

## THREE TABLETS FROM THE CITY MOUND OF KÜLTEPE

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I had started to prepare this study for inclusion in the Anniversary Volume which was decided for publication as a commemoration to my teacher Professor Benno Landsberger's seventy fifth anniversary by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Unfortunately I have been unable to complete my article in time; neither have I been able to comply with the kind invitation by Professors Jacobsen and Güterbock. The blame is mine.

To be able to share in this pleasant celebration with the same feelings and wishes, even if blatedly and elsewhere, and to present to the Turkish public opinion, biriefly, Prof. Landsberger's efforts and services, and the meaning of our field in our cultural life, I am now paying this moral and professional obligation in "Anatolia".

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Professor Benno Landsberger is not only one of the great authorities in his field; Providence also gave him the rare chance of teaching and promoting scholarship in three continents. Together with his pupil, Prof. Hans Gustav Güterbock he was of the founders and promoters of cuneiform studies in Turkey. During the thirteen years (1935-1948) that he held the chair of Assyriology at the University of Ankara, he gave instruction and guidance to the Turkish students and, through lectures and publications, stimulated the intellectual life of the country. We Turkish colleagues consider it a great privilege for ourselves, and a great chance for our own modest endeavors in this field that it was a scholar of the format of Professor Landsberger who introduced cuneiform studies here in a country where such studies are of such great importance in wiew of the richt text material that for many years has been coming from Turkish soil.

Together with this exspression of gratitude I desire to offer my wish that our revered teacher may for more years continue to hold the torch with the same vigor and vitality.

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The three texts I shall deal with here were found at the city mound of Kültepe, where Prof. T. Özgüç has been conducting excavations on behalf of the Turkish Historical Society since 1948, during the campaigns of 1955 and 1956, respectively. At the Historical Congress held in Ankara in April, 1956, I had also occasion in my communiqué, named "Anadolu'nun ilk tarihî çağıının mühim bir meselesi = An Important Problem of the First Historical Period of Anatolia" to deal with the first two tablets (field numbers Kt. g/t 36 and 42), pointing out the numerous new personal and geographic names and the names of professions contained in them, and dwelling on the close resemblance of the two texts to each other<sup>1</sup>. Formally as a member of the study committee of Kültepe I received the numbers of this two and the other tablets from Prof. Özgüç about one week before the opening of the Congress; thus I had a chance to study and transliterate these tablets together with the letter of *Annum-ḫirbi* (No. Kt. g/t 35)<sup>2</sup>. At the same Congress my colleague Prof. K. Balkan, read a paper on the *Annum-ḫirbi* letter, an important document which he later published full. In that publication also drew attention to our two tablets<sup>3</sup>.

As is well known it was Prof. Landsberger who, as the first and in contrast to other scholars, insisted on the necessity that in dealing with the so-called Cappadocian tablets a distinction should be made between the Assyrians and the local population: he showed that just as these two groups can be isolated on the basis of proper names, also their institutions are different<sup>4</sup>.

It was also he who introduced me to the 'Cappadocian' material and guided my studies for years. I therefore consider it most suitable to the occasion to offer to our Master these documents which are so full of local terms and names, and to do this without further delay since so much time has already passed since they were first mentioned.

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The first two documents, which we may call "Lists of Workers", were found, according to the information provided by Prof. Özgüç,

<sup>1</sup> *Türk Tarih Kongresi Zabıtları V*, 1950, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> *Türk Tarih Kongresi Zabıtları V*, 1960, pp. 125.

<sup>3</sup> *Letter of King Anum-ḫirbi of Mama to King Warshama of Kanish, 1957* (*Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, VII. Seri, NO. 32*), p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *ZA 35* (1924), pp. 220; *Assyrische Handelskolonien (AO 24-4)*, 1925, pp. 32.

on the city mound of Kültepe in the so-called *Waršama* Palace, which is situated some 80 meters east of the Palace of *Anitta*<sup>5</sup>; they were found *in situ* on a pavement that had suffered no destruction<sup>6</sup>.

The third document (No: Kt. H/T 330), attesting a slave sale, was found in 1956 on the floor of a large building, about 6 meters east of the Anitta Palace. Though it was published by K. Balkan<sup>7</sup>, we are here offering a new reading which will, we hope, be substantiated by the hand copy.

As it was understood and according to the information verbally provided to us by Prof. T. Özgüç, all three documents together with the *Annum-ḫirbi* letter, were found on the hill, within the buildings corresponding to stratum I b in *kārum*<sup>8</sup>. The second stratum, to which a greater portion of the documents that have been recovered up to present time, pertained, and on which Assyrian Merchants' Colony had become most prosperous and long lasting, was eradicated by a fire in Kaniş and subsequently I b started. A limited number of tablets pertaining to stratum I b were found in *kārum*. These I b tablets and those of Alishar and the cappadocian tablets of Boğazköy had many characteristics in commun and thus were considered as contemporaries<sup>9</sup>. Therefore, stratum I b, as it will be seen below, constitutes an important point with regard to the Anatolian Chronology. Although, the *kārum Kaniş* had been reconstructed by the Assyrian merchants in this period, following an invasion and a fire, the large scale importation activities from Asur, as we have read in the documents in stratum II, had been discontinued, but only some small scale indigenous commercial transaction continued<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> T. Özgüç, *Bellesten* 77, p. 30-31; *Kültepe-Kaniş*, 1959, p. XX-XXI.

<sup>6</sup> K. Balkan, *Letter*, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Letter*, p. 5 and note 8.

<sup>8</sup> T. Özgüç, *Kültepe-Kaniş*, p. XII-XX. Cf. Balkan, *Letter*, pp. 3 and n. 7.

<sup>9</sup> T. Özgüç, *Kültepe Kazısı Raporu*, 1949, p. 6 f.; Balkan, *Chronology*, 1956, p. 2 f. and n. 8, n. 10; *Letter*, p. 61 f.

<sup>10</sup> Balkan, *Chronology*, p. 3.

## The Transliterations and Traslations of the Texts :

No : 1 (Kt.g/t 36)

- Obv. *Ku-ra-ri I-na-ar*  
*I-na-ar-ma Һa-ar-ša*  
*Ša-һi-šu-nu-me-in*  
*Ki-pá-nu Һa-nu-wa Һa-pu-wa-šu*
5. *8 a-wi-lu a-nu-tum*  
*ur-ki Һa-al-ki-a-šu*  
*GAL Һu-ur-ša-tim*  
*Ma-ma-ru-wa-tí-a ša GAL ba-tim*  
*i-na a-lim<sup>K1</sup> Par-wi-a*
10. *Ru-wa-tí-a ša GAL ba-tim*  
*i-na a-lim<sup>K1</sup> Sà-pá-lá*  
*Pì-ru-wa ša GAL ba-tim*  
*i-na a-lim<sup>K1</sup> Wa-ar-ša-ma*
- Low. ed. *Һa-pu-a-šu na-ga-ru-um*
- Rev. 15. *i-na a-lim<sup>K1</sup> Ku-lu-na*  
*Ku-lá-na-lá ša-pì-ru-um*  
*ú 3 qá-qá-da-tum*  
*iš-tí-šu Ma-lá-wa-lá*  
*ú Һu-tí-a i-na*
20. *a-lim<sup>K1</sup> Tù-mì-iš-na*  
*Na-ru-wa ú um-mu-šu*  
*i-na a-lim<sup>K1</sup> Kà-sà-na*  
*6 qá-qá-da-tum i-na*  
*a-lim<sup>K1</sup> Һa-sú-ša-ra*
25. *12 qá-qá-da-tum i-na*  
*a-lim<sup>K1</sup> Ma-ší-kà*  
*2 na-pá-һu i-na Kà-ni-iš*  
*ŠU. NIGIN 40 mì-ma a-nim*  
*áš-te-pì-ru-um*
30. *ša Tù-ru-pá-ni*  
*GAL sí-mì-il<sub>5</sub>-tim*

## Translation :

Kurari, Inar,  
 other Inar, Һarša,

- Šahhišunumen  
Kipanu, Hānuwa, Hāpuwaššu
5. These eight men  
(are) behind Halkiaššu,  
the chief of the storehouses.  
Mamaruwatia (who is a man) of the district commander,  
(is) in the town of parwia.
10. Ruwatia (who is a man) of the district commander,  
(is) in the town of Sapala.  
Piruwa (who is a man) of the district commander,  
(is) in the town of Waršama.  
Hāpuaššu, the carpenter
15. (is) in the town of Kuluna.  
Kulanala, the messenger  
and 3 workers,
- 18.9. together with him (also) Malawala and Hutia
20. (are) in the town of Tumišna.  
Naruwa and his mother  
(are) in the town of Kasana.  
6 workers  
(are) in the town of Hāssušara.
25. 12 workers  
(are) in the town of Maššika.  
2 black smiths (are) in Kaniš.  
A total of 40. All these (are)  
the servants  
of Turupanni,  
rabi simmiltim.

No: 2 (Kt. /g/t 42)

- Obv. [5-6 lines broken]  
[ . . . . i-na a-lim<sup>KI</sup> ]
- x + 1. Ma-šī-kà [PN<sub>1</sub>]  
Pì-ru-wa a-ḥu-š[u ú PN<sub>2</sub>]  
i-na Ka-ni-iš [PN<sub>3</sub>]  
i-na a-lim<sup>KI</sup> [GN<sub>1</sub>]
- x + 5. 6 qá-qá-da-t[um i-na a-lim<sup>KI</sup>]  
Ha-ḥu-uš-na [x qá-qá-da-tum]

- ša Hi-lá[*  
*i-na H[a-pu-uš-na x qá-qá-da-tum]*  
*ša Ni-ki-l[i-it i-na a-lim<sup>KI</sup>]*  
 x + 10. *Pá-al[*  
*a-tu-ma[*  
*ša Ha-al-[kì-a-šu*  
*Ha-ar-ḫa-[ra-an*  
*ur-ki Lu-u[r-mì-a<sup>11</sup>]*  
 x + 15. *Ar-se-na-aḫ-š[u i-na alim<sup>KI</sup>]*  
*Ša-lá-ḫa-šu-wa[*  
 Low. ed. *ša GAL ri-i-e-im*  
*i-na a-lim<sup>KI</sup> Kà-se-na*  
 Rev. *2 qá-qá-da-tum ša Hu-lá*  
 x + 20. *i-na al-lim<sup>KI</sup> Tí-ni-pì-a*  
*5 qá-qá-da-tum i-na a-lim<sup>KI</sup>*  
*Ha-ar-tì-me-kà 3 qá-qá-da-tum*  
*i-na a-lim<sup>KI</sup> Kì-pì-ta*  
*Kì-kàr-šì-en ú 3 šú-ḫa-ru-šu*  
 x + 25. *i-na Kà-ni-iš 15 qá-qá-da-[tum]*  
*ur-ki Ha-al-ki-a-šu*  
*GAL ḫu-ur-ša-tim*  
*2 qá-qá-da-tum i-na a-lim<sup>KI</sup>*  
*Ha-pu-uš-na ur-ki La-ma-[x]*  
 x + 30. *2 qá-qá-da-tum i-na a-[lim<sup>KI</sup> GN<sub>2</sub>]*  
*Pì-ru-[wa ú*  
*3 q[á-qa-da-tum i-na a-lim<sup>KI</sup> GN<sub>3</sub>]*  
*1+[x qá-qá-da-tum i-na a-lim<sup>KI</sup> GN<sub>4</sub>]*

### Translation :

- [5-6 lines broken]  
 [ . . . . (are) in the town of]  
 x + 1. Maššika [PN<sub>1</sub>]  
 Piruwa, his brother, [and PN<sub>2</sub>]  
 (aré) in Kaniš [PN<sub>3</sub>]  
 (is) in the town of [GN<sub>1</sub>]

<sup>11</sup> The name has been completed according to *EL 100, 10* and *167, 5*.  
 Compare with PN's formed with *-lia, -sia* etc.: E. Bilgiç, *Afo XV, pp. 5-6*.

- x+5. 6 workers [(are) in the town of]  
 Hapušna [x workers]  
 of Hila-[x-y]  
 (are) in H[apušna. x workers]  
 of Nikkil[it (are) in the town of]
- x+10. Pal-  
 . . . [  
 of Hal[kiaššu. PN<sub>4</sub>]  
 Harḥa[ran and PN<sub>5</sub>]  
 (are) behind Lur[mia<sup>14</sup>]
- x+15. Arsenahš[u (is) in the town of]  
 Šalahḥašuwa.[PN<sub>6</sub>]  
 belonging to the chief of sheperds,  
 (is) in the town of Kasena.  
 2 workers of Hula
- x+20. (are) in the town of Tinipia.  
 5 workers (are) in the town of  
 Hartimmeka. 3 workers  
 (are) in the town of Kipita.  
 Kikaršen and his 3 servants
- x+25. (are) in Kaniš. 15 workers  
 (are) behind Halkiaššu,  
 the chief of the storehouses.  
 2 workers (are) in the town of  
 Hapušna, behind Lama[x.]
- x+30. 2 workers (are) in the to[wn of GN<sub>2</sub>]  
 Piru[wa and]  
 3 w[orkers (are) in the town of GN<sub>3</sub>]  
 1+[x workers (are) in the town of GN<sub>4</sub>]

## No: 3 (Kt. H/T330)

- Obv. *Lá-kà-an*  
*Ta-mu-ri-a ÌR!-sú!*  
*iš-ti Kà-áp-si-áš-wa*  
*a-na 6 GÍN KÛ. BABBAR*
5. *iš-a-am-šu*  
*šu-ma ma-ma-an*



*a-šu-mi Ta-mu-ri-a*  
*a-na Lá-kà-ni*  
*i-tù-a-ar*

- Rev. 10. *1/2 ma-na KÛ. BABBAR*  
*i-sa-qal*  
*IGI Ha-pu-a-šu*  
*IGI Kà-li-lá-wi-it-ra*  
*IGI A-na-aḥ-lu-kà*
15. *IGI Šu-pá*  
*IGI Šu-pu-na-aḥ-šu*  
*IGI A-šu-a-an*

### Translation :

<sup>1</sup>Lakan <sup>5</sup>bought <sup>2</sup>Tamuria, *his slave(!)* <sup>3</sup>from Kapsiašwa <sup>4</sup>for 6 shekels of silver. <sup>6</sup>If anyone <sup>9</sup>turns <sup>8</sup>to Lakani (with a claim) <sup>7</sup>concerning Tamuria <sup>11</sup>he will pay <sup>10</sup>10 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> mina of silver. (Six witnesses).

### Philological Explanations.

#### a) Personal Names (PN) :

##### No: 1.

Line 1: The personal name *Kurari*, which we have encountered for the first time, can be compared etimologically with PN *Kura* that occur in *TC III 254, 2*, whose profession is *rabi nappāhi* (the chief blacksmith).

The Hurrian PN's which includes the element *ari* meaning "to give" (Gelb-Purves-MacRae, *OIP, LVII, p. 202*) do not present any resemblance (E. Bilgiç, *Afo XV, p. 19*; Gelb, *OIP LVII "NPN,, p. 91 and 230*).

For PN *İnar* also see and compare E. Bilgiç, *Afo XV p. 3, note 8, pp. 7, 17*; E. Laroche, *Onomastique, p. 23*; *Dieux Hitt. p. 82* and Landsberger's article in *JCS 8*, a work which greatly promoted the analysis and definition of ancient Anatolia nomenclature. In *Exkurs I and II* of said article *İnar* is taken as to mean "angel" (p. 123). Also see *p. 125, n. 291*.

L 3: The PN *Şahhişnumen* should be compared with PN *Şahhişkan* in *EL 5, 2* which was explained by Landsberger as a masculin hypocoristic name (*JCS 8, p. 124*). In this PN we find in the element

-uman, which is frequently seen among the Cappadocian PN's and accepted only as gentile, the vowel a is unlauded to sound as e. The change of sound in this element which it is determined as meaning "man" by Landsberger, is seen specially in the Hittite samples: *JCS* 8, p. 128 f (See also explanation given for line 4, in conjunction with -aššu/-ahšu).

L. 4: The PN *Kipanu* occurs for the first time. This PN, which finds no comparative material in other Anadtolian languages, may be compared with the appellative *kipunani* found elsewhere in similar texts: E. Bilgiç, *Appellativa*, p. 50.

As to PN *Hanuwa*, it occurs in *TC III* 253, 3 as the name of a *rabi mahirim* (chief of market) and in *TC* 81, 21 as the name of an *ašlakum* "tanner, . . . It also occur in *BIN VI* 84, 11. See other PN's ending in -wa or -ua: Bilgiç, *Afo XV*, p. 7.

We had already indicated that the PN *Ha-pu-wa-šu* (also in line 14) and those PN's similarly containing elements -ašu/-aššu as well as containing element -ahšu could be of the same category (*Afo XV*, p. 3). Subsequently, Landsberger has further explained this point and determined the PN's containing -uman, -aššu/-ahšu were of an ahšu-language which could not be reconciled with *nāšili*, and that -ahšu/-aššu could mean "son" (*JCS* 8, p. 122, n. 271, 272, 274, 277).

L. 6: The PN *Halki-aššu* (Bilgiç, *Afo XV*, pp. 3, 18), according to the explanation given above, is formed with the Hittite goddess name *Halki-* (Laroche, *Dieux Hitt.*, p. 73) to mean "the son of *Halki*". Furthermore this PN constitutes one of the samples of mix-names, according to Landsberger, who considers that, for the time being, they should be put aside in the analysis and classification of Cappadocian word material (*JCS* 8 p., n. 259, 1).

L. 8 and 10: The PN's *Ma-ma-ru-wa-ti-a* and *Ru-wa-ti-a*, which are radically related, occur for the first time in our text. The element *mama* in the first name can be compared with the PN *Ma-ma* in the list of *lakannum* (a kind of sheep) belonging to natives. No sample, however, can be found, either among the Hittite or the Nuzi proper names, which would enable us to compare and explain *ma-ma* and *ru-wa-ti* (Among the Hieroglyph Hittite PN's is found only *Ru?-wa-s*: H. G. Güterbock, *AOr XVIII-1*, 11 225).

L. 12: For *Piruwa* see: Bilgiç, *Afo XV*, pp. 3, 17; Laroche, *Onomastique*, p. 33, No. 561; *Dieux Hitt.*, p. 87.

L. 16 and 18: *Ku-la-na-la* and *Ma-la-wa-la*. The PN *Kulanala*, in view of its first part, should be affiliated with *Ku-lu-u* (*ICK* 60, 6) and *Kulun-aḫšu* (*Afo XV*, pp. 10, 14); and PN *Malawala* (efen.) with *Mala-wašhi(na)* (*Afo XV*, pp. 10, 14, 16); Landsberger, *JCS* 8, p. 127). As to the other PN's containing *-ala* and for the function thereof, see: S. Alp, *Belleten* 50, p. 254 f; Bilgiç, *Afo XV*, p. 3-4, n. 19; *Appellativa*, p. 9 ff.; Gelb, *NPN* pp. 199, 209.

L. 19: The PN *Hu-ti-a* occurs for the first time. There is no doubt that it is a Hurrian name, since it occurs in the Nuzi texts in relation to those particularly bearing Hurrian names: Gelb, *NPN*, p. 64.

L. 21: We encounter *Na-ru-wa* only in this place. It may also be assumed that this PN includes the suffix *-wa*. (*Afo XV*, p. 7).

L. 30: *Tu-ru-pa-ni*. It is the name of a person whose title is *rabi simmillim*. One example which can be compared with this name occurring for the first time may *Tu-u-ru-ub-bi-ni* in *KUB VII 58 VI*, 10. In the Nuzi Texts, on the other hand, are found PN's *Turupunna*, *Turup-tumi* which contain the element *turup*: Gelb, *NPN*, pp. 160-161, 269-270.

#### No: 2.

(The PN's *Piruwa* and *Halkiaḫṣu* recurring in this text have been explained above.)

L. x+9: *Niki-[i-it]*. For this name which occurs in the forms of *Nakkilit/Nikkilet/Nikkilewit* see: Stephens, *CPN*, p. 59; Bilgiç, *Afo XV*, pp. 5, 17: *nakki*. This name has subsequently been transferred also to the Hittite texts: Laroche, *Onomastique*, p. 30. As regards to the *Nakki-aḫšu* formed with the same root, Landsberger establishes the meaning "dear, darling" for *nakki*: *JCS* 8, p. 123.

L. x+13: We complete the name *Harḫa[ran]* according to the texts of *CCT* 23, 16 and *TC* 53, x+15. It is a name build on the repetition of the first syllable (Bilgiç, *Afo XV*, p. 6).

L. x+15: This PN occurs under another spelling as *Ar-sà-na-aḫ-šu* in texts *KTS* 51 a, 11; *EL* 65, 12; *TC* 87, 57; *II* 53, x+20; *KT Hahn* 36, 9; *Unpubl. C* 7, 12. IT is a fine example of *aḫšu*-language.

L. x+19: The PN *Hu-lá* occurs for the first time.

L. x+24: *Ki-kà-ar-ši-en* occurs as *Kikaršan* *EL* 64, 5; 86, 1; *KTHahn* 36, 21; *OIP XXVII* 53, 2; *Unpubl. Kay.* 38, 3. It is a sample to be

considered among the hypocoristic names found in Landsberger *JCS* 8, p. 124. Radically, it is identical with *Kikarnaḫšu* (Bilgiç, *Afo XV*, p. 3, n. 8) and typically both names substantiate the *aḫšu*-language theory of Landsberger.

### No: 3.

L. 1: *Lá-kà-an*. This name which appears in line 8 as *Lá-kà-ni*, occurs for the first time. Contrary to what is stated in Balkan, *Letter*, p. 5, n. 8, the form *Lá-kà-ni* is not a misspelling. It is observed, occasional cases whereby in these texts that a vowel or a consonant has been omitted, added or changed: *Na-ba-ar*, *Na-ba-ri* (Balkan, *Letter*, p. 49, n. 65); *Ta-la-aš*, *Ta-la-ša* (Stephens, *CPN*); *Ma-la-wa-aš-ḫi*, *Ma-la-wa-aš-ḫa* (*EL* 303, 1-12); *Me-me-pì-ir*, *Me-me-ip-ri* (*TC III* 191, 6-38; *EL* 14, 4); *U-šu-na-ma*, *U-šu-na-ma-an* (*ICK* 35 a, 1, b 10); *Ta-at-kà-pu*, *Ta-at-ki-pu-uš* (*ICK* 35, b, 13, 15 a, 4). This case may indicate that the pronunciation of the name could not have been met fully by the tabletwriter or the cuneiform, inasmuch as it is indicative of various pronunciations of one and the same name.

L. 2: *Ta-mu-ri-a*. For the structure of this PN appearing in *EL* 92, 4; 167, 3; *ICK* 19 a, 3, 19 b, 24; 30 a, 2-9, 30 b, 5; 60, 5; *TC III* 237, 5; 253, 14; *Unpubl. B* 2, . . .; *Kay.* 7, 5 etc., see: Bilgiç, *Afo XV*, p. 6, 9. It is also necessary to disregard the reading of the name at the end of this line as *Na-aḫ-pá-aš-wa* by Balkan, *Letter*, p. 5, n. 8. It should read *Ka-ap-si-aš-wa* as in the transliteration of the text.

L. 3: *Kà-áp-si-aš-wa*. This PN, which is read as *Kà-áp-si* by Balkan, should be compared, in regard to its structure, with the PN's *Kapsi* and *ḫKapsia* (Bilgiç, *Afo XV*, p. 5), *Palanašwa* (*EL* 92, 3), *Šakriašwa* (*EL* 70 A 5, B 6, 10) *Muliliašwa* and *Puliluašwa* (Balkan, *Letter*, p. 5, n. 8). No definite statement can be made as to whether the element *-(n)ašwa* seen in *Palānašwa* among these names is related to native indicating a profession in Hurrian names (Gelb, *NPN* p. 238).

L. 12: For *Ḫa-pu-a-šu* see No. 1, line 4.

L. 13: The name *Kalilawitra*, seen for the first time, may be compared with the town name with nisbe in the form of *Ká-pi-it-ra-i-um*, mentioned in *BIN VI* 193, 19. It is a well known fact that many cases exist whereby the GN's and PN's in Cappadocian nomenclature are identified radically and suffixially (Bilgiç, *Afo XV*, p. 8). It would

then be logical to regard *p/witra* as an element inherent to the Anatolian Languages if this identity is not coincidental. On the other hand, one may be inclined to maintain the resemblance between this element *-witra* and the Hurrian PN *Witrasia* (Gelb, *NPN* p. 174, 275) or Indo-Arian God name *Mitra* (Laroche, *Dieux Hitt.* p. 118) and especially between the *Parijawatri*, father's name of *Išputahšu*, King of *Kizwatna* (Laroche, *Onomastique No.* 1048).

L. 14-15: Although the PN *Anahluka*, when compared with Assyrian PN *Anah-ili* (Stephens, *CPN* p. 14), and PN *Supa* with Assyrian *Zuba* of the same spelling (Stephens, *CPN* p. 71), seem to be Assyrian PN's. But they may be accepted as native names, in view of the fact that they precede and follow those names which are proper to the Anatolian natives, and the fact that the element *-luka* as in *Anahluka* can not be explained with Assyrian.

L. 16-17: The PN *Šupunahšu* is an example of a name which we have analyzed into *šupu(n)-* and *-ahšu* (*AfO XV*, p. 3). As for *A-šu-a-an* which we see under the spelling of *A-šu-wa-an* in *EL* 65, 2, see *AfO XV*, p. 6 and 18.

#### b) Ground Names (GN):

In our text No. 1, occur 9 GN's which are *Parwia* (l. 9), *Sapala* (l. 11), *Warşama* (l. 13), *Kuluna* (l. 15), *Tumişna* (l. 20), *Kasana* (l. 22), *Hassuşara* (l. 24), *Maşşika* (l. 26) and *Kaniş* (l. 27). None of these names, except *Kaniş*, has occurred previously.

In text No. 2, of which important sections were unfortunately broken, only the following city names, locations where workers were assigned, were legible: *Maşşika* (l. x+1), *Kaniş* (l. x+3), x+25), *Hapuşna* (l. x+6, x+8, x+9), *Şallahhşuwa* (l. x+16), *Kasena* (l. x+18), *Tenipia* (l. x+20), *Hartimeka* (l. x+22), *Kipita* (l. x+23). In addition/these eight locations, other partly legible two GN's in the text are: *Pal* (l. x+10), *Piru* (l. x+31). The letter parts of these two GN's are broken Three (?) other GN's must fall in the broken section of the tablet. Since the names *Kaniş* and *Şalah(h)aşuwa* are legible on this text and previously known to us, only six unidentified GN's occur in this document. Consequently, in these two texts, namely in text No. 1 and 2, we obtain 12 complete and new city names, as *Maşşika* occurs also in text No. 1 and *Kasana* therein occurs again in text No. 2 as *Kasena*.

The city names *Parwia* and *Tenipia* seem to contain element *-wia/-pia* as do *Tuhpia/Tuhuppia* (Bilgiç, *Afo XV*, p. 11 a and subsequent listing), and the city name *Sapala* contains the element *-la* as in previously known *Katila* (*Afo XV*, p. 3 and 34) and as in those Hittite names *Appala(š)*, *Gasula*, *Hapalla*, *Matilla*, *Waršiyalla*, *Žiulila* etc. (Garstang-Gurney, *Hitt. Geography*, pp. 124, 42, 83, 8, 82, 30). The name *Tinipia* occurs among the city names in the Hittite text *KUB XXIV 43, obv. 37*.

It is noteworthy, on this occasion, that the name *Waršama* occurs as a town name in line 13 of our text No. 1 whereas the same (Balkan, Letter, p. 6, text line 2) denoted the king of Kanış as the addressee in the *Annum-ħirbi* letter.

In Cappadocian texts, too, as with the Hittites (*Laroche, Onomastique*, s. 71, f.) exist PN's and GN's containing the same elements, preceding or following, as well as those PN's formed with the addition of some suffixes to the GN's (Bilgiç, *Afo XV*, pp. 2, 5, 8: *Haršamnuman*, *Luhatuman*, *Tiliuruman*, *Hattušil*, *Ulamil* etc.). But this name constitutes the first specimen of the same word which is concurrently used for both a place name and a personal name. For this reason, the GN beginning with *Peru-* on line x+31 of text No. 2 may be considered as a second specimen. *Waršama*, in view of its latter part, should be considered in the same premises as those PN's and GN's containing elements *-ma* and *-ama* (Bilgiç, *Afo XV* pp. 7, 12; Balkan, Letter, p. 53). There are in Hittite a number of PN's constructed with the suffix *warš-* (Friedrich, *HW*, p. 246 b; *Laroche, Onomastique*, p. 42). Moreover, <sup>URU</sup> *Wa-ar-su-wa* which appears in text *KBo X 2, obv. 1, 16-17*, pertaining to *Hattušili I*, constitutes, in our opinion, a specimen which can radically be compared with the present *Waršama*.

Whether the proper noun *Wa-ar-ša-ma*, clearly spelt out in both our text and in the *Annum-ħirbi* letter, is the same as the nomenclatures occurring in *TC 122 (EL 3)* and *KTP 43 (EL 189)* and allegedly read through amendment as *Wa-ar-sá-ma* and identified with the *Waršama* of *Annum-ħirbi* letter by Balkan, and what chronological results may be obtained from the same, will be discussed below in the "Chronological Conclusions" chapter.

The GN's *Kuluna* and *Kasana/Kasena* seem to contain an element *-na* when compared with those previously known place names such as

*Abarna, Alsana, Batna* etc. (Bilgiç, *AfO XV p. 10*). It is probable that *Kuluna* is the same as <sup>URU</sup> *Ku-i-lu-na* occurring in Hittite: *HT 2, 1, 20*<sup>12</sup>.

*Tumişna* and *Hubuşna* contain the elements *-uşna/-işna* as do *Puruşna* and *Wuluşna* (Bilgiç, *AfO XV, p. 9* and subsequent listing).

The GN's *Maşşika* and *Hartimeka* contain the suffikk *-ka* as do *Haka, Şulupka* previously found in Cappadocian texts and *Dadduşka, Kaşka, Taptika* etc. in the Hittite texts.

Of the 17 cities encountered in these two texts, only the location of *Kaniş* is known. *Habuşna* is the *Hubişna* in the Hittite texts (Garstang-Gurney, *Hitt. Geography, p. 128*). It occurs, only once, under the spelling of <sup>URU</sup> *Hu-bu-uş-na* in a Hittite text (*IBoT II 131, obv. 39*) Forrer and Laroche have determined (*RHA 69, pp. 84-86, 90*) that some formations of words with *-uşna* in Hittite formed the locatives of some collective words containing *-şar*. It is believed that *Hubişna* is the same as *Kybiştra* mentioned in the Classical sources, and Ereğli of our time (Forrer, *Kilikien, 138*). It is also believed that this place is among the Tabal feuds which was taxed by III. *Salmanassar* (Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung, p. 73*). As to the location of *Şalahşuwa*, we don't have much information regards to it, except that it is not too far off vicinity of *Hattuş* (Bilgiç, *AfO XV, p. 30*). We encounter, in Hittite texts also, this city name in the forms of *Şallahaşuwa* (Garstang-Gurney, *Hitt. Geography, p. 8*), <sup>URU</sup> *Şal-la-ah-şu-wa* (*KBo X 1 obv. 21*) and <sup>KUR URU</sup> *Şal-la-ah-şu-wa* (*KBo X 2 obv. 42*).

We can state, according to the locations where our texts were excavated, the contents thereof, the fact that the 40 workers mentioned at the end of text No. 1 were the servants of *Turupanni* who held the rank of *rabi simmiltim*, and the structures of GN's we have analyzed, that all the cities whose locations are unknown, were not too far from *Kaniş*. It would however, be appropriate not to consider the area, where these cities or communities were established, rather limited in space for reasons that *Habuşna*, proposed to be the same as Ereğli (Konya) and *Şalahşuwa* in the vicinity of *Hattuş* are among the others (cf. Balkan, *Letter, p. 58*).

<sup>12</sup> I am indebted to my young friend Hittitologist Dr. Hayri Erten for helping me find this text as well as others such as *KBo 1, obv. 21; X 2, obv. 1, 42*, they cited below, in them *Şallahaşuwa* occurs both as a town and a country and *IBoT II 131, obv. 39*, below, where *Habuşna* occurs.

## c) Some words and professional terms:

No: 1.

Line 6: *ur-ki*. The word *ur-ki* which occur three times in lines  $x+14$ ,  $x+28$ ,  $x+29$  of our text No. 2, does not seem to be related to the word *ur-qi* in the professional term *rabi urqi* (chief of vegetable gardens, chief of legumiers) in the text Jena 27 d, 2 (See Bilgiç *DTCFD VI-5*, p. 508, n. 99; *Appellativa*, p. 94; Garelli, *Assyriens*, p. 217). We should consider a prepositional *arki/warki/urki* in these lines of our texts (See: Delitzsch, *HWB 242 a*). As a matter of fact, prepositional forms *warki* and *urki* of the word *warku* occur in other Cappadocian texts. *TC III 14*, 20-23: *a-dí u-tí-tim ša a-lá-ši-nim ma-lá ur-ki-a i-dí-nu-ni ú ma-lá TÚG tù-ra-dí-a-šu-ni uz-ni lá ta-pá-tí*. "As for the grain of miller, thou do not inform me as to how much he hath given after me (after my departure) and how much cloth thou have taken away to him". *TC III 59*, 26-27: *um-ma a-na-ku-ma KÜ. BABBAR ša-dí-in wa-ar-ki-a-ma še-bi-lam*. "I say so: have the money given and send it after me".

L. 7: The phrase *Halkiaššu rabi ħuršātīm* occurs also in line  $x+26-27$  of text No. 2. In this phrase, which appears also in *CCT III 28 b*, 12, the word *ħuršū* means "warehouse or storage room" (*CAD vol. H*, 256 a; Garelli, *Assyriens*, p. 1217. Cf. Bilgiç, *DTCFD XV-5*, p. 508, n. 98). Accordingly, *rabi ħuršātīm* should be taken to mean "chief of warehouses".

L. 8, 10, 12: *GAL ba-tim*. The word *battum* "suburb, environs" is encountered, one verifying the other, in Cappadocian texts. Gelb, *OIP XXVII 13*,  $x+6$ : *a-na ba-tí ša Ka-ni-iš li-ip-qi-su-nu* "Let him deliver those to the suburbs of *Kaniš*". *BIN VI 124*, 1-5: *2 la 1/4 GÍN AN. NA a-na É<sup>bi-ti</sup> ub-ri i-na ba-tí ša Ra-za-ma a-dí-in*. "I gave the tin, two *seqels* minus  $1/4$ , for the guest-house to the environs of *Razama*". In close resemblance to this text, it is stated in *TC III 163*, 16-19: *2 la 1/4 GÍN AN. NA a-na É<sup>bi-tim</sup> i-na ba-tí ša Ra-za-ma a-dí-in*. It is doubtless that, here, *É<sup>bi-tim</sup>* is a misspelling. It appears, in *EL 8*, 17, within the sentence: *šu-ma É-su a-na ba-tim i-ba-nu...* "If he builds his house in the vicinity...".

Considering these places, we feel justified in translating professional term *rabi battim* as "vicinity, circumference, out-post commander".



L. 14: The word *naggārum* “carpenter, wood worker” occurs also in Gelb, *OIP XXVII* 32, 8; x+1-2. There is also a head man in this class of profession (*rabi naggāri*: Bilgiç, *DTCF VI-5*, p. 509, n. 99).<sup>13</sup>

L. 16: *ša-pi-ru-um* “messenger”, occurs, in our knowledge, for the first time among the Cappadocian professional terms.

L. 17 f.: x *qá-qá-da-tum*. This term, which is a plural form of *qaqqadum* “head”, occurs also always in this plural form in text No. 2 (l. x+5 f.). While the ideogram *SAG. DU* in Hittite means “person, guy”, it is certain that, it occurs in our both mentioned texts with a meaning of “person, man, worker”.

On the other hand, the word *qaqqadum* has assumed the meaning of “amount borrowed without interest” in the documents of old Babylonian, Elam, Middle and New Assyrian and New Babylonian (Deltzsch, *HWB* 592 b; Bilgiç, *DTCFD V-4*, p. 450).

In many Cappadocian texts, however, the word appears as being used with a meaning of “worker’s fee” always in its plural form namely as *qaqqadatum* (cf. J. Lewy, *KTHahn*, pp. 25, 32.):

*TC 106, 6: 10 šiqil-TA qá-qá-da-tum.*

*TC II 14, 18: 4 lá-[x] GÍN qá-qá-da-at 2 šu-ḥa-ri-kà e-mu-du.*

*KTP 3,3: lu ša AN. NA 3 me-at lu ša AN. NA 1 me-at 20 ma-na ŠU. NIGIN 4 me-at 20 ma-na URUDU qá-qá-ta-tim im-da-ma...*

*CCT II 21 b = CCT VI 46 b, 11: 10 GN-TA qá-qá-da-tim.*

*KTHahn 13, 34: lu i-na Pu-ru-uš-ḥa-tim lu a-na-kam a-na qá-qá-da-ti-ni ni-ip-lá-ti-mi-in.*

<sup>13</sup> As a matter of fact, the term *rabi naggāri* is not encountered in the section allocated to indigenous trades (pp. 207 ff.) of Dr. P. Garelli’s *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce* in which the author states that he could not obtain our articles (pp. 215, n 3, 267, n. 5) which appeared only in Turkish and assigned to trade classes and organisation during the period of Assyrian Trade Colonies in Anatolia, published in *DTCFD VI-5*, 1948 (Anadolu’nun ilk tarihi çağının ana hatları ile rekonstrüksiyonu = Reconstruction in outlines of early historical period of Anatolia) and *Metal Economy in Anatolia before Hittites*, published in *Sumeroloji Araştırmaları*, 1943, part of which was summarized in French in *RAI II*, pp. 100. On the other hand however, we note with pleasure that our publications and those of our colleagues which were published in Turkish only, were, in some cases reflected in the above work by the author who, by virtue of his father’s being the director of the section of Otoman Bank in İstanbul, had spent a considerable length of time there with his family.

Of the Cappadocian texts we have been able to confirm, only in the text *TC 83, 11* within the phrase *9 qá-qá-da-tum 10 GÍN-TA* "9 q. of 10 *şeqel* each" the word appears to give the meaning of "worker" as it does in our texts No. 1 and 2.

But it will be appropriate, in comparison with this place, to interpret the phrase *10 šiqil-TA qaqqadātum/tim* in *TC 106* and *CCT II, 21 b, 11* as "ten *şeqel* each a worker". It is thus explained in these phrases that the per-diem or fees of workers is ten *şeqel* each.

L. 27: *nappālum* 'blacksmith' also occurs in *Gol. 5, 11*; *KTS 57 b, 10*; *CCT 21 a, 6*; *26 b, 9*; *EL 65, 11*; Kienast, *ATHE 28, 8* (our *Unpubl. A, 20*); *Unpubl. A 14, 12*. The blacksmith's, who were understood to have occupied an important position within the working life of Anatolian people, also had a head man: *rabi nappāhe* (Bilgiç, *DTCF VI-5, p. 507, n. 88*; Garelli, *Assyriens, p. 217*).

L. 31: *rabi simmiltim*. According to the confirmation formulae *iqqāti PN rubā'im PN rabi simmiltim* (*EL 3; 189*; *TC III 214 A*; *OIP XXVII 49 A-B*) we may agree with Balkan and Garelli as to the legal meaning of this term which we had previously indicated (*DTCFD VI-5, 506, n. 79*) as to imply the man pursuing to the king, in other words the prince with political and legal function, and as having been formed with words in Akkadian to satisfy a native concept and passed on to the Hittites later on (*Letter, p. 42, n. 61 and p. 55*; Garelli, *Les Assyriens, p. 214 f*<sup>14</sup>).

Our text, by having clearly stated that the persons and workers who come under the command of those holding professions and positions such as *rabi hūršātim*, *rabi battim* were at the same time the *aštepirum* "servant" of *rabi simmiltim*, confirms the superiority of *rabi simmiltim* to all the professionals qualified with *rabi* as well as social standing of various professionals and workers.

<sup>14</sup> This work by Dr. P. Garelli is a completion and a useful integration, from his own view point, which are generally close to those of Prof. J. Lewy, of Cappadocian texts and the questions contained therein including the results so far obtained by various researchers since the beginning of the studies of this kind of texts. I would, however, like to mention that there are numerous other points which should have been discussed in this work. I have to deal with them as far as they are included in the framework of my future subjects of study.

## No: 2.

L. x+17: *ra-bi ri-i-e-im* "chief of sheperds" also occurs in *EL* 124, 9 (*KTHahn* 26); *GCT* 41 b, 5; *BIN* VI 193, x+5.

L. x+24: There has been much debate as to wheter the word *ṣuḥārum* should mean "child" or "servant", of which etymological structure was explained in *KTBl* p. 24 f. (Landsberger, *OLZ* 1925, Sp. 233; David, *OLZ* 1933, Sp. 219, 4. Cf. J. Lewy, *KTHahn* 7, 2; *EL* 4 c).

In our opinion, because *ṣuḥārum* was counted among household goods such as *uḫubtum* and *unūlum* in text *EL* 4 which was used by the late Prof. Lewy to derive specifically the meaning "child", and also in view of coherence in *EL* 300; *EL* 128 etc., it becomes obvious that no reference is being made to a completely free man nor to a child. In this subject, it is interesting to note the text *BIN* VI 190, has been studied in *El* 92: *ana kaspim annim bitam<sup>ta-am</sup> Kuluna ṣuḥārtam u amtam idaggal*. The fact that, against the sum (money) recieved, the following, in sequence, are listed among those to be cared for and guarded: the house, *Kuluna*, who is a free man by name, then *ṣuḥārtum* and lastly *amtum* "slave, maid" indicates that *ṣuḥārum*/fem. *ṣuḥārtum* implies "maid" in meaning. Since in our text, the workers are subject matter, "*Kikarṣen* and his three juniors" can not be considered as such, but, his "three servants", who are old enough and strong to work, should have been meant. For this reason, the seal in which the word occurs, carries also importance (Balkan, *Letter*, p. 61: not slave but servant). Therefore, Landsberger is justified in referring to a "*ṣuḥāru*-class" (*AOr* XVIII 1-2, p. 348).

## No: 3.

L. 2: *warad!-sú!*. As it will be seen from the copy of the text (Plate III) there are more sings than the *İR* ideogram, and it resembles more to *GEME*. Moreover, as the next sign was likely to be *sú*, it looks more like *šu*. Despite this, it will be appropiate to amend it to the form of *İR-sú* in view of the fact that the end of line 2 can not be read as *Na-ah-pá*, that there is no reason to extend upward the sings *-ás-wa* pertaining to the name at the end of line 3 and that *iš-a-am-šu* on line 5 indicates that only one person as being sold is involved in this contract. It is also known that such language errors as tuese occur in native transaction or marriage-divorce contracts due to lack of knowledge in Assyrian on the part of tabletwriters.

## Conclusions Drown Text No. 1 and 2.

### A) Historical Conclusions.

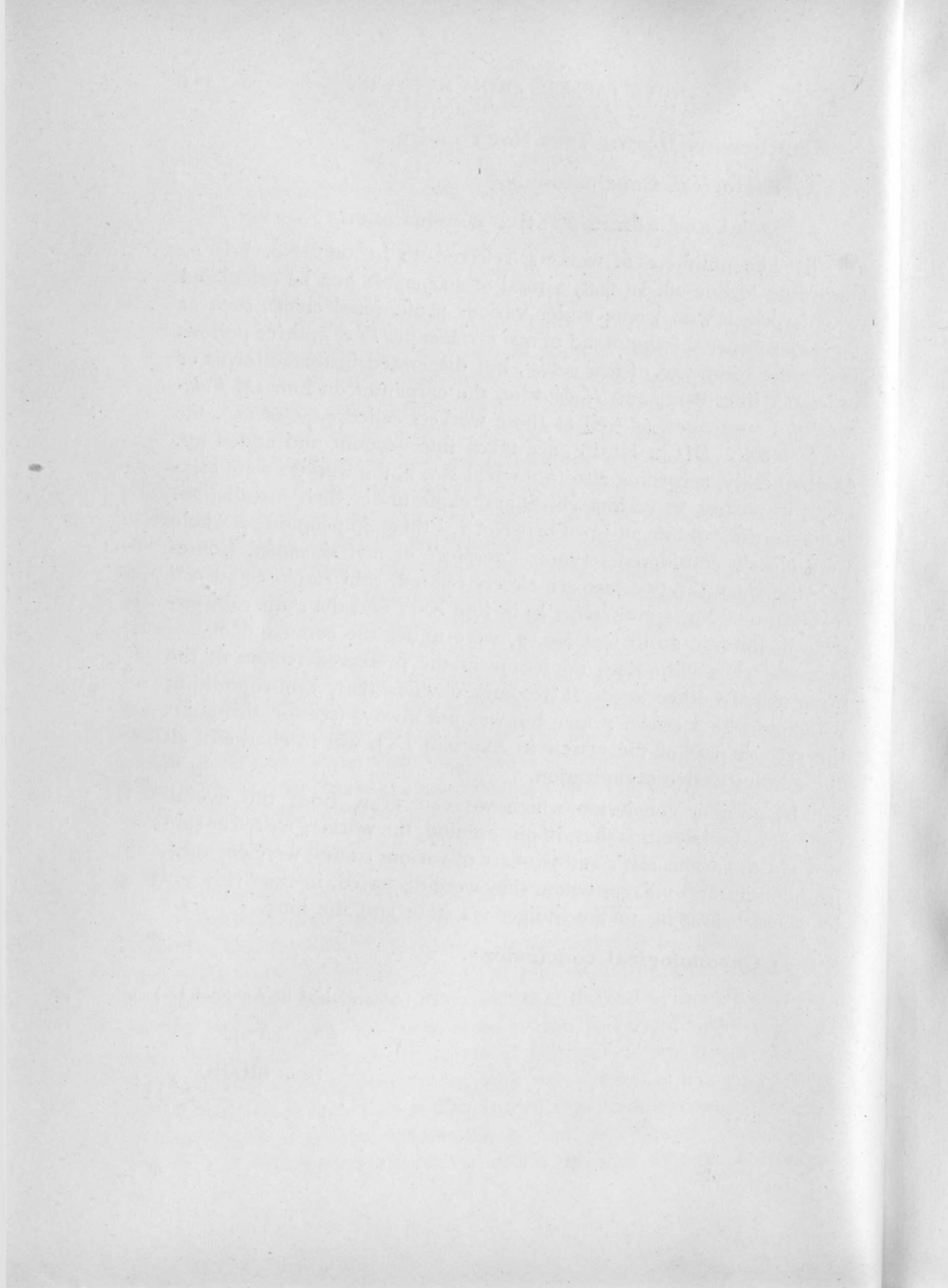
#### 1) Social and administrative conclusions.

a) The numbers of workers referred to in text No. 1 is 40 according to line 28. In fact, a total of 40 persons can be calculated when workers who wome under various professional chiefs, such as 8 persons under the command of *rabi huršātīm* per line, 5, three persons under the command of *rabi battim*, but dispersed in three towns or cities per lines 8-12, and *Hapuwāššu*, the carpenter on line 14, *Kulunala*, the messenger, as well as those workers called *qaqaqadarum*, the same as *SAG. DU* in Hittite, are taken into account and added up. Consequently, according also to the text No. 2, the workers were attached, in parties, to various chiefs and came under their jurisdiction. But according to line 28-31 of text No. 1, i these 40 people as a whole were clearly considered servants "*aštepirū*" of *rabi simmiltim*. Consequently, since the two text are closely related, *rabi huršātīm* and *rabi battim* in text No. 1 and *rabi re'im* in line X-17 and the same *rabi huršātīm* in lines 26-27 in text No. 2, were under the command of *rabi simmiltim* even if he does not occur in the preserved section of the same text. In other words, it becomes obvious that, *rabi simmiltim*, who could be a crown prince but was not always (see for this point the second part of the article in Anatolia IX), was in charge of all the administrative organization.

b) another conclusion which we can draw from the overall content of both texts is that, in our opinion, the workers we see as sub-servient to various *rabi*'s and who are of various trades, were engaged, in the cities and villages where they were dispersed, in the fields and in works belonging to the indigenous state and the king.

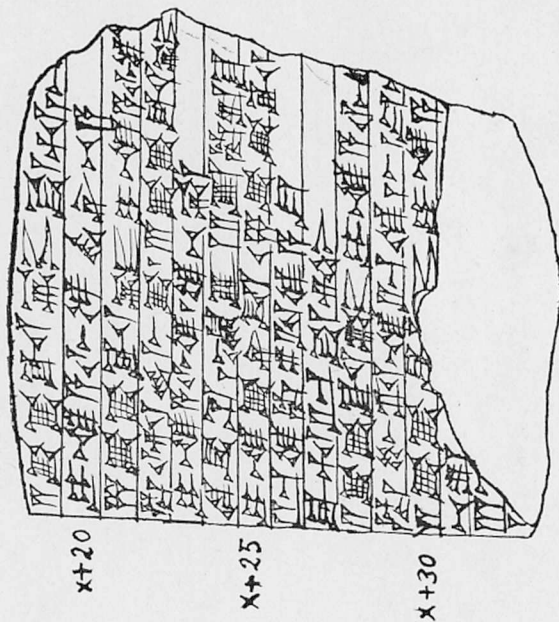
#### 2) Chronological conclusions.

(To be continued in Anatolia IX)

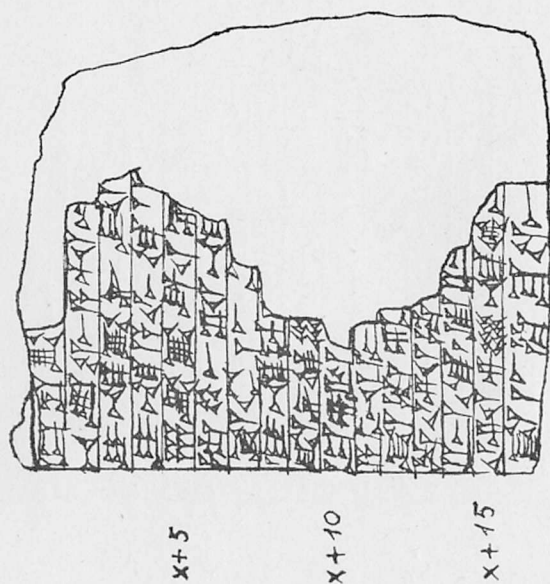




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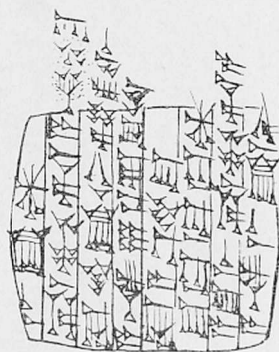


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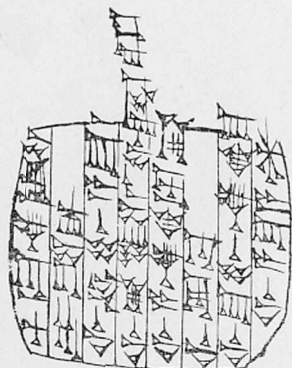
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5.

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10.

15.



Lower.