of Yapturum, was situated in the “Upper Land”, between Idamaras and Zalmaqum, perhaps in the general area of Viranşehir, but this region is badly known and not a single town has been identified by excavations. Moreover, it is not clear which were the boundaries between (from west to east) Zalmaqum, Yapturum and Idamaras. A further complication is that one source, while omitting Yapturum, alongside the kings of Idamaras and Zalmaqum mentions also those of Adamû, a geographical name that Guichard tentatively connects with Admu(m), a town usually located somewhere east of the Baliḥ.⁷¹ The OA texts show that this trading and market town, whose textile products were in demand and whose traders had commercial contacts with some Assyrians, nevertheless was somewhat outside the normal range of the Assyrian caravans. For that reason and perhaps because of the composition of its population, it was considered a foreign city-state, across the Euphrates.⁷²

⁶⁸ The writer states: “My share (in a lot of merchandise) is still [in] Talḥat. Nobody can go down from Šadaḥar to Ḥarabet”, but the last two place-names are unknown.

⁶⁹ See Charpin/Ziegler 2003: 222f. with note 484.

⁷⁰ The information in A 3901: 4’-7’ (Guichard 2002: 158f., text no. 9), “The pasturing herds (*nawûm*) are scattered all the way until the hinterland (*libbi mātim*). To the right of the herds is Mount Ebiḥ and to their left Talḥayum”, is too general to be helpful. See for Talḥayum during the reign of Zimri-Lim also the letter written by the elders of the town, translated as *LAPO* 17 no. 607, which reports on an attack on the town by the people of Luḥaya.

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

⁷² Neḥriya (in Zalmaqum) might be mentioned here too, because a marriage contract (AKT 1, 77; see above note 37) stipulates that the groom shall not take a second wife, neither in Kaneš nor in Neḥriya, if we interpret this as “neither at home nor in (faraway) Neḥriya” (across the Euphrates). However, this provision is probably conditioned by the groom’s commercial trips, since more marriage contracts forbid marrying a second wife in other cities. TPAK 1, 161 does it

8. The “town of the Kanešites”

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

	<i>stage of the journey</i>	<i>nature of the expenses</i>	<i>amounts of tin or silver</i>
Kt 92/k 103	Qaṭṭara to Ḫamisānum	transport, new donkey	30 and 75 sh. tin
	Burallum to Birtu’um	transport	17 sh. tin
	āl K. to Timilkiya	hire of a wagon	7 sh. tin (= c. 1 sh. si.)
	Timilkiya to Ḫurama	hire of a donkey	2 sh. si. + 2 sh. tin
Kt 92/k 108	Ḫur(a)ma to Luḫusaddiya	hire of a donkey	3 sh. si. + 3 sh. tin
	āl K. to Timilkiya	<not specified>	6 ½ sh. <of tin> ⁷⁴
	Timilkiya to Ḫurama	hire donkey	2 sh. si. + 2 sh. tin
Kt 92/k 107	Ḫurama to Kaneš	hire donkey + driver	4½ sh. si. + 4½ sh. tin
	Timilkiya to Ḫurama	replacement of donkey	2 sh. si. + 2 sh. tin
	Ḫurama to Kaneš	<not specified>	6 sh. si. + 6 sh. tin
	in Kaneš	for straw	3 ¾ sh of si.

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

for Kaneš, Puruṣḫattum, Durḫumit, and Waḫšušana, all well-known Anatolian cities, regularly visited by Assyrian traders.

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

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

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

APPENDIX

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

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

1	5 <i>ma-na ḫu-ša-e</i> <i>i-na kà-ši-im</i> <i>a-na ta-ši-a-tim</i> <i>iš-tù Qá-tá-ra a-dí</i>	5 minas of scrap (copper) in the steppe for transport. From Qaṭṭarā until
5	<i>Ḫa-mì-sá-nim 1/3 ma-na</i> AN.NA <i>a-ta-ši-a-tim</i> ANŠE <i>uš-pá-il₅-ma</i> <i>1 ma-na 15 GÍN</i> AN.NA <i>a-pu-ul</i>	Ḫamisānum 1/3 mina of tin for transport. I replaced a donkey and had to balance 1 mina and 15 shekels of tin.
10	<i>iš-tù Bu-ra-li-im</i> <i>a-dí Bi-ir-tù-im</i>	From Burallum until Birtu’um
rev.	17 GÍN AN.NA <i>a-na</i> <i>ta-ši-a-tim 7 GÍN</i> AN.NA <i>iš-tù a-al</i>	17 shekels of tin for transport. 7 shekels of tin from the Town
15	<i>Kà-ni-ši-e a-dí Ti-mì-il₅-ki-a</i> <i>a-na ig-re e-re-qí-im</i> <i>iš-tù Ti-mì-il-ki-a</i> <i>a-dí Ḫu-ur-ma a-na ig-re</i> ANŠE 2 GÍN KÙ 2 GÍN	of the Kanešites until Timilkiya as hire for a wagon. From Timilkiya until Ḫur(a)ma as hire of a donkey I paid 2 shekels of silver and 2 shekels of tin.
20	AN.NA <i>áš-quł</i>	
e.	<i>iš-tù Ḫu-ra-<ma> a-dí</i> <i>Lu-ḫu-sà-dí-a</i>	From Ḫura<ma> until Luḫusaddiya
l.e.	3 GÍN KÙ 3 GÍN AN.NA <i>a-na ig-re ANŠE</i>	3 shekels of silver (and) 3 shekels of tin as hire of a donkey.

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

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

2. Kt 92/k 108 (1-70-92, 4.0 x 4.1 cm, black)

1	4 GÚ 58 ma-na a-wi-it : Šu-Ištar 24 ma-na 10 GÍN qá-dum ú-ku-ul-tim	4 talents 58 minas (of tin) the value of Šu-Ištar's shipment), 24 minas 10 shekels (of tin), including the fodder,
5	ú-ša-qí-il ₅ 6 1/2 GÍN iš-tù a-al Kà-ni-ší-i a-dí Ti-mì-il ₅ -ki-a 2 GÍN KÙ.B. ù 2 GÍN AN.NA ig-re ANŠE iš-tù	I paid. 6 ½ shekels (of tin) from the Town of the Kanešites until Timilkiya. 2 shekels of silver and 2 shekels of tin the hire of a donkey from Timilkiya until
10	Ti-mì-il ₅ -ki-a : a-dí Hu-ra-ma áš-qúl	Hurama I paid.
rev.	4 1/2 GÍN KÙ.B. ù 4 1/2 GÍN AN.NA ig-re ANŠE ù	4 ½ shekels of silver and 4 ½ shekels of tin the hire of a donkey and
15	sá-ri-dí-im iš-tù Hu-ra-ma : a-dí Kà-ni-iš : áš-qúl mì-ma : a-nim a-šu-mì : Šu-Ištar	a donkey-driver from Hurama until Kaneš I paid. All this I paid for the sake
20	ú-ša-qí-il ₅	of Šu-Ištar.

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

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

3. Kt 92/k 111 (1-73-92, 4.0 x 4.2 cm, black)

1	iš-tù Wa-aḥ-šu-ša-na a-dí Kà-né-eš da-tum 1 1/3 GÍN KÙ.B. ik-šu-di 1 GÍN a-na kà-ší-im	From Waḥšušana until Kaneš the road-tax amounted for me to 1 1/3 shekel of silver. 1 shekel (of silver) Ied
5	i-na Kà-né-eš áb-ri-ma 10 GÍN KÙ.B. a-ku-ul 1 GÍN KÙ.B. a-na É wa-áb-re i-na Hu-ru-ma	to the official in Kaneš and I consumed 10 shekels of silver. 1 shekel of silver for the inn in Hurama,
10	1 GÍN KÙ.B. i-na rev. Ti-mì-il ₅ -ki-a a-na É wa-áb-ri 2 GÍN KÙ.B. i-na Ḥa-ḥi-im a-na É wa-áb-ri	1 shekel of silver in Timilkiya for the inn, 2 shekels of silver in Ḥaḥḥum for the inn,
15	1 GÍN KÙ.B. i-na Bu-ru-lim a-na É wa-áb-ri 10 GÍN KÙ.B. iš-tù Kà-né-eš a-dí a-lim ^{ki}	1 shekel of silver in Burullum for the inn. 10 shekels of silver from Kaneš until the City
20	a-na ú-ku-ul-ti-a a-ag-mu-ur	I spent on my food.

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

⁷⁵ TC 3, 164 (Nashef 1987: no. 26): 4, in the sequence: Assur-Burallum-Eluḥḥut; VS 26, 148: 17: Admû-Mardaman-.....-Ḥabura-Burallum; VS 26, 43: 10'f.: expenses of a caravan calculated from Razamā until Burallum and from Burallum until Kaneš. Kt n/k 931 (Uzunaliymoğlu 1993: 61f., no. 10): 2ff. mentions a settlement of accounts in tin about expenses for a trip "from Nineveh until Burallum" and in its final lines "from the City until Nineveh".

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

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

1	3 ma-na 5 ² GÍN AN.NA a-na kà-šī-im áš-qú-[ul] 1 ½ ma-na 5 GÍN AN.NA a-na šī-ip-ri-kà a-n[a]	3 minas and 5 shekels of tin I paid to the official. 1 ½ mina and 5 shekels of tin for your messenger (sent)
5	Kà-ni-iš ^{ki} 1 ma-na a-na šī-ip-ri-kà 1 1/6 SILA ₃ Ġ.GIŠ re-eš ₁₅ -tám ù sà-ḫe-er-tám i-na Né-eḫ-ri-a	to Kaneš. (For) 1 mina I made available to your messenger 1 1/6 quart of prime oil and sundries in Nehriya.
10	áš-ku-nam [?] ½ ma-na AN.NA a-na Šu-A-šūr na-ki-ri-ni	½ mina of tin to Šu-Aššur our <i>nākirum</i> .
e.	5/6 ma-na AN.NA rev. lu-bu-ša-am i-na Ḫa-qá-a e-mu-/ru-nim	5/6 mina of tin for a garment they selected in Ḫaqa.
15	4 ma-na 10 GÍN AN.NA ša Puzur ₄ -SA.TU tù-tá-ḫi-a-nim 1/3 ma-na 1 GÍN AN.NA a-na na-ki-ri-im {erased áš}	4 minas 10 shekels of tin which you ^{plur.} transferred to Puzur-šadu'e. 1/3 mina 1 shekel of tin I gave to a <i>nākirum</i>
20	i-nu-mì a-na Kà-ni-iš ta-áš-pu-ra-ni a-dī-in i-nu-mì a-na Za-al-pá-/a ni-li-ku-ni ½ ma-na 1 GÍN AN.NA	when you sent (him) to Kaneš. When we went to Zalpa we spent ½ mina 1 shekel of tin.
25	ni-ig-mu-ur l.e. 1 GÍN KÙ.B. i-na Áb-ri-im áš-qú-ul	1 shekel of silver I paid in Abrum.

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

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

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

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

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

1	8 GÚ 16 ½ GÍN / AN.NA a-wi-it I-dī-Sú-in ŠĀ.BA 41 ma-na 15 GÍN / AN.NA	8 talents 16 ½ shekels of tin the calculated value of Iddin-Suen('s merchandise). Thereof: 41 mina 15 shekels of tin,
5	qá-dī ša ú-ku-ul-tim 2 GÍN KÙ.B. ù 2 GÍN AN.NA iš-tù Tī-mì-il ₅ -ki-a ANŠE i-mì-ḫi-iš-ma áš-qúl 6 GÍN KÙ.B.	including expenses for fodder. 2 shekels of silver and 2 shekels of tin I paid from Timilkiya because a donkey suffered a stroke. 6 shekels of silver
10	ù 6 GÍN AN.NA iš-tù Ḫu-ra-ma	and 6 shekels of tin I paid from Ḫurama
rev.	a-dī Kà-ni-iš áš-qúl 4 LÁ ¼ GÍN KÙ.B. a-na tí-ib-nim	until Kaneš. 3 ¾ shekels of silver I paid
15	i-na Kà-ni-eš áš-qúl mī-ma a-nim a-šū-mì I-dī-Sú-in [á]š-qúl ŠĀ.BA 34 ½ ma-na	in Kaneš for straw. All this I paid in the name of Iddin-Suen. Thereof 34 ½ minas of tin
20	AN.NA a-qá-ti-a i-dī-nu-nim	they had given me as tin for in the hand.
l.e.	3 2/3 ma-na 7 GÍN.TA bi-il ₅ -tám ik-šu-dam	It amounted to 3 minas 47 shekels per talent.

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

which amount to 8 shekels of tin and 11 ¼ shekels of silver (equal to c. 80 shekels of tin in Anatolia, but to 160 shekels in Assur), but this implies that an enormous amount of money was spent on fodder. In all what the transporter paid was 6 minas 45 shekels more than the “loose tin” he had received for meeting such expenses. The text does not state where the trip started, possibly at Timilkiya, the first town mentioned where expenses were incurred, and the amount paid for the road-tax and for fodder (line 4), c. 8.6 % of the value of the load, compares well with that of text no. 2, where it is c. 8.1 % and the trip seems to have started in the “Town of the Kanešites”, which suggests that the latter was not too far from Timilkiya.

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