

manifestement réutilisée comme ancre (Fig: 7), qui y fut découverte. Ou même encore par ce sceaucylindre, provenant également du sommet du tell, taillé dans un morceau de fedspath et gravé dans le style linéaire de Djemdet Nasr (Fig: 8).

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Il est vrai que certaines interprétations peuvent paraître précipitées aux vues des indices recueillis jusqu'à maintenant. La poursuite de nos travaux à tell ATIJ nous apprendra si ce site a bel et bien été utilisé comme relais commercial le long du Khabour durant le III^e millénaire avant notre ère⁶.

⁶ Au moins 2 autres campagnes sont prévues: automne 87 et automne 88; elles seront rendues possibles grâce à des subventions accordées par le Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada (CRSHC) et le Fonds pour la formation des chercheurs et l'aide à la recherche (FCAR). L'auteur remercie vivement ces deux organismes.

TABLETS FROM THE PALACE OF WARŠUMA

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Among the tablets found on the city mound of Kanesh, there seems to be tablets contemporary with those of the I-B period. In doing research from 1955 until 1982¹ so far 39 Old Assyrian tablets have come to light *in situ* from the palace of Waršuma/Waršama², from other monumental buildings, and from houses of merchants known from level II; very few of the tablets have been scattered as strays or from mixed fill. Before the 1925 excavations some tablets were also found on the mound by illicit diggers. Only a handful of tablets have been published or briefly referred to by Balkan³, Bilgiç,⁴ and Kienast⁵.

In fact, three of these already have been studied in full length: g/t 35 "The Letter of Anum-Hirbi..." by Balkan as a special monograph. g/t 36 and 42 in connection with h/t 330, treated by Emin Bilgiç (Türk Tarih Kurumu Zabıtları V (1960) p. 125 and later in *Anatolia* 8, pp. 125-163 with autograph copies and two plates; Balkan, *Anum-Hirbi*, p.5, note 8; (now see *Belleten* 199 PP. 1-10) Kienast (FAOS Bh. 1, Nr. 8). The tablet k/t 42 joined to z/t 11 (a series consisting of 11 badly preserved fragments and pieces of envelopes) and pointed out by T. Özgüç in *Kültepe-Kaniş II*, p.19. All of these formerly studied documents have also been collated by myself and the results of the collations were presented during the Tenth Historical Congress of Ankara in the summer of 1986. Therefore we are not going to repeat the results of this research⁶. Of the texts belonging to g/t series, number 35 reveals the name of a ruler of Kanesh as *Waršama* which is the only attestation of the name in this form (Bal-

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¹ Tahsin Özgüç, *Kültepe-Kaniş II* (T.T.K.Y.V. V-Sa. 41) p. 21

² T. Özgüç, *ibid.* p. 21

³ K. Balkan, *Anum-Hirbi*.. p. 3-4 ff and note 7; L. Orlin, *ACC*, p. 212 ff.

⁴ E. Bilgiç, *Türk Tarih Kurumu Zabıtları V* (1960) p. 125 and later in *Anatolia* 8, pp. 125-163.

⁵ B. Kienast, *FAOS Bh.* 1 Nr. 8.

⁶ V. Donbaz, *I-B Tabletlerine Genel Bakış X. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (1990) 1.433-451.

kan, Anum-Hirbi, p.6) and this has been used as an essential source in later publications⁷. However, there are clear indications, that the name in fact is spelt Wa-ar-šu-ma, though it was emended to Wa-ar-pá. The exact reading of the name is proven by new source material, as well as by two previously published texts, written under the authority of the ruler Waršuma and his *rabi simmiltim* Halkiašu. One is TC 122 (EL 3) 9-10, a deed of divorce; the other is KTP 43 (EL 189), 19-20 concerning the sale of a boy, both of which have been collated by myself and Dr. Maria Ellis of the University Museum of Philadelphia. Despite the fact that former collations of the texts appear in Balkan's Anum-Hirbi, figures 13 and 21 including photos of the tablet in figures 15-18 especially 17 where the sign shows clearly, this reading was not properly appreciated.

It is also worthy of notice that, exceptionally, the third sign of the name, *šu* is inscribed on the margins of all four documents. Professor Balkan in his treatment of Anum-Hirbi's letter to Waršama, proposed a solution which was not taken over in later publications. Balkan's restoration did not seem impossible, but his restored *sá* did not convince against the other scholars who, favored *pá*.⁸

Our investigation yielded convincing results as to the correct reading of the name. The Anatolian Civilizations Museum possesses two additional texts, n/k 31 concerning sale of a house and r/k 15 also a sale document, but concerning a lady. Both of which written under the authority of the same pair Waršuma and Halkiašu, and in both the name is clearly written Wa-ar-šu-ma (n/k 31, 14-15; r/k 15, 27-28⁹). The existence of these documents, certified by the same pair not only proved the correct reading of the king, it also excluded an alleged king Warpa who never existed in the history of the Old Assyrian Period in Anatolia¹⁰.

After establishing the reading of Waršuma, this proves to be a variant reading of Waršama, since the interchange of *ā* and *ū* is quite fre-

⁷ P. Garelli, AC p. 69; Lewy, EL 189; B. Kienast, FAOS Bh. 1, Nr. 18; Orlin, ACC, p. 270 index.

⁸ K. Balkan, Anum-Hirbi, p. 48 note p. 49 ff.

⁹ TC 122, KTP 43; kt n/k 31 and Kt r/k 15 are of *iqqāti* type of documents "By the authority of" and each contain a penalty clause of money and death between 3 to 5 minas of silver.

¹⁰ B. Kienast, FAOS Bh. 1 Nr. 18 reedits KTP 43 where the name is simply read wa-ar-pá omitting the last sign -ma (cf. EL 189; P. Garelli, AC, p. 69).

quent in Old Assyrian. Note pairs such as: *Ḫa-šu-i*¹¹/*Ḫu-šu-i*¹²; *Ḫu-zu-ru*¹³/*Ḫu-zu-ra*¹⁴; *Wa-ša-ra-at*¹⁵/*Wa-šu-ra-at*¹⁶; *Ḫa-ar-ša-am-na*¹⁷/*Ḫa-ar-šu-um-na*¹⁸; *Ga-ta-ša-šar*¹⁹/*Ga-aḫ-šu-šar*²⁰ *pá-šu-lu-um*²¹/*pá-ša-lu-um*²² etc.

We would like to discuss now a few texts from the palace of Waršuma. g/t 43 comes from the palace of the king under discussion and also supports our reading Waršuma. The tablet is badly preserved and apparently a letter.

The left half of the tablet is gone and could not be traced among the other tablets originating that find spot.

Kt g/t 43

- obv. 1) [.....]-bi-ma
 2) [.....]-ba-tí
 3) [ta-áš-pu-] ra-am
 4) [..... Wa-]ar-šu-ma
 5) [..... š]a a-na

The rest of the tablet is illegible.

The 39 documents from the palace are, in most cases, in poor state of preservation. Some are business letters belonging to period of level II (h/t 331, k/t 114, o/t 1, p/t 1, g/t 44, z/t 12, kt 82/t₃₁) in the format of caravan accounts, and the majority of them are contracts dealing with loans of silver and cereals belonging to both levels I-B and II (h/t 330, n/t 2100, s/t 91, t/t 81, y/t 2, y/t 4, z/t 13 and 14, 74/t₁₂, 81/t₁₅₀). There are

¹¹ Kt k/k 14B, 18.

¹² Kt v/k 171, 1.

¹³ Kt k/k 14A, 8.

¹⁴ TCL 21, 252, 9.12.18.

¹⁵ BIN IV, 126, 16.

¹⁶ CCT III, 14, 6.

¹⁷ KTH 27, 3 (EL 193).

¹⁸ ibid. 3; ICK I, 172, 3.

¹⁹ Kt n/k 31, 6.

²⁰ Kt r/k 15, 27-28.

²¹ Kt n/k 72, 3.

²² OIP 27, 27.3.

also debt notes (n/k 2101, y/t 8, t/t 81, y/t 3,z/t 13, and 16, m/t 153) and some are pieces of envelopes (z/t 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, y/t₃). There are personnel lists g/t 36, and 42, z/t 11, s/t 92), and one is verdict of Kārum-Kanesh before the dagger of Aššur. Only two documents are dated by year-eponyms: Iku(p)-pî-Ištar²³ and limmum ša qāti Kubia without mention of his father²⁴. The variety of topics in combination with the occurrence with certain personal names known from periods I-B and II, consequently lead us to conclude that the tablets from the palace of Waršuma are a mixture of both periods²⁵.

Here are a few selected texts with some implications:

Kt k/t 116

This text is a verdict of Kārum-Kanesh in which we come across the following phrase: Line (8) ff: . . . En-na-A-šūr (9) DUMU Šál-ma-A-šūr (10) tap-pá-i eq-lam (11) wa-ša-áb... "My partner Enna-Aššur, son of Šalim-Aššur lives in the country²⁶", which points out the Anatolian side of the caravan traffic.

Ktm/k 2100

n/t 2100 belongs to I-B period and is a contract drawn between a father and his two adopted sons. It reads as follows:

obv. 1) Šu-pu-na-aḥ-šu (2) Wa-al-ḥa-āš-na (3) ú I-na-ar (4) me-er-ú-šu šu-ma (5) Wa-al-ḥa-āš-na (6) ú I-na-ar (7) Šu-pu-na-aḥ-šu (8) e-zi-bu [. . .] (9) 1/2 ma-na KÙ.BABBAR (10) i-ša-qú-lu (rev.11) šu-ma Šu-pu-na-aḥ-šu (12) mi-ma-ša-ma (13) i-ša-ri-iq-šu? (14) 1/2 ma-na KÙ.BABBAR (15) i-ša-qú-lu (16) IGI Kà-ru-ú-a (17) IGI Ni-wa-šu? (18) IGI Kà-li-kà(1.ed.) IGI Ša-ma-aḥ-šu-šar.

"As for Šupunaḥšu, Walḥašna (3) and Inar (4) are his sons. (4-8) If Walḥašna and Inar abandon Šupunaḥšu they have to pay 1/2 mina of silver (11-15) If Šupunaḥšu steals something for himself? they will pay 1/2 mina of silver. 4 witnesses.

²³ Kt g/t 44 reads as follows; ITI.KAM] ma-ḥu-ur-DINGIR (17) li-mu-um I]-ku-pi-Ištar. Cf. Balkan, Chronology Nr. 33.

²⁴ Kt 74/t₁₂, 10-13; . . . ITI.KAM (11) ša ki-na-tim (12) li-mu-um ša qá-tí (13) Ku-bi₄-a . . . Cf. Balkan, ibid. 41.

²⁵ Apparent I-B period tablets may be: g/t 35, 36, 42+z/t₁₁, 43; m/t 153, y/t 4, 8; z/t 13, 14.

²⁶ K.Hecker, GKT 25a.

This contract is very interesting and is a good example of children being responsible for their parents in their old age. Line 15 has i-ša-qú-lu so "they have to pay" probably implies that the children are also responsible for their misdeeds²⁷.

Kt y/t 4

Another interesting contract between Anatolians reads as follows:

obv. 1) 13 na-ru-uq (2) še-a-am kà-ar-pá-at (3) ma-tí i-še-er Ḥa-al-ki-a-šu (4) Ga-lu-wa (5) A-lu-wa Ga-wa-a-āš (6) La-ḥu-ta-aḥ-šu (7) ù Be-li-ú (8) Ki-kà-ar-ša-an (9) ù Šu-pi-aḥ-šu (rev. 10) i-šu še-a-am (11) a-na e-bu-ri-im (12) i-du-nu (13) IGI Ḥa-a-pu-na-aḥ-šu (14) IGI Wa-la-lí (15) IGI E-na-Sú-en₆.

1) 13 sacks of (2) wheat less one pot (3-10) Ḥalki'ašu, Galuwa, Alluwa Gawa'aš, Laḥutaḥšu and Beli'u owe to Kikaršan and Šuppi'aḥšu. (10-12) The wheat they will give by the harvest time. Three witnesses". This is one of the few instances of Anatolians helping each other by extending loans. One of the two lenders of this contract, Kikaršan, is well known to have engaged in similar activities²⁸.

Kt y/t 8

obv. 1) 15 TÚG.ḤIA Šál-mi-Ištar (2) ú Ḥa-da-da (3) ú-ša-ší-ú (4) 22 TÚG.ḤIA i-na ku-nu-uk (5) mu-ša-ri-dí (6) kà-an-ku.

"15 garments, Šalmi-Ištar (2) and Ḥadada (3) taken out (4) 22 garments have been sealed (5-6) by the seal of the mušāridu". An occupation whose function is not fully understood, Von Soden AHw derives it from tarādum "ein transporteur (AHw 691b).²⁹

Kt z/t 13

obv. 1) 10 GÍN KU.BABBAR (2) ku-nu-ki ša Ta-ri-ša a-na Ta-ra-am-bi₄ a-na lá-ma-sí (5) a-na A-sà-nim (6) kà-ša-ar I-dí-Ku-bi₄-im (7) á-p-qí-id-ma (8) ú-bi-il₅ (rev. 9) IGI En-na-nim (10) ší-ip-ri-im (11) IGI Tí-tí-na-tal (12) IGI I-dí-Ku-bi₄-im (1) um-mi-a-ni-šu...

²⁷ This application is similar to *tarbītum* "bringing up money" cf. ICK I, 32, 24; Ka. 1110, 4. (see, now, V. Donbaz, KTS II Nr. 60, A4; B4 (1989).

²⁸ OIP 27, 53; Kt n/k 32, 3-34; EL 188 "GUDA₄ ša Hi-gi-ša".

²⁹ AHw 691b, but Veenhof does not fully agree with AHw, but thinks that it may be a Babylonian form adopted in OA. Larsen, OACP p. 155 translates "men who lead down".

"Ten shekels of silver belonging to Tariša (7) (meant) for (3) Tarām Kūbi (4) and Lamassī (5) I entrusted to Asānum (6) the frighter of Idi-Kūbum (8) and he carried it away (9) witnessed by Ennanum (10), the messenger (11); witnessed by Titinatal (12) (and) Idi-Kūbum (13) his money-lender".

This text looks like a I-B text because of the name Titinatal, but the names Lamassī and Tarām-Kūbi who are well known from level II and are close family members of Pūšu-kēn and Innaya. If this is the I-B period than the time between II and I-B must be very short indeed.

Kt z/t 14

This text is again from the I-B period and is a composite loan of silver and cereals whose identification is obscure. It reads as follows: obv. 1) 4 1/2 še-um KÙ.BABBAR (2) ŠĀ.BA 2 *šimdu* (baneš) mu-ḥa-lu ḥu-šu-lu-tum 1 *šimdu* (baneš) ar-ša-tum (4) i-še-er Uš-bi-ta (5) ù Uš-ḥa-ta a-ša <ti>-šu (6) Dan-^dA-šur išu (7) ú-ṭa-tam i-na (8) e-ra-áb ad-ri-im (9) i-na kà-ar-pi-tim (10) i-a-tim i-ma-du-du (rev. 11) KU.BABBAR^{pi} i-qí-ti-ip (12) ki-ra-nim i-ša-qú-lu (13) KU.BABBAR^{pi} i-qá-qá-ad (14) šál-mi-šu-nu ù ki-<ni>-šu-nu (15) ra-ki-is IGI I-lá-lí [- . .] (16) Bu-li-na (17) še-am šu-nu-ma i-ḥa-ti-nim.

"4 1/2 shekels 7 1/2 grains of silver (thereof 2 measures (60 liters) of the *muḥalu* type of crushed³² cereals (3) 1 measures of barley (4) Ušbita and (5) Ušḥata and his wife (6) owe to Dan-Aššur. (7) The cereals (8-10) they will measure out at the time of the threshing by my own measuring pot. (11-12) The rest of my silver they will weigh out at the time of the vintage. (13-15) They are jointly responsible for my silver. Witnessed by Ilāli [. .] (16) Bulina (17) indeed, they themselves will bring to me the cereals."

This contract is very unusual for its wording, which has been dictated by the money lender. *ḥaššulūtum* is seldom attested in old Assyrian.

Kt s/t 92

This is a fragment of a large tablet which records Anatolian names with their towns and settlements, from which we learn the following towns: Ura'ir (1.6), Kammalia (7), Muralla (8), Kutar (10), Walqu (11), Tiwilis (12), Ušnama (rev. 4), Karuwa (rev. 8), Ḥattim (rev. 10), Ardani (rev. 10). To these, we can add only two place names Buruḥattum and Šunalum from another text; the latter seems not to be attested yet.

One more minor point is that only three occupations are referred to; two of which with PNs: Aššur-malik "Targumannum" interpreter (Kt m/t 153, 18); Ennanum "šiprum" messenger (Kt z/t 13.10); "mušāridum" (Kt y/t 8) "the one who leads down" without association to a name.

In short, the presence of I-B tablets, together with those of period II, indicate closeness in time. This together with the number of kings who succeeded Waršuma raises many questions which have to be answered. This is a separate issue but deserves full treatment and I am currently preparing a separate study of this matter. See now T. Özgüç, *Festschrift*. pp. 75-98 with pls. 15-18. (1989)