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INSCRIPTIONS FROM ALISHAR
AND VICINITY

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RESEARCHES IN ANATOLIA—VOLUME VI

INSCRIPTIONS FROM ALISHAR AND VICINITY

By
IGNACE J. GELB



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
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PREFACE

In this volume are published all the inscribed documents, with the exception of coins, excavated by the Oriental Institute expedition at Alişar¹ Hüyük during the years 1927-32. The coins will be published in *OIP* Volume XXX by Mr. Edward T. Newell, president of the American Numismatic Society. For the convenience of the reader it was thought best to give again in the present volume the few inscribed objects heretofore published by Drs. H. H. von der Osten and Erich F. Schmidt in *OIP* Volumes VI-VII and XIX-XX. The material now presented includes Cappadocian, Sumerian, Hittite hieroglyphic, Greek, and Arabic inscriptions. Of these by far the most numerous are the Cappadocian texts, the treatment of which naturally occupies the largest part of this book. To the Cappadocian texts from Alişar are added nine from other sites, eight of which belong to the Oriental Institute and one to Beloit College. Permission to include the Beloit tablet was kindly given by Professor Philip B. Whitehead. Professor Arno Poebel gave permission to republish his copy of Cappadocian tablet b 1600, found at Alişar in 1929, and to use his provisional copies of the three tablets of 1930. For many valuable suggestions on the Cappadocian texts I express to him and to Professors Arnold Walther and Frederick W. Geers my sincere thanks.

The Cappadocian tablets from Alişar were loaned to the Oriental Institute by the Turkish government for publication. They are now with the rest of the epigraphic material from Alişar in the Ethnographical Museum at Ankara. The copies of the seals had to be made with the help of casts and photographs only. Owing to the fact that the Alişar tablets found in 1931 were placed at my disposal for only three months, they had to be copied in such haste that the appearance of my copies of many of them leaves much to be desired. Neither did I have the chance to collate the questionable readings of the many fragmentary inscriptions, as I had hoped to do during an intended visit to Turkey.

The whole archeological side of this book was discussed over and over again with Dr. von der Osten. Many an hour did we spend, day after day, in trying to solve some of the historical problems of Asia Minor. Out of such archeological and philological collaboration the introduction to this book has resulted.

A discussion of Arabic inscription No. 99 was contributed by Dr. Nabia Abbott. Cappadocian seal No. 61 and my historical map (Pl. LXIII) were drawn by the skilful hand of Mr. Walter W. Romig. The whole manuscript has been discussed in detail with Dr. T. George Allen. For his numerous suggestions I offer my sincerest thanks. Also for editorial assistance I thank Mrs. Richard T. Hallock and Miss Ruth L. Schurman.

IGNACE J. GELB

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
August 6, 1934

¹ [On the title-page the familiar English spelling "Alışar" is retained. Elsewhere, however, we endeavor to use for Turkish proper names the actual Turkish spellings. The chief differences occur in the cases of *j*, *ch*, *gh* (mute), *zh*, *sh*, and *i* in diphthongs, for which the Turkish uses *c*, *ç*, *ğ*, *j*, *ş*, and *y* respectively. Dotted *i* must have its dot even when capitalized; undotted *i* stands for the indefinite vowel.—EDITOR.]

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

All text publications are quoted by Arabic *text* number following Roman volume or part number, except *CCT*, *CT*, *KTS*, *R*, and *TMH*, in which the Arabic number refers to *plate* and a lower-case italic letter following indicates the position of the individual text. Other works are quoted in normal fashion by volume and page.

<i>AAA</i>	Annals of archaeology and anthropology (Liverpool, 1908—).
<i>AKF</i>	Archiv für Keilschriftforschung I-II (Berlin, 1923-25).
<i>AO</i>	Der alte Orient (Leipzig, 1903—).
<i>AOB</i>	Altorientalische Bibliothek, hrsg. von F. M. Th. BÖHL, BRUNO MEISSNER, ERNST F. WEIDNER (Leipzig, 1926—).
<i>AOF</i>	Archiv für Orientforschung III— (Berlin, 1926—).
<i>AOr</i>	Archiv orientální (Praha, 1929—).
<i>BA</i>	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft (Leipzig, 1890—).
<i>BE</i>	Pennsylvania. University. Babylonian expedition. Series A: Cuneiform texts, ed. by H. V. HILPRECHT (Philadelphia, 1893-1914).
Bezold, <i>Glossar</i>	BEZOLD, CARL. Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar (Heidelberg, 1926).
<i>BIN</i>	Babylonian inscriptions in the collection of James B. Nies (New Haven, Conn., 1917—).
<i>BKS</i>	Boghazköi-Studien, hrsg. von OTTO WEBER (Leipzig, 1917-24).
<i>BoTU</i>	FORRER, E. Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift (<i>WVDOG</i> XLI-XLII [1922-26]).
<i>CCT</i>	Cuneiform texts from Cappadocian tablets in the British Museum (London, 1921—).
<i>CT</i>	Cuneiform texts from Babylonian tablets, &c., in the British Museum (London, 1896—).
Delitzsch, <i>HWB</i>	DELITZSCH, FRIEDRICH. Assyrisches Handwörterbuch (Leipzig etc., 1896).
<i>EA</i>	Die El-Amarna-Tafeln, mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen hrsg. von J. A. KNUDTZON. Anmerkungen und Register bearb. von OTTO WEBER und ERICH EBELING (<i>VAB</i> , 2. Stück [2 vols., 1915]).
<i>EL</i>	EISSER, GEORG, and LEWY, JULIUS. Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe (<i>MVAG</i> XXXIII [1930]).
<i>Gol.</i>	GOLENISHCHEV, V. S. Vingt-quatre tablettes cappadociennes de la collection W. Golénischeff (St. Pétersbourg, 1891).
<i>HH</i>	GELB, I. J. Hittite hieroglyphs I ("Studies in ancient oriental civilization," No. 2 [Chicago, 1931]).
<i>HL</i>	HARPER, ROBERT FRANCIS. Assyrian and Babylonian letters belonging to the Kouyunjik collections of the British Museum (14 vols.; Chicago, 1892-1914).
<i>HSS</i>	Harvard Semitic series (Cambridge, Mass., 1912—).
<i>JEN</i>	CHIERA, EDWARD. Joint expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi (American Schools of Oriental Research. Publications of the Baghdad School. Texts [Paris, 1927—]).
<i>JRAS</i>	Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, <i>London</i> . Journal (London, 1834—).
<i>JSOR</i>	Society of Oriental Research. Journal (Chicago etc., 1917-32).
<i>KAH</i>	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts. 1. Heft hrsg. von L. MESSERSCHMIDT; 2. Heft hrsg. von O. SCHROEDER (<i>WVDOG</i> XVI [1911] and XXXVII [1922]).
<i>KAJ</i>	EBELING, ERICH. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts (<i>WVDOG</i> L [1927]).
<i>KAR</i>	EBELING, ERICH. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts (<i>WVDOG</i> XXVIII [1915-19] and XXXIV [1920—]).
<i>KAV</i>	SCHROEDER, O. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts (<i>WVDOG</i> XXXV [1920]).
<i>KBo</i>	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi, autographiert von H. H. FIGULLA, E. F. WEIDNER, etc. (6 Hefte, 4 in <i>WVDOG</i> XXX [1916-23] and 2 in <i>WVDOG</i> XXXVI [1921]).
<i>KTBl</i>	LEWY, JULIUS. Die Kültepetexte der Sammlung Rudolf Blanckertz, Berlin (Berlin, 1929).
<i>KTHahn</i>	LEWY, JULIUS. Die Kültepetexte aus der Sammlung Frida Hahn, Berlin (Leipzig, 1930).
<i>KTS</i>	LEWY, JULIUS. Die altassyrischen Texte vom Kültepe bei Kaisarije (Konstantinopel, 1926).
<i>KUB</i>	Berlin. Staatliche Museen. Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi (Berlin, 1921—).

INSCRIPTIONS FROM ALISHAR AND VICINITY

- MAOG** Altorientalische Gesellschaft, *Berlin*. Mitteilungen (Leipzig, 1925—).
MDOG Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, *Berlin*. Mitteilungen (Berlin, 1899—).
Mém. France. Délégation en Perse. Mémoires (Paris, 1900—).
Muss-Arnolt MUSS-ARNOLT, WILLIAM. A concise dictionary of the Assyrian language (Berlin etc., 1905).
MVAG Vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Gesellschaft, *Berlin*. Mitteilungen (Berlin, 1896–1908; Leipzig, 1909—).
OIC Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute communications (Chicago, 1922—).
OIC No. 8 OSTEN, H. H. VON DER. Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor, 1929 (1930).
OIC No. 11 SCHMIDT, ERICH F. Anatolia through the ages (1931).
OIC No. 14 OSTEN, H. H. VON DER. Discoveries in Anatolia, 1930–31 (1932).
OIP Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924—).
OIP V OSTEN, H. H. VON DER. Explorations in Central Anatolia, season of 1926 (1929).
OIP VI–VII OSTEN, H. H. VON DER, and SCHMIDT, ERICH F. The Alishar Hüyük, season of 1927. Parts I–II (1930–32).
OIP XIX–XX SCHMIDT, ERICH F. The Alishar Hüyük, seasons of 1928 and 1929. Parts I–II (1932–33).
OIP XXVIII–XXX OSTEN, H. H. VON DER. The Alishar Hüyük, seasons of 1930–32. Parts I–III (in press or in preparation).
OLZ Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Berlin, 1898–1908; Leipzig, 1909—).
PBS Pennsylvania. University. University Museum. Publications of the Babylonian Section (Philadelphia, 1911—).
PNC STEPHENS, F. J. Personal names from cuneiform inscriptions of Cappadocia (New Haven, Conn., 1928).
PSBA Society of Biblical Archaeology, *London*. Proceedings (London, 1878/79–1918).
R RAWLINSON, SIR HENRY. The cuneiform inscriptions of Western Asia I–V (London, 1861–84; Vol. IV, 2d ed., 1891).
RA Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale (Paris, 1884—).
RHA Revue hittite et asianique (Paris, 1930—).
RISA BARTON, G. A. The royal inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad (New Haven, Conn., 1929).
RLA Reallexikon der Assyriologie, hrsg. von ERICH EBELING und BRUNO MEISSNER (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928—).
RT Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (40 vols.; Paris, 1870–1923).
SAKI THUREAU-DANGIN, FR. Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften (*VAB*, 1. Stück [1907]).
TC I CONTENAU, GEORGES. Tablettes cappadociennes (*TCL* IV [1920]).
TC II THUREAU-DANGIN, FR. Tablettes cappadociennes. Deuxième série (*TCL* XIV [1928]).
TCL Paris. Musée national du Louvre. Textes cunéiformes (Paris, 1910—).
TMH Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena, im Auftrage der Universität unter Mitwirkung von Fachgenossen hrsg. von JULIUS LEWY (Leipzig, 1932—).
UCP California. University. Publications in Semitic philology (Berkeley, 1907—).
URI Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia. Ur Excavations. Texts. I. Royal Inscriptions, by C. J. GADD and LEON LEGRAIN (London, 1928).
VAB Vorderasiatische Bibliothek (Leipzig, 1907—).
VAS Berlin. Königliche Museen. Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler (Leipzig, 1907—).
WVDOG Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, *Berlin*. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen (Leipzig, 1900—).
ZA Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete (Leipzig, 1886—).
ZDMG Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift (Leipzig, 1847—).

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

xv

MISCELLANEOUS

A and *B* following text numbers distinguish tablet and case (except No. 46, the two fragments of which are so marked).

Akkadian words are transliterated in italics, with questionable elements in roman; Sumerian words in letter-spaced roman; Sumerian signs in small roman capitals. Questionable elements in English translation are in italics.

The sign 𒀭 is used for medial 𒀭₁₋₅, e.g. in *ša^aalum*, "to ask," and *laq^aum*, "to take." Medial 𒀭₆ and 7 remain unindicated, e.g. in *du^akum* (= *du^aakum* < *dawakum*), "to kill," and *di^anum* (= *di^aanum* < *daj^anum*), "to judge."

Determinatives are indicated in transliteration by

°	city	l	land
d	deity	m	masc. personal name
f	fem. personal name	r	river

The following symbols are used:

[]	wholly lost	<	develops out of
[]	erased	>	develops into
[]	partially lost	!	sign abnormal in form, but must be read as transliterated
< >	omitted by scribe	x	a single lost or unreadable sign
<< >>	pleonastically written by scribe	lost or unreadable signs, number uncertain or unessential
()	supplied by the author	^	long vowel
*	reconstructed form	-	contracted vowel, probably shortened
/	alternative reading		

INTRODUCTION

THE EARLY HISTORY OF EASTERN ASIA MINOR

Our knowledge of the earliest history of eastern Asia Minor,¹ before the period of Hittite predominance, comes from three sources: (1) archeological evidences, (2) historical inscriptions of Old Akkadian kings, (3) so-called "Cappadocian tablets." In the following pages I try with the help of these sources to give a brief sketch of that history. Since the Old Akkadian inscriptions are the earliest written records concerned, knowledge of the still earlier periods of Asia Minor can be derived only from the excavations conducted in that country in recent years. Of the five sites in Asia Minor excavated since the World War²—Kültepe, Boğazköy, Malatya, Has Hüyük, and Alişar—only the last named yet gives us a continuous record of an Anatolian city from prehistoric to modern times. In sketching the history of Asia Minor from the archeological side I have, then, relied on the results obtained by the Oriental Institute at Alişar during the years 1927–32.³

It was not until 1930 that the excavations at Alişar uncovered definitely Chalcolithic remains,⁴ though sporadic traces had been found previously.⁵ The period represented cannot be called Neolithic, for objects of copper had already begun to appear, though still very rare. The characteristic pottery of that period consists of thick, coarse handmade ware with burnished black, grayish buff, or less often red slip. Incised ornamentation with geometrical designs, sometimes filled with ocher, often appears. Painted sherds, perhaps imported from outside, are rare. Noteworthy is the finding of a large number of wooden implements in addition to those of stone, mostly chalcedony and obsidian, and of bone. Bodies were usually buried in pots, the mouths of which were covered with stone slabs, or directly in the earth. But receptacles made of stone slabs were sometimes used, and even one of logs was found.⁶

The most important development of the next period, the Copper Age,⁷ is the increased use of that metal. Objects of copper, with some natural admixture of tin or lead, were numerous. The pottery is handmade, usually red-slipped and burnished. Round-bottomed bowls and cups and one-handled jars are the most common forms.⁸ The whorls are commonly ornamented with punctate or incised lines in various geometric designs.⁹ Many figurines, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic, were found.¹⁰ Stamp seals occur with simple geometrical designs

¹ I am of the opinion that we cannot talk about the history of Asia Minor as a whole as long as the great archeological problems concerning both of its two main divisions, eastern and western, are not clarified enough to enable us to make any synthetic deductions. Therefore in using the term "Asia Minor" I am limiting its meaning to the eastern part of Asia Minor, with its prolongation in North Syria.

² Before the war excavations were usually concerned with finding treasures, architectural remains, sculptures, and written documents. All the rest of the excavated material was usually lumped together, unaccompanied by any stratigraphic data, or was even thrown away as valueless.

³ For a detailed discussion of the archeological problems connected with the history of Asia Minor, see the forthcoming volumes by Dr. H. H. von der Osten (*OIP XXVIII–XXX*) on the results of his excavations of 1930–32. Owing to his kindness I have been able to make full use of the material which he is now preparing for publication.

⁴ *OIC* No. 11, p. 156; *OIC* No. 14, pp. 26–28.

⁵ *OIP* VI 246 and Fig. 210; *OIP* XIX 44 and Fig. 46.

⁶ *OIC* No. 14, pp. 23–25 (there assigned to the Copper Age).

⁷ Called "Period I" in previous publications.

⁸ *OIP* XIX 48–52.

⁹ *OIC* No. 11, pp. 58–60; *OIP* XIX 44–46.

¹⁰ *OIP* XIX 52–55.

consisting of triangles, rectangles, or crosses;¹¹ one cylinder seal also, perhaps imported from the east, was found. Burial¹² during this period was usually directly in the earth or in large pots, the latter usually covered as before with stone slabs, perhaps to prevent the dead person from leaving his grave and molesting the living. Burials were made in cists also, constructed of stone slabs or of mud bricks.¹³

It is entirely impossible to calculate in years the duration of the Chalcolithic period and the Copper Age. On the citadel mound of Alişar the present water level is probably 38.75 meters below the summit. The Chalcolithic stratum, as penetrated at only one point on the citadel mound, is 11 meters deep; the Copper Age above it is about 9 meters. Another 9 meters account for all the periods since then; but some of these (e.g., the important period of the Hittite Empires and the post-Phrygian periods) are scarcely represented at that particular spot on the mound. Elsewhere on the mound, then, more than the 29 meters of settlement deposits found here may well be present.¹⁴ It remains uncertain whether the interval between the bottom of the excavation and present water level is all virgin soil. Since it is impossible to say exactly how much refuse was accumulated in a century, any calculations based on the thickness of individual strata would be valueless. It is certain, however, that the Alişar site began to be inhabited at least one thousand years before the historical period.

Next in sequence at Alişar comes the Early Bronze Age, formerly called "Period III" and at first considered later than "Period II."¹⁵ Even with the new facts supplied by von der Osten,¹⁶ the dating of this stratum is extremely difficult. Sections showing distribution of layers at Alişar¹⁷ seem to prove that "Period III" is older than "Period II." On the citadel mound itself sherds of "Period II," which proves to be that of the Hittite Empires, mingle with those of "Period III" in the upper level of the latter; on the terrace scanty remains of only one level of "Period III" could be found. A certain type of decorated pottery from the highest level of the Copper Age¹⁸ appears also in the lowest level of the Early Bronze Age, and is now called "intermediate ware." The vessels of the Early Bronze Age are still handmade, like those of the two earlier periods. The main characteristic of this period is the appearance of pottery, commonly buff-slipped, painted with geometrical designs,¹⁹ largely linear, and in shades of brown and red, differing from those found on the intermediate ware. The figurines, stone objects, bone awls, pins, and seals of this period show no significant changes when compared with those of the preceding Copper Age.

Since the finds on the citadel mound show that the last phase of the Early Bronze Age was contemporaneous, at least in part, with the beginning of "Period II," the former brings us to historic times. But only with "Period II," that of the Hittite Empires, do we enter a definitely historical period, marked by the appearance of the so-called "Cappadocian tablets." In every respect the culture of this period is distinctive. The outstanding feature in connection with pottery-making is the appearance of the potter's wheel for the first time in Alişar. Neither before nor since have the people of Alişar produced more beautiful forms; the most common are

¹¹ OIP XIX 55-57.

¹² OIP XIX 72-78.

¹³ OIP VII 9-14.

¹⁴ Cf. with this the statement of W. Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion* (Athen, 1902) I 26: "Es giebt meines Wissens keinen Ort der Welt, an dem so viele, deutlich zu unterscheidende Schichten von Bauwerken und Schuttmassen übereinander liegend erhalten sind, als auf dem Hügel von Hissarlik. Wohl kenne ich manche Plätze, an denen zwei, drei oder auch noch mehr Ruinenschichten übereinander lagern und zusammen eine mehrere Meter hohe Schuttmasse bilden, aber dass die Reste alter Gebäude und ihre Erdschichten eine Höhe von 15^m erreichen, und dass sich in diesen Trümmern neun oder sogar noch mehr zeitlich getrennte Schichten deutlich unterscheiden lassen, kommt bisher nur in Hissarlik vor."

¹⁵ Thus OIC No. 11, pp. 101 f.; OIP XIX 191 ff. On "Period II" see below.

¹⁶ OIC No. 11, p. 157; OIC No. 14, pp. 21-23.

¹⁸ OIP XIX 194 f.

¹⁷ OIC No. 14, Fig. 53.

¹⁹ OIC No. 11, pp. 102 ff.; OIP XIX 196-202.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF EASTERN ASIA MINOR

3

pitchers with ovoid bodies and beak-spouts, one-handled jars with biconoid bodies truncated above, and conoid bowls. All these kinds of vessels very often have pointed bottoms.²⁰ A striking characteristic of this period is its almost total lack of painted pottery, in contrast to the preceding and to the following period. The "Hittite royal mark"²¹ is stamped on some pottery fragments.²² In Kültepe too have been found Cappadocian tablets and pottery of "Alışar II" type²³ as well as polychrome pottery similar to that of the Early Bronze Age at Alışar.²⁴ Monochrome pottery of "Alışar II" type was found in great quantity at Boğazköy.²⁵

Polychrome pottery, interrupted by the monochrome ware of the Hittite period, reappears at Alışar with the post-Hittite culture. The new ware, however, is wheelmade and is much finer than the earlier polychrome ware. Besides geometrical designs, representations of animal and human figures occur.²⁶ The vessels are more carefully made than those of the Early Bronze Age. Associated with this pottery are Hittite hieroglyphic seals. Unfortunately it is impossible to date them exactly. They may belong in part to the New Hittite Empire and in part to the post-Hittite period before the coming of the Phrygians. One thing is sure, however—that the pottery of this period must be derived from the Balkan Peninsula and must therefore be Indo-European in origin. It must be ascribed to the peoples of the Aegean migration who at that period were invading the whole civilized world and robbing and destroying the weakening oriental states. There is no doubt that much of the pottery of the post-Hittite period can be compared with the Phrygian pottery of Gordion.²⁷

The early periods, as revealed at Alışar, may be tabulated as follows:

Period	Former Designation	Characteristic Pottery	Approximate Date B.C.
Chalcolithic	Black or gray, handmade	Before 2300
Copper	I	Red, handmade	
Early Bronze	III	Polychrome, handmade	2300-1900 or later
Hittite	II	Monochrome, wheelmade	2300-1200
Post-Hittite	IV	Polychrome, wheelmade	1200-600

From our second source of knowledge for the earliest history of Asia Minor, the historical inscriptions of Old Akkadian kings, it appears that even during the oldest period the relations between Babylonia and the states lying along the Mediterranean Sea must have been very close. The Two Rivers, Euphrates and Tigris, form a natural and easy way between the Upper Land on the Mediterranean Sea (called the "Upper Sea") and the Lower Land on the Persian Gulf (called the "Lower Sea"). The names are evidently derived from the fact that to reach the Upper Land it was necessary to go up the rivers, and to reach the Lower Land, to go down the rivers. The earliest historical reference to the Upper Land is given by Lugalzaggisi, king

²⁰ *OIC* No. 11, p. 80; *OIP* XIX 108-20.

²¹ H. de Genouillac, *Céramique cappadocienne* (Paris, 1926) I 33.

²² *OIP* XIX 146-47 and 150.

²³ B. Hrozný, "Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles tchécoslovaques du Kultépé," *Syria* VIII (1927) 1-12; *Central European Observer* IV (1926) 527; *Illustrated London News*, Oct. 2, 1926, pp. 600 f.

²⁴ *OIC* No. 8, Fig. 14 B.

²⁵ *MDOG* No. 70 (1932) pp. 19 f. and 28 and *ibid.* No. 72 (1933) pp. 26 and 29.

²⁶ *OIP* XIX 238-48. The two sherds b 419b and 72 on Pl. XXVII there are wrongly ascribed to the Early Bronze Age ("Period III").

²⁷ *OIC* No. 14, p. 9. The same type of pottery was found in Boğazköy; cf. Bittel in *Archäologischer Anzeiger, Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts* XLVI (1931) 608-11, *MDOG* No. 70 (1932) p. 14 and No. 72 (1933) pp. 31-36.

of Erech about 2525–2501 B.C.,²⁸ to whom the god was supposed to have opened the roads from the Lower Sea to the Upper Sea.²⁹ With Sargon of Agade (about 2528–2473 B.C.), the conqueror of Lugalzaggisi, our sources begin to speak much more eloquently. The historical value of the inscriptions concerning Sargon varies considerably because of their different origins. They can be divided into four categories: (1) the original historical inscriptions of Sargon, or later copies of them, (2) chronicles, (3) omens, and (4) half-legendary stories dealing with the military deeds of Sargon.

Of Sargon's historical inscriptions, the most important is a copy from the Hammurabi period published by Poebel³⁰ and later supplemented by Legrain.³¹ There in vi 20–40 (beginning in Legrain's fragment) we read: ²⁰*Šar-ru-[kīn]* ²¹*[šarrum]* ²²*in Tu-tu-li³²* ²³*a-na* ²⁴*Da-gan* ²⁵*uš-ga-en* ²⁶. . . ²⁷*ma-dam* ²⁸*a-lī-dam* ²⁹*i-[[tū]]-ti-šum* ³⁰*Ma-rī-am* ³¹*31³²* ³²*Ī-ar-mu* ³³*ti-a-am* ³⁴*Ib-la* ³⁵*a-ti-ma* ³⁶*GIŠ.TIR* ³⁷*GIŠ.ERIN* ³⁸*38* ³⁹*KUR.KUR* ⁴⁰*KUG*, "Sargon [the king] bowed to Dagan in Tutuli . . . ; and he (presumably Dagan) gave him the Upper Land: Mari, Īarmuti, Ibla, as far as the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountains." This inscription, then, informs us that Sargon on his way to western conquest stopped at Tutuli³² to offer worship to Dagan and later conquered the regions of Mari,³³ Īarmuti,³⁴ and Ibla,³⁵ as far as³⁶ the Cedar Forest³⁷ and the Silver Mountains.³⁸

The chronicles and omens concerned with the life of Sargon also mention his military expeditions to the west. But while the former place one of these expeditions in the eleventh year of his reign,³⁹ the latter place it in the third year.⁴⁰ Another welcome addition is the mention

²⁸ I accept in this book the chronology of E. Weidner in B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* II (Heidelberg, 1925) 439 ff., as corrected in *AOF* IV (1927) 15 ff. and V (1928–29) 139 ff.

²⁹ *SAKI* p. 154 ii 4–11; *RISA* p. 98.

³⁰ *PBS* V (1914) No. 34 (translated in *PBS* IV [1914] 173 ff.).

³¹ *PBS* XV (1926) No. 41 (translated *ibid.* pp. 12 ff.). My transliteration is based on the facsimiles.

³² On account of the correspondence [*Tu-ul-tu-ul* = *I-ū*], glossed *I-tū* (*KAV* 183:23), Tutuli must be located at modern Hit on the Euphrates. Cf. B. Landsberger in *ZA* XXXV (1923/24) 233.

³³ The region around the mouth of the Ḥabur River. Cf. Poebel, *PBS* IV 222 f.; Landsberger in *ZA* XXXV 234; B. Maisler, *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas* I (1930) 4, n. 1 (with ample bibliography); J. H. Breasted, *OIP* I (1924) 23–37 and Map 2. I gather from a note by W. F. Albright in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* No. 54 (1934) pp. 24 f. that a French archeological expedition has identified Mari with modern "Tell el-Ḥarfī just above Abū Kemāl on the Middle Euphrates, near the Iraq border." Cf. also Thureau-Dangin in *RA* XXXI (1934) 83 f. and 137–144. But Mari seems to be never the name of a city, but only that of a country.

³⁴ The Plain of Antioch. Cf. Poebel, *op. cit.* pp. 225 ff.; Maisler, *op. cit.* pp. 7f.

³⁵ If *ša šarri Ib-li-ta-ia-e* really means "of the king of Ibla" (cf. p. 53), then from the mention of *°Ki-li-zi* in the same tablet (*KAV* 107:14) we may locate Ibla in North Syria in the neighborhood of the modern city of Kilis. The country of Ibla is mentioned later in inscriptions of Narām-Sin (p. 5) and Gudea (p. 7).

³⁶ Or does *adīma* here mean "including"?

³⁷ Certainly Amanus, since Amanus is called the Cedar Mountains by Gudea (*a-ma-a-n-ūm ḥur-sag giš-er-in* [Statue B v 28 = *SAKI* p. 68]) and by Narām-Sin (*A-ma-nam ša-ru-tu ʾer-inim* [*URI* 275 i 22 ff.]), and Cedar Mountains = Cedar Forest in the Gilgamesh epic (R. C. Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* [Oxford, 1930] p. 36 and *passim*). For the explanation "Cedar Forest = Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon," see Poebel, *op. cit.* pp. 223 f. The identification *KUR.GIŠ.ERIN* = *māt e-ri-ni* = *Ḥat-ti* (*KAV* 183:10) is of no value for the localization of the Cedar Mountains, because the land of Ḥatti in later periods comprises the whole of Syria, including even Palestine.

³⁸ Probably the Taurus (Poebel, *op. cit.* pp. 224 f.), where silver mines were well known in later periods; cf. B. Meissner, "Woher haben die Assyrer Silber bezogen?" in *OLZ* XV (1912) 145–49. Another identification is propounded by Lewy in *ZA* XXXVIII (1929) 261, where he shows that *šadū ellu* or *kīštu ellitu* is a general expression used by the Assyrians and Babylonians for any one of the three ranges Amanus, Sirara, or Lebanon. If we should accept this localization, then in Sargon's inscription the *KUR.KUR KUG* might define the southern limits of his conquest, perhaps Lebanon, while Amanus would represent the northern boundary.

³⁹ L. W. King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings* II ("Studies in Eastern History" III [London, 1907]) 4.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 31.

in the chronicles⁴¹ and omens⁴² of his conquest of the land of Šubartu. According to the omen texts, the land of Amurru also was brought under his yoke.⁴³

Of relatively small historical value are the various legends concerned with the life of Sargon. This king, the creator of the first great oriental empire, became a legendary person in later periods; and it is quite possible that to him were ascribed many famous deeds for which he was not at all responsible. The best known among the late stories is the so-called *šar tamḫâri* epic describing the expedition made by Sargon of Agade to Asia Minor to help the merchants presumably oppressed by an unnamed king of Buršaḫanda.⁴⁴ The importance of this legend lies in the fact that it mentions the presence of merchants in Asia Minor. If the historical basis of this legend could be verified, it would give us invaluable proof for the existence of Cappadocian colonies in Asia Minor as early as the time of Sargon of Agade; the historical Cappadocian colonies appeared only about five centuries later, around 2000 B.C. (cf. p. 8). The city of Buršaḫanda, under the form Buruṣḫadum, played a very important rôle among the Cappadocian colonies, and the fact that in the legend of Sargon this city is mentioned in connection with the merchants gives some hint that at least in part the Sargonic legend is based on truth.

Texts of entirely dubious character include a famous "Babylonian map of the world,"⁴⁵ which Weidner thought might be the second tablet of the *šar tamḫâri* epic;⁴⁶ a geographical treatise⁴⁷ mentioning a certain King Sargon;⁴⁸ and a legend published by Scheil.⁴⁹

Sargon's immediate successors, Rimuš and Maništušu, also campaigned in the west. Rimuš boasts of having conquered the Upper Sea;⁵⁰ and Maništušu, according to a late inscription of Šamši-Adad I, was supposed to have ruled over Nineveh.⁵¹ But it is not until Narâm-Sin that our sources concerning the west begin to be more eloquent. In a few historical inscriptions Narâm-Sin is called the conqueror of the lands of Armânum and Ibla.⁵² Ibla is believed from the inscription of Sargon to be situated in Syria, north of Iarmuti (cf. p. 4). The location of Armânum can be established with the help of recently published copies of inscriptions of Narâm-Sin from Ur. In the first of these inscriptions⁵³ Narâm-Sin reports the conquest of Elam as far as Baraḫše and of the land of Šubartum as far as the Cedar Forest. In the second⁵⁴

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 7.

⁴² *Ibid.* p. 36.

⁴³ *Ibid.* pp. 27-29.

⁴⁴ The most important text of the *šar tamḫâri* epic was published by O. Schroeder, *VAS* XII 193 (from el-Amarna in Egypt). Additional fragments in the Akkadian language were found in Assur (*KAV* 138), and some in the Hittite language in Boğazköy (2 *BoTU* 1 and 2 = *KBo* III 9 and 10). The epic was translated and discussed by Weidner ("Der Zug Sargons von Akkad nach Kleinasien," *BKS* VI [1922], with the older bibliography) and later by Albright ("The Epic of the King of Battle . . .," *JSOR* VII [1923] 1-20) and by P. Dhorme ("La tablette de Sargon l'Ancien," *Revue biblique* XXXIII [1924] 19-32).

⁴⁵ *CT* XXII 48.

⁴⁶ *BKS* VI (1922) 85-93. Opposite view expressed by E. Unger, *Babylon* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1931) pp. 254-59.

⁴⁷ *KAV* 92.

⁴⁸ Ascribed to Sargon of Agade by Albright ("A Babylonian Geographical Treatise on Sargon of Akkad's Empire," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* XLV [1925] 193-245) and Landsberger (*ZA* XXXV [1924] 217, n. 1). Forrer (*RLA* I 237) for no apparent reason ascribes the text to Sargon I of Assyria. If it could be ascribed with certainty to Sargon of Agade, its mention (in line 41) of the Lead Country and Kaptara (Crete) on the other side of the Upper Sea (the Mediterranean) would agree well with the passage in the omens: "the Sea of the West he crossed" (King, *Chronicles* II 31).

⁴⁹ "Nouveaux renseignements sur Šarrukin d'après un texte sumérien," *RA* XIII (1916) 175-79.

⁵⁰ Poebel, *PBS* IV 200 f.; Barton, *RISA* p. 124.

⁵¹ R. C. Thompson in *AAA* XIX (1932) 105-7. The name and title of the king in i 10 ff. is *Ma-an-iš-ti-šu mâr Šar-ru-ki-in šar A-ga-dèr*. For the form of his name cf. *Ma-an-iš-ti-šu* (*JRAS*, 1920, pp. 21-24).

⁵² E. de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée* (Paris, 1884-1912) II lvii; H. de Genouillac in *RA* X (1913) 101; L. Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Asie Antérieure* ... (Bruxelles, 1925) No. 7.

⁵³ *URI* 274 i.

⁵⁴ *URI* 275 i-iii.

he describes the conquest of Armânum and Ibla, Amanus, the Cedar Forest, and the Upper Sea: "and from the front of the Euphrates River to Ullišum the *people*⁵⁵ whom Dagan *anew* presented to him he *smote*." Thus the conquests of Narâm-Sin are defined as lying between the Euphrates and Ullišum. The latter was very plausibly identified by Sidney Smith⁵⁶ as corresponding to Ullaza, known from the el-Amarna tablets as a city situated on the seacoast.⁵⁷ Since Armânum must then be situated in Syria, Smith's identification of Armânum with Assyrian Ḫalman or Ḫalpi (Aleppo) must also be accepted.⁵⁸ The city (or country?) Armânum is mentioned in a copy of an original inscription of Narâm-Sin⁵⁹ in which he commemorates his victory over Ḫaršamatki, the lord of Aram and Am.⁶⁰

Material concerning the west is very restricted in the chronicles and omens of the reign of Narâm-Sin. Often we find mention of his wars against Rîš-Adad,⁶¹ king of Apišal.⁶² Just as many legends, of relatively small historical value, were based on the life of Sargon, so in later periods many legends were created around the life of Narâm-Sin. These legends are concerned mostly with the wars of Narâm-Sin in foreign lands. One of them⁶³ describes a rebellion of a dozen kings of cities situated mostly in Babylonia and neighboring northern countries, among them Urumum, Šimurru, Namar,⁶⁴ Apišal, Mari, and Marḥaši. Another legend,⁶⁵ very fragmentary, speaks of *°Bu-ru-uš-ḫa-ʿan-du-ú* *°Bu-uḫ-lu-ú* *°Bu-ra-an-šu-ú* , evidently gentilic names derived from the names of cities in Asia Minor, of which Buruḫanda is the well known Cappadocian Buruḫadum (cf. p. 5).⁶⁶ A coalition of seventeen kings against Narâm-Sin is mentioned both in the latter text and in the most important of the legends, a Hittite text discovered at Boğazköy.⁶⁷ Among the cities mentioned there, Ḫatti, Kaneš (line 11), and Kuršaura (line 15) are well known in the Cappadocian and Hittite periods (cf. pp. 9 f.).

After Narâm-Sin our sources for the history of the west gradually diminish. *Šar-kalê-šarrê*⁶⁸ in a date formula⁶⁹ mentions a victory over Amurru in *Ba-ša₁₀-ar* = "*Ba₄-šal-la* in the mountains

⁵⁵ Does the doubtful word *NI.LID* (*ibid.* i 4 and ii 14) correspond to *ni-ši*? Landsberger (in *OLZ* XXXIV [1931] 131) says: "Lies vielleicht *i-lit* bzw. *i-litim* = *ina litim*. Und vgl. *li-tum* Dagan Kod. Hamm. iv 27. Z. 14 verlangt notwendig ein feminines Substantiv."

⁵⁶ *URI* p. 80.

⁵⁸ Smith, *loc. cit.*; Lewy in *ZA* XXXVIII (1929) 265 ff.

⁵⁷ *EA* pp. 1141 f.

⁵⁹ *RA* VIII (1911) 199 f.

⁶⁰ Aram: Armânum = Am: Amânum (Amanus Mountains); cf. also Laban: Labnânum (Lewy in *ZA* XXXVIII 266 and 267, n. 1) and similar equations by Hrozný in *AOr* I (1929) 76. Or is the name Ḫaršamatki to be interpreted as a geographical name, Ḫaršamatki?

⁶¹ King, *Chronicles* II 9 f., 37 f., 44 f. Cf. *Ri-id* (or *-iṣi*?) = *Adad*, king of Armânum instead, in *URI* 275 iii 2 and 28. On the other hand, a Hittite legend from Boğazköy (see n. 67) names a certain *°Ma-da-ki-na* as king of Armâni among the enemies of Narâm-Sin. This discrepancy proves how careful one has to be when gathering historical material from half-legendary stories.

⁶² My reading *°A-pi-šal* instead of the usual *°A-pi-rak* is based on the name of a people *°A-bi-eš-la-a-ia*⁶¹ often mentioned in Assyrian historical inscriptions with *°U-ru-ma-a-ia*⁶² as soldiers of *°Ḫa-te-e* (Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria* [London, 1902] pp. 112 and 117). Perhaps the same Urumum is also mentioned in a legend of Narâm-Sin (*RA* XVI [1919] 162, lines 14 and 27). All the lands concerned are situated between the Tigris and Lake Van. For comparisons based on the reading "Apirak" cf. E. Ebeling in *RLA* I 119 and E. A. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins* (Philadelphia, 1930) p. 43.

⁶³ A. Boissier, "Inscription de Narâm-Sin," *RA* XVI (1919) 157-64 and 206.

⁶⁴ Written *ma-at Na-ma-ar₁*, which stands in the same relation to Namar as *ma-at Wa-ri-im* (*OIC* No. 13, p. 42:3) to Warum, or *ma-at Šu-bar-tim* (*UCP* X, Part 1, No. 58:20) to Šubartum.

⁶⁵ *CT* XIII 44 ii 5 ff.

⁶⁶ Does *°Bu-ra-an-šu-ú* correspond to the Cappadocian gentilic personal name *Bu-ru-uš-na-im* in *KTHahn* 35:22?

⁶⁷ *KBo* III 13 (= 2 *BoTU* 3). Cf. also Hrozný, "Narâm-Sin et ses ennemis d'après un texte hittite," *AOr* I (1929) 65-76.

⁶⁸ To be read thus because of the late Assyrian writing *Šar-ka-li-e-šarrê* in an omen text, *CT* XX 2:18.

⁶⁹ *SAKI* p. 225.

of Amurru," mentioned by Gudea⁷⁰ = ^{šad}*Bi-eš-ri* and ^{šad}*Bi-su-ru* in Assyrian sources = modern Ġebel el-Bēšri, between Palmyra and the Euphrates.⁷¹

In a later period the Sumerian Gudea in his inscriptions often refers to temple building materials brought from the western lands via the roads from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea.⁷² He mentions Amānum, the Cedar Mountains;⁷³ the city Uršu in the mountains of Ibla;⁷⁴ Umānum, the mountains of Menua;⁷⁵ Bašalla in the mountains of Amurru;⁷⁶ Tidānum in the mountains of Amurru;⁷⁷ gold from the mountains of Ḫaḫḫum;⁷⁸ and the mountains of Barsip.⁷⁹ In another inscription⁸⁰ he mentions marble brought from the mountains *Ur-in-gi-ir-az* on the Upper Sea.

From the period of the third dynasty of Ur we have no historical references to Asia Minor or North Syria. In the business documents, however, one often finds mention of Syrian localities.⁸¹

Just at the point where the Old Akkadian and Sumerian inscriptions cease to yield information for the history of Asia Minor, the so-called "Cappadocian tablets" begin to tell their story. These tablets are not so named because they are written in a Cappadocian language or dialect. The name "Cappadocian" was given by Pinches to the first two examples known of a particular type of tablet supposedly coming from Cappadocia.⁸² In his reading KU.TIN.A, according to him "mules"—since he knew that mules had been imported from Cappadocia in the Assyrian period—Pinches thought he had found an important proof for calling the new tablets "Cappadocian." Today we know that his KU.TIN.A should be read TUG.ḪI.A and translated as "garments." However, the name introduced by Pinches was soon generally accepted, and it continued in use even after it had been proved by Delitzsch that the "Cappadocian" texts were written not in an Anatolian language but in Assyrian.⁸³ Various European and American museums subsequently published many cuneiform tablets of this type,⁸⁴ all supposedly coming from Asia Minor. But since the Cappadocian tablets scattered throughout the world had all been acquired by purchase from various sources, their exact origin was not known until Hrozný undertook the excavation of Kültepe, a village lying about 18 kilometers northeast of Kayseri, and discovered the place where the villagers were secretly excavating them. They had been selling their tablet finds at the bazaars in nearby Kayseri, whence they easily found their way into the world.

Nevertheless, Hrozný's demonstration that Kültepe had been a center of distribution⁸⁵ does not prove that all the Cappadocian tablets now in the various museums must necessarily have come from Kültepe, however probable that may seem. In addition to those found at Kültepe

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p. 70 vi 5 f.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* lines 5 f.

⁷¹ *RLA* II 18.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* lines 13 f.

⁷² *SAKI* p. 68 v 21 ff.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* lines 33 f.

⁷³ *Ibid.* line 28.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* line 59.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p. 70 v 53 f.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 144 e' ii 2 ff.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* p. 70 vi 3 f.

⁸¹ Cf., e.g., Bašar in *RA* IX (1912) 41; Mari, Ibla, and Uršu *ibid.* p. 47.

⁸² *PSBA* IV (1882) 11–18 and 28–32, with two plates.

⁸³ "Beiträge zur Entzifferung und Erklärung der kappadokischen Keilschrifttafeln," *Abhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* XIV (1894) 205–70.

⁸⁴ Complete bibliography given by Lewy in *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* VI (Berlin, 1926) 213 f. and by A. Götze, *Kleinasien* ("Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft," begründet von Iwan von Müller, hrsg. von W. Otto, 3. Abt., 1. Teil, 3. Bd.: *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients*, 3. Abschnitt, 1. Lfg. [München, 1933]) p. 64.

⁸⁵ "Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles tchécoslovaques du Kultépe," *Syria* VIII (1927) 1–12; "The First Czechoslovak Excavations in the Near East," *Central European Observer* IV (1926) 527–29; "A 'Record Office' 4000 Years Old: New Materials for the History of Asia Minor's Earliest Civilisation," *Illustrated London News*, Oct. 2, 1926, pp. 600 f.; *V Říšské Půlměstce* (Praha, 1927).

by Hrozný, Boğazköy yielded three fragments to Chantre,⁸⁶ eight tablets to Winckler,⁸⁷ and one tablet to Bittel.⁸⁸ One Cappadocian tablet, which may have originated either in Mesopotamia or in Asia Minor, was acquired in Mosul.⁸⁹ Sidney Smith's statement about Lord Percy's collection of Cappadocian tablets found along the Habur River⁹⁰ has, in spite of the importance of the find, never been reiterated by him. A tablet of the Cappadocian type from Aššur is mentioned by Forrer,⁹¹ and another was found during recent excavations at Nuzi.⁹²

However, the largest group of excavated Cappadocian tablets, except for the one from Kültepe, comes from the Alişar mound. There, on the city terrace but not on the citadel proper, during a period of four years (1929–32) were found about seventy tablets or fragments of tablets, of which fifty-three are published here (Pls. I–XXXI). The rest are unreadable fragments of no value whatsoever. With the exception of three hoards (d 2200, d 2500, and d 2860), the tablets were found in refuse layers, mostly in the second, later building level of "Period II." The three hoards were found on the floors of rooms of the same building level, covered by wall wreckage (Figs. 1–2). The find-spots seem to indicate that that level was contemporaneous with the time of the Mesopotamian merchants of Asia Minor.

The contents of the Alişar tablets are similar to those of the other Cappadocian inscriptions. The Alişar tablets can be divided into two classes: (1) legal and business documents, (2) private letters.⁹³ No tablet of either historical or religious nature was found.

The dating of the Alişar tablets depends entirely upon the exactness of the dating of the other Cappadocian tablets, which according to the current tendency are supposed to be contemporaneous with Sargon I (about 2000–1882 B.C.) of Assyria, with a possible extension of one generation before and one after the reign of that king.⁹⁴ That the Cappadocian tablets do belong to the time of Sargon is now proved beyond any doubt by the occurrence of *Puzur-A-šur mera ru-ba-im* in our tablet 58:24. Puzur-Aššur's father, Sargon I, is referred to in the same tablet in line 27 under his title *rubâum*. Included among the Cappadocian tablets found up to now are about fifty-five⁹⁵ *limmu*'s, which, with allowance for the probable *limmu*'s in unpublished tablets, would quite easily cover three generations. The following *limmu*'s are mentioned in the Alişar tablets: *Ḫa-na-na-ru-um* (8:7); *Zi-za-a-a mera A-be-na-ra* (18 A 23 f. and B 11 f.); *Ri-iš-[Adad] mera A-nu-pi-ša* (20:14 f.); *Adad-ba-ni* (29:5); *[I]-ku-pi-a [mer]a Šál-lim-A-šur* (39:13 f.). Of these five *limmu*'s, the name of only one, Adad-bânî, occurs in Cappadocian tablets from elsewhere.⁹⁶ Since, however, this name is very common in Assyrian, it is much more probable that the two Adad-bânî's have nothing to do with each other, especially because the other persons mentioned in the Alişar tablets, with a few possible

⁸⁶ E. Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce* (Paris, 1898) Pls. IV 7 and V 8–9.

⁸⁷ According to Forrer in *ZDMG* LXXVI (1922) 186. But Weidner in *BKS* VI (1922) 99, n. 2, and Lewy in *ZA* XXXVI (1925) 27, n. 3, refer to one tablet only. Another Cappadocian tablet supposedly from Boğazköy was published by King in British Museum, *Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character* (London, 1920) No. 102.

⁸⁸ Cf. p. 10.

⁹⁰ *CCT* I p. 5.

⁸⁹ V. Scheil in *RT* XXXI (1909) 55.

⁹¹ *RLA* I 235.

⁹² T. J. Meek in *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* XIII (1933) 8.

⁹³ Or is No. 52 a school tablet?

⁹⁴ Lewy in *OLZ* XXXIX (1926) 759 and in *Nachrichten der Giessener Hochschulgesellschaft* VI (1927) 35–43 and Pl. V 4; Hrozný in *AOr* IV (1932) 113; Götze, *Kleinasien* pp. 65 f.

⁹⁵ Lewy, quoted by Götze, *Kleinasien* p. 66, n. 3.

⁹⁶ E.g., in *CCT* I 4:44; *TMH* I 18 d 16 and 10 a 14; *KTS* 45 b 17. The following *limmu*'s occur in the tablets not from Alişar published here: *I-di-a-ḫu-um mera Ku-da-nim* (56:5 and 16); *A-šur-i-mi-ti ma-lá-ḫu-um* (56:24); *A-ku-tum* (56:37; 59:5, 27, 36, 46); *Ma-ši-ili* (56:46; written *Ma-ši-i-li*, 59:50); *En-na-zu*.IN (56:49; written *En-na-zu*, 59:18). All of these are common in other Cappadocian tablets; cf. Stephens, *PNC* p. 96.

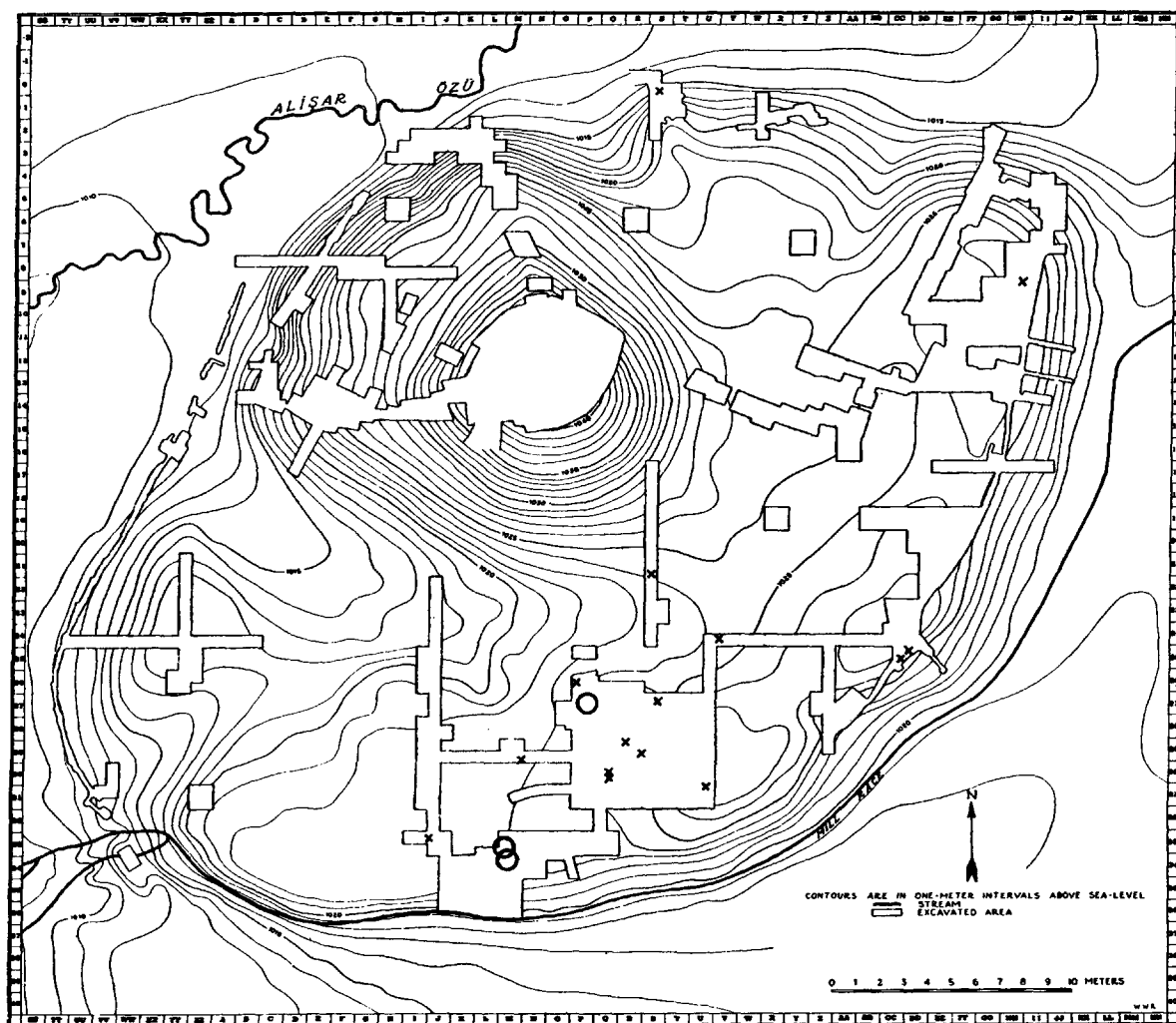


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF ALIŞAR, SHOWING FIND-SPOTS OF CAPPADOCIAN TABLETS (○, HOARDS; x, INDIVIDUAL TABLETS).
SCALE, ABOUT 1:3200

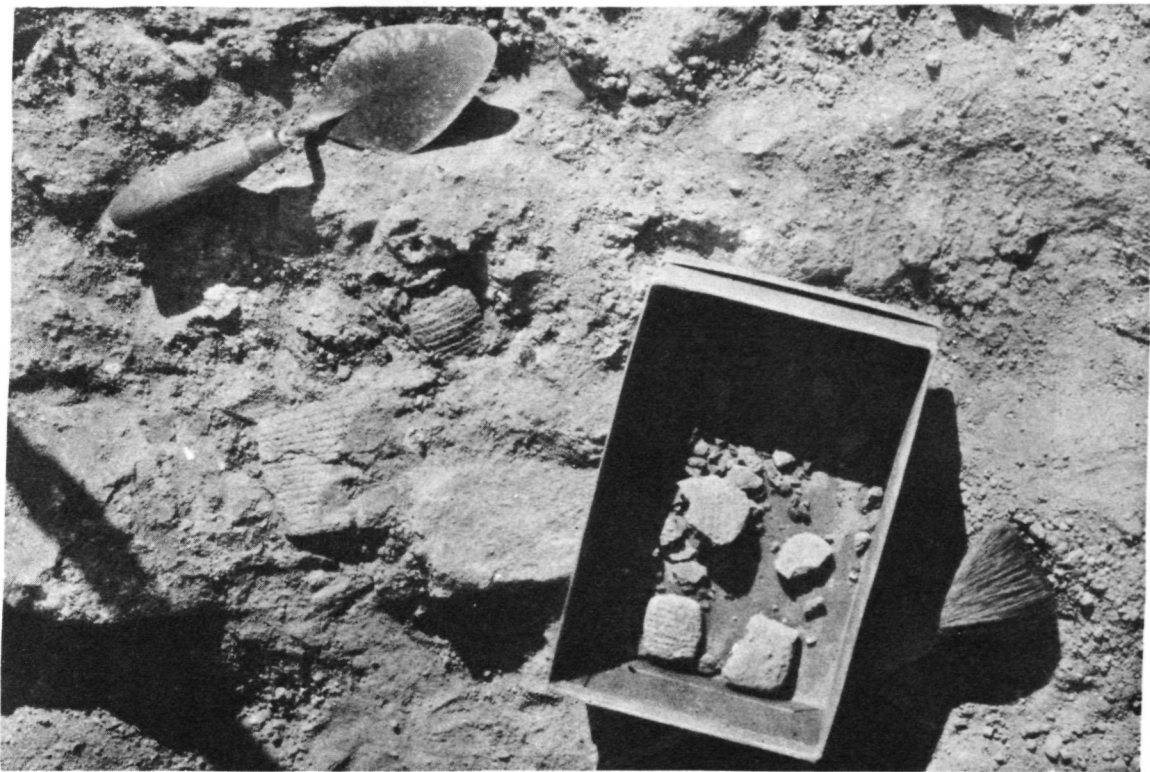


FIG. 2.—CAPPADOCIAN TABLET HOARDS AS FOUND AT ALISAR: d 2500 IN M 34 (ABOVE) AND d 2200 IN M 33 (BELOW)



FIG. 3.—TABLET NO. 49 IN ITS CASE. SCALE, 1:1



FIG. 4.—TABLET NO. 49 REMOVED FROM ITS CASE. SCALE, 1:1

exceptions, do not correspond to those known from other Cappadocian texts.⁹⁷ Thus, since the two groups of tablets cannot be contemporaneous, it seems reasonable to accept a later date for the Alishar tablets on account of grammatical considerations. The language of the Alishar texts is already more corrupt, and the rules for the use of mimation are no longer observed as strictly as in the Kültepe inscriptions.⁹⁸ The writing of Alishar, however, does not yet show any definite developments; the slanting wedges, the division mark, and the division line are equally characteristic in the two groups (Figs. 3–4). More definite proof of the dating, however, is furnished by Alishar tablets 1 and 49, which were written while Anitta was prince of Kuššara, whereas other Cappadocian tablets belong to the time of his father Bithana.⁹⁹ Therefore we may safely conclude that the Alishar tablets are only a generation later than the Kültepe texts and were probably written not later than 1950 B.C.

The most important problem connected with the interpretation of the Alishar cuneiform tablets was that of the ancient name of the site. Because an Anitta was mentioned in the first tablet found, from the very beginning it was commonly believed that Alishar might possibly be identified with Kuššara, the capital city of the Hittite king Anittaš.¹⁰⁰ The ever present difficulty in this identification was the localization of Kuššara, which corresponds in all probability to Kursaura of Narâm-Sin's saga¹⁰¹ and Greek Γαρσάουρα (Archelais), the capital of Garsauritis (also "Gassauritis"), a prefecture situated between Lake Tatta and Caesarea-Mazaca.¹⁰² On the other hand, it seems probable that the ancient name of Alishar was Amkuwa, corresponding to the Boğazköy form Ankuwa.

The name of Amkuwa has been found only once in Cappadocian tablets from other sites than Alishar.¹⁰³ There, however, it occurs more often than any other city name except Kaniš. The name is variously spelled in the Alishar tablets. Thus we have *A-am-ku-a* (4:x+5 and x+7), *A-am-ku-w[a]* (17:2), *A-ku-wa* (49 A 7), *i-na a-lim^{KI} A-ku-wa* (49 B 11), *Am-ku-wa* (49 A 16). The presence or absence of *n* depends probably on nasalization.¹⁰⁴ The interchange of *-ua* and *-uwa* is easy and can be observed in such personal names as Berua (Birua) and Beruwa (Biruwa); Imkua and Imkuwa; Zukua and Zukuwa; Zuzua and Zuzuwa.¹⁰⁵

The mention of Amkuwa in tablets actually excavated at Alishar does not in itself furnish proofs of sufficient strength to enable us to identify these two cities conclusively. There are, however, other reasons for our identification. Ankuwa is a site well known from the Boğazköy inscriptions. Its relative position can be judged by the sequences of city names in *KBo* IV 13 i 20–24: Ḫatti, Tawinija, Zalpa, Ḫaḫana, Ankuwa, Turmitta, Tuḫubija, Zišbarna, Takkupša; in *KUB* XIV 13 i 2–6: Ḫatti, Arinna, Zippalanda, Tuwanuwa, Ḫubišna, Turmitta, Ankuwa, Šamuḫa; and in *KUB* VI 45 ii 55–63 (=46 iii 23–30): Ḫakbišša, Gazzimara, Ankuwa, Neniša(n)kuwa,¹⁰⁶ Durudduruwa, Igšunuwa. Ankuwa is the place where the Hittite kings usually passed the winter. The most important god of this city in the Hittite period is

⁹⁷ Thus none of the great men of Kaniš, such as Pūšu-kin, Lāqipum, Imdilum, Inaa, or Šū-Anum (cf. Hrozný in *Syria* VIII [1927] 11), is even mentioned in the Alishar tablets. The formation of the personal names, however, both Semitic and non-Semitic, is exactly the same in both groups of texts.

⁹⁸ Cf. pp. 18 f.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *OIP* XIX 142, n. 1.

⁹⁹ Cf. Lewy in *RHA* III (1934) 1.

¹⁰¹ Cf. p. 6.

¹⁰² Cf. Hrozný in *AOI* I (1929) 286 f. If Alishar = Kuššara, it would be very strange that the city Kuššara is mentioned only once (48:x+6) in the Alishar tablets.

¹⁰³ Cf. *RHA* I (1930–32) 28, n. 64, where perhaps *TMH* I 2 b 27 is meant.

¹⁰⁴ For other examples cf. Götze in *MVAG* XXXIV, Heft 2, pp. 5 f.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Stephens, *PNC* under each word.

¹⁰⁶ The city of Nenišankuwa (Neniš-Ankuwa?) is also mentioned in *KBo* I 58:1 before Adunuwaš, Abzišna, Šarišša, and Šamuḫa.

Kadahḫaš.¹⁰⁷ In King, *Hittite Texts* , No. 2 v 6–14, are enumerated various female singers of Ankuwa, but unfortunately no city names are given for the region of Ankuwa, as they are in other cases in the same long text. The most important text for the localization of Ankuwa is Bo. 2626, now published in *KUB XXV* 28, where Imralla, Ḫubiggašša, and Ankuwa are defined as the first, second, and third stations respectively from Ḫattušaš.¹⁰⁸ This would correspond well to the two or three days required for a trip from Boğazköy to Alishar.

The Hittite sources tell us that on the same road as Ankuwa lies Zalpa,¹⁰⁹ mentioned in the Alishar tablets (5:3; 6:3), and that much farther on, beyond Ankuwa, are to be found Šalaḫ-ḫašuwa¹¹⁰ (cf. 5:10) and Kiššija¹¹¹ (cf. 5:10). Very common in the Alishar tablets is the mention of Kaniš,¹¹² which proves that even in that period this city preserved its predominance in Cappadocian commerce.

Important is the fact that the Alishar tablets are the first to mention Ḫattuš¹¹³ (14:21; 15:21, 22, 26; 30:15), a city which, contrary to Lewy,¹¹⁴ seems never to be named in other Cappadocian tablets.¹¹⁵ This early mention of Ḫattuš makes unlikely Bittel's statement that the buildings and the defense walls on Büyük Kale were all erected in the New Hittite period.¹¹⁶ Büyük Kale is the most prominent point in the Boğazköy complex of mounds; and if Boğazköy existed as a city before the New Hittite Empire, Büyük Kale must have been already settled in an earlier period. Bittel evidently does not give enough weight to the fact that the problematic tablet found almost on bed rock at Büyük Kale in all probability belongs to the Cappadocian period,¹¹⁷ and he evidently overlooks all the references to Ḫattuš as the capital of the Old Hittite Empire.

The city of *Hu-ra-ma* may be meant in 46 A left edge 2 and may correspond to [Ḫur]-*ma* in 15:21. Also doubtful is the occurrence of *Ma-a-ma* in 35:x+5, though Hurama and Hurma as well as Mâma are often mentioned in Cappadocian tablets from other places.¹¹⁸ The occurrences of Ḫaḫḫum (7:6; 46 B x+2) bring us to North Syria. Entirely unknown to me are the cities *A-ša-ta-ru-wa* (18 A 27) and *Wanizana¹¹⁹ (or *Walizana), the latter deduced from the gentilic personal name *Wa-ni-za-na-i-im* (31:2).

Among the non-Alishar tablets published in this volume, no doubt the most important for our knowledge of the geography is No. 54, which lists wages paid to guides between important cities of Asia Minor. To judge from the order in which the cities are enumerated—*iš-tù Kà-ni-iš a-dí Uš-ḫa-ni-a* (lines 2 f.), *iš-t[ù] Uš-ḫa-ni-a a-na Ma-li-[ta]* (lines 14 f.), *iš-tù Ma-li-ta-a*¹²⁰

¹⁰⁷ Cf. the references given by Götze in *RHA* I 21, n. 15.

¹⁰⁸ E. Forrer in *RLA* I 109 and E. Cavaignac in *RHA* I 101. Their identification of Ankuwa with Ankara is to be rejected on account of the fact that Ankuwa certainly lies on the road from Boğazköy to the east; cf. Götze in *RHA* I 26.

¹⁰⁹ *KBo* IV 13 i 21.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* line 34, where it is mentioned between Hurma and Šugzija.

¹¹¹ *KBo* III 4 rev. iii 48 (=Götze, "Die Annalen des Muršiliš," *MVAG* XXXVIII 78), mentioned in connection with Arawanna.

¹¹² Cf. index, p. 72.

¹¹³ Protoḫattic Ḫattuš (*KUB* II 2 ii 41) corresponds to Hittite Ḫattušaš. Cf. Kretschmer in *Glotta* XXI (1932/33) 94 and Götze, *Kleinasien* p. 50.

¹¹⁴ *KTHahn* p. 48, n. 1, quotes forms such as *ḫa-tim*, which can be explained as Semitic words.

¹¹⁵ The only possible occurrence is in *a-dí [Ḫa]-tù-uš a-lik* (*CCT* I 50:20). So now also Lewy in *RHA* III 3, n. 18.

¹¹⁶ *MDOG* No. 72 (1933) pp. 10 and 30.

¹¹⁷ I was able to view the tablet during my stay in Ankara. Though it contains only about twenty carelessly written signs, I consider it very probable that the tablet in question is of the common Cappadocian type.

¹¹⁸ E.g., *Hu-ra-ma* in *TC* I 9:17; *Hu-ur-ma* in *KTS* 7 b 4; *Ma-a-ma* in *TC* II 49:12, *KTHahn* 1:18, and *passim*.

¹¹⁹ Perhaps to be compared with the personal name *A-ni-za-lá* (*CCT* I 45:2, 5, 20, 22).

¹²⁰ Possibly this city is meant in *TC* I 53:9 ff.: *ḫa-ra-an Ma-li-ta-ma a-[na Wa-aḫ]-šu-ša-na*.

*a-di Wa-ah-šu-ša-na*¹²¹ (lines 18 f.)—it is very likely that the cities Kaniš, Ušhanija, Malita, and Waḥšušana all lie on the same road. Of other cities, *Lu-ḫu-za-ti-a* (55:19) corresponds to the Hittite *Lu-ḫu-uz-za-an-di-a* (*KBo* I 11 rev. 21).¹²² *Tur-ḫu-mi-id* (56:39), in other Cappadocian tablets *Tur-ḫu-mi-id* (*TC* I 14:28), *Tù-ur-ḫu-mi-id* (*KTS* 3 b 8), and *Tù-ru-ḫu-mi-id* (*TC* II 52:4), through a presupposed *Turḫmid, equals perhaps Hittite *Túr-mi-it-ta*.¹²³

The locality *Ti-bi-ra* (58:30) is unknown to me from other sources. Does Tibira or Tabalum (*TC* I 23:29), or do both, correspond to Tibar of Narâm-Sin, Tipalaš of the Hittite sources, Tabal of the inscriptions of Assyrian kings, Tubal of the Bible (Septuagint has Θοβελ and Θοβερ), Τιβαρηνοί of Herodotus?¹²⁴ Derived from the geographical name Tibira is the Sumerian word *tibira* for URUDU.NAGAR; this has given rise to the Assyrian *tabêru*,¹²⁵ evidently originally "copper-worker," later the general term for "metal-worker." Compare also the Babylonian god Tibal or Tibira,¹²⁶ whose worship could have originated in the Mesopotamian world like that of Hephaistos and Prometheus in the classical world.

Kuburnat (61:46) occurs in other Cappadocian tablets also.¹²⁷ The Cappadocian city of Kuburnat has been equated with Hittite Kabburnanta (*KBo* IV 13 i 27) by Lewy.¹²⁸ In the Hittite text Kabburnanta is mentioned after the cities Ḫagmiš and Taptika but before Ištaḫara and Tabika.

Twice in our Cappadocian tablets garments are qualified by their geographic origin. In 60:5 and 21 we have *šubâtû ša A-ki-dí-e*, "Akkadian garments," which are often mentioned in the Cappadocian tablets.¹²⁹ In 62:43 *e-pá-da-tum Tal-ḫa-dí-a-tum*, "Talḫadian ephods," appear.¹³⁰ In other Cappadocian tablets the following localities are known for the manufacture of garments: Ninašša,¹³¹ Šulupka,¹³² Takkušta,¹³³ and Abarna.¹³⁴

The Cappadocian tablets are documents attesting to the commercial activity of the Assyrians in Asia Minor. From Aššur, their capital city, they penetrated far into the heart of Asia Minor to exchange their goods for others which they needed in their own country. Their purpose in Asia Minor is very clear: trade. There is absolutely no proof for the existence of an early Assyrian empire alleged to have extended from Mesopotamia through Syria up to the Halys River in Asia Minor and to have included the whole of Cappadocia. Supporters of the empire theory¹³⁵ have relied mainly on the supposition that Assyrian merchants could not have traded in Asia Minor without the protection of an Assyrian army. But history provides examples of Phoenicians, Greeks, and Arabs penetrating into foreign lands and arriving at peaceful understandings with the settled population. A merchant is not an invader and does

¹²¹ Mentioned in 57:7 and 16 also.

¹²² Landsberger in *ZA* XXXV (1924) 224, n. 4.

¹²³ Landsberger, *loc. cit.*, and L. A. Mayer and J. Garstang, *Index of Hittite Names* I (1923) 13.

¹²⁴ Cf. E. Dhorme in *Syria* XIII (1932) 37 ff.

¹²⁵ A. Ungnad in *ZA* XXXI (1917/18) 276; E. Weidner in *AOF* III (1926) 151, n. 3; E. A. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins* p. 39.

¹²⁶ A. Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum* (Roma, 1914) Nos. 3278–81.

¹²⁷ E.g., *Gol.* 17:5 and *TC* II 27:3 and 18; cf. also *ḫurāšum . . . Ku-bu-ur-ḫu-mi-id* (*TC* I 47:17).

¹²⁸ *OLZ* XXVI (1923) 543.

¹²⁹ *EL* p. 138, n. c.

¹²⁹ Cf. *KTHahn* p. 2, n. 1.

¹³⁰ *KTB* p. 39.

¹³⁰ Cf. *KTHahn* p. 47.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ *EL* p. 106, n. c. Is this city to be identified with the classical Abarne, modern Çermük, halfway between Malatya and Amida?

¹³⁵ Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* I² (3d ed.; Stuttgart and Berlin, 1913) 612. Lewy, "Zur Geschichte Assyriens und Kleinasiens im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.," *OLZ* XXVI (1923) 533–44; "Kappadokische Tontafeln und Frühgeschichte Assyriens und Kleinasiens," *OLZ* XXIX (1926) 750–61 and 963–66; "Der *karrum* der altassyrisch-kappadokischen Städte und das altassyrische Grossreich," *ZA* XXXVI (1925) 19–28. F. Bilabel, *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens vom 16.–11. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Heidelberg, 1927) p. 139, n. 1. Hrozný in *AOr* IV (1932) 112 f.

not seek to rob—at least not by force—and the autochthonous population always welcomes him with open arms to receive his superior goods from a country of higher civilization.¹³⁶

The Assyrians are not settled permanently in Asia Minor. They come and go as their business may require. There are scores of examples telling us about “going up” from lower Mesopotamia to Asia Minor and “going down” from the mountains of Asia Minor to Mesopotamia.¹³⁷ With the exception of the written documents, seals, and a few idols, it is absolutely impossible to discern any Mesopotamian influence at Alishar. Migratory groups always bring with them their pots and other utensils, but a traveling salesman does not carry with him more than a drinking-cup; and that is the reason why we cannot find any Mesopotamian pottery or other objects of daily use in the excavated areas of Alishar. The Assyrians buy wives from the autochthonous population because they can take them home to Assyria; but they rarely buy land or houses,¹³⁸ because these would be of no use to people whose homes are in Assyria, and speculation in real estate had not yet been invented. The language used by the merchants in their written documents is the purest Assyrian, which compares favorably with the best-written Babylonian monuments of the Hammurabi period. But that a settled population soon forgets the niceties of its mother tongue and incorporates into it expressions borrowed from the surrounding population is illustrated by the Semitic scribes in Nuzi under the influence of the Hurrian population and by the “Pennsylvania Dutch” group in America. Evidently the Assyrians did not constitute a compact and settled group in Asia Minor, but were merchants whose home was in Mesopotamia and who were venturing into far countries for trading purposes only.

The Assyrians did not dominate the cities in which they were carrying on their trade. The fact that no Cappadocian tablets were found on the citadel of Alishar¹³⁹ shows that the rulers of Alishar belonged not to the Assyrian population but to the Protohattians. At Kültepe likewise no tablets were found on the citadel. Near it, however, in the commercial settlement or *kârum*, as the merchants themselves called it, were found the archives of the merchants.¹⁴⁰ The *kârum* was their station, where they stored their goods before distributing them all over Asia Minor; and the *kârum* was the merchants’ highest local authority, which settled all commercial disputes.

There are so many arguments against the theory of an empire with a settled Assyrian population in an Asia Minor province that it is impossible to enumerate them all here. To glance only superficially over the Nuzi documents, belonging to a settled population, and the Cappadocian ones of traveling merchants suffices to show the tremendous difference of the cultures they represent. In Nuzi we find kings, governors, soldiers, royal service, transactions regularly concerning land and its products, judicial authorities such as *dajânu*-judges (not, as in Cappadocia, a *kârum*¹⁴¹)—all institutions of a settled population—in contrast to a total, or almost total, lack of mention of any of them in Cappadocia. Everywhere there, whether in economic and legal documents or in letters, we find dealings concerning easily transportable goods such as materials and garments, metals, ornamental objects, skins, and implements. To facilitate

¹³⁶ Against the empire theory are Landsberger in *ZA* XXXV (1924) 225 f. and in *AO* XXIV, Heft 4 (1925) pp. 4 ff.; Forrer in *RLA* I 232; M. David in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Rom. Abt.*, LII (1932) 501–3, and in *OLZ* XXXVI (1933) 209, n. 3; Götze, *Kleinasien* p. 67.

¹³⁷ Cf. *OLZ* XXVI (1923) 541, n. 2.

¹³⁸ Cf. David in *OLZ* XXXVI 210, where many other important reasons are adduced against the empire theory.

¹³⁹ As far as we can judge from the small part of the citadel excavated up to now.

¹⁴⁰ Hrozný in *Syria* VIII (1927) 5.

¹⁴¹ The same development of meanings as in *kârum*, originally “commercial settlement,” later “judicial power,” can be observed in the words “pharaoh (‘great house’)” or “Porte,” originally a place where justice was executed, later “justice” or the ruler himself. Cf. also the English term “court,” originally only the place where justice was dealt out.

the extensive commerce, the institution of loans and credits was highly developed, in contrast to relatively simple banking methods at Nuzi.

Asia Minor during the period of the Cappadocian documents was, like early Babylonia or Egypt, divided into smaller or greater principalities. The Assyrians used the title *rubâum* for both the rulers of these principalities in Asia Minor and their own kings in Assyria. The frequent occurrence of *âlum*, "the City (of Aššur)," and *rubâum* in one and the same tablet (cf. p. 52) and the mention of Puzur-Aššur the son of the *rubâum* (i.e., of Sargon; cf. p. 64) prove that *rubâum* means "king of Assyria." On the other hand, the title *rubâum* is applied in the Cappadocian tablets to four local rulers—Warba,¹⁴² Labarša,¹⁴² Bithana,¹⁴³ and Anitta¹⁴³—whose names distinctly indicate that they belonged to the autochthonous population of Asia Minor. Besides these four, unnamed princes of Asia Minor are known to have ruled in Kaniš,¹⁴⁴ Širmija,¹⁴⁵ Wašḫanija,¹⁴⁶ Ninašša,¹⁴⁷ Tuḫbija,¹⁴⁸ and Timilkija.¹⁴⁹ Though each of these princes is called simply *rubâum*, the prince of Burušḫadum is called *rubâum rabîum*,¹⁵⁰ "the great prince," exactly as Anitta (of Kuššara) is called by the same title a little later in the tablets from Ališar (cf. p. 50). The "great princes" are evidently rulers who were able to impose their sovereign control over groups of smaller principalities of Asia Minor. That Anitta of Kuššara held under his sway all of central Asia Minor is evident not only from the mention of his name in two Ališar tablets but also, much more clearly, from the description of his military deeds in a tablet discovered at Boğazköy.¹⁵¹ The kings of Asia Minor were surely independent rulers on an equal footing with the kings of Assyria. Otherwise how could the Assyrians call their own ruler simply *rubâum*, "prince," and some of the rulers of Asia Minor, supposed by proponents of the empire theory to be vassal princes, by the title *rubâum rabîum*, "great prince"?

From the Cappadocian inscriptions we learn that the population of Asia Minor around 2000 B.C. consisted of at least four distinct groups. Among these the Assyrian-Semitic element is most clearly distinguished from all the rest of the population. The characteristics of this element are well known; I need not, therefore, dwell on them for any length of time. The language used by the Mesopotamian merchants in the Cappadocian tablets is clearly an Assyrian dialect identical with that used in the Old Assyrian historical inscriptions.

Next in importance is the Protoḫattic element, or at least an element very closely related to the Protoḫattians. The following data prove the existence of this group in Asia Minor: (1) The name of Boğazköy in the early period was Ḫattuš, exactly as in a Protoḫattic bilingual inscription (cf. p. 10 and *KUB* II 2 ii 41). (2) Characteristic of the Protoḫattic language is the *š/l* interchange (p. 51). (3) Also characteristic of the Protoḫattic language is the interchange of *t* and *l*, as exhibited by some of the Cappadocian personal names (p. 27). (4) The personal names Ḫattušil (p. 34), Amšil (*CCT* IV 18 b 19), Kishanu(w)il (*KTS* 3 a 16 and *BIN* IV 48:31), Duḫušili (*TC* I 100:23), perhaps Buršili (p. 34), and a kind of lead named Gašuḫtail (*CCT* IV 35 a 9), evidently from its place of origin, show the suffix *-il* or *-ili*, which is well known in Protoḫattic.¹⁵² (5) The Cappadocian title *burulum* possibly corresponds to what is probably the Protoḫattic name of a certain festival, *puruliḫaš* or *wuruliḫaš* (p. 51).

The Hurrian element in Cappadocian personal names is weak. The following are Hurrian

¹⁴² Hrozný in *AOr* IV (1932) 114 f.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 15:5.

¹⁴³ Lewy in *RHA* III 1.

¹⁴⁷ *TC* I 72:19 f.

¹⁴⁴ *JSOR* XI (1927) 113, No. 4:12 f.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 39:4, 8.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 6:1 f.

¹⁴⁹ *TMH* I 24 e 3.

¹⁵⁰ Contenau, *Trente tablettes cappadociennes* (Paris, 1919) 27:6 f.

¹⁵¹ Hrozný, "L'invasion des Indo-Européens en Asie Mineure vers 2000 av. J.C.," *AOr* I (1929) 273–99.

¹⁵² Forrer in *ZDMG* LXXVI (1922) 231.

personal names used both in Asia Minor and in Nuzi.¹⁵³ Akapši (*BIN* IV 186 A 12 and B 1) comparable with Akapše (*JEN* 124:24); Abuzia (*KTS* 45 b 19) comparable with Abuzi (Nuzi, unpublished); Ewari-muša (*TC* I 109:6 and 12) comparable with Ewari (*HSS* V 16:29),¹⁵⁴ Enna-muša (*JEN* 321:69), and Tanni-muša (*JEN* 341:22); Imri-ari (*CCT* I 50:22) comparable with Irwi-ari (*JEN* 10:16); Kuzzari (Stephens, *PNC* p. 54) comparable with Kuzzari (*HSS* IX 113:17). The Hurrian ending *-ari* (or *-atal*?) is shown also in *Ti-ti-na-ri* (*TC* I 67:2). The ending *-ašu*, found in many Cappadocian personal names such as Abaziašu (*TC* I 99:5), Habuašu (Stephens, *PNC* p. 39), Halgiašu (*TC* I 122:16), and Humadašu (Stephens, *PNC* p. 41), occurs also in Nuzi in the names Naḫiašu (*JEN* 5:18), Habiašu (*JEN* 10:16), Hatabiašu (*JEN* 49:1, 10, 12, 14, 17), Šeštebiašu (*JEN* 436:10), etc. Perhaps *Ú-ur-ši-ši* (Stephens, *PNC* p. 69), comparable with *Ur-ši-ši* (in an Ur dynasty tablet published by Schneider in *Orientalia* XXIII [1927] 103), and Haruḫur (*CCT* I 10 a 25), comparable with Haruḫul (Nuzi, unpublished), are Hurrian.

It is extremely difficult to discern and prove the presence of an Indo-European element in Asia Minor around 2000 B.C. In a late copy of a legend concerning Narām-Sin's military expedition is mentioned a certain ^m*Hu-wa-a-ru-wa-aš*, king of Amurru (*KBo* III 13:12 = *BoTU* 3), with a name which according to Hrozný¹⁵⁵ has Indo-European relationship. Its ending *-š* would point in the same direction. But because of its clearly legendary character we cannot assign too much importance to this Hittite text (cf. p. 6).

In the Cappadocian period the following personal names could be considered Indo-European: (1) Inar (Stephens, *PNC* p. 49) and Inarawa (*KTS* 58 a 7), by comparison with the name of the Hittite god Inaraš and the Greek word *ἀνῆρ*;¹⁵⁶ (2) Halgiašu (*TC* I 122:16), by comparison with Hittite *ḫalkiš*, "grain";¹⁵⁷ (3) Walḫiš, compared by Hrozný with the Hittite root *walḫ*;¹⁵⁸ (4) Warba, compared with the Hittite root *warp*;¹⁵⁹ (5) Kulšataš, supposed by Hrozný to be connected with the Hittite root *kulš*¹⁶⁰ (but the occurrence of Etruscan Culśanś cited by Hrozný in *ZA* XXXVIII [1929] 176 and 180–84 speaks rather against the Indo-European origin of this root); (6) Šitaraman (*KTS* 51 a 18), compared by Götze¹⁶¹ with the Hittite word *šitar*, *aštiraš*, "star"; (7) Takšanuman (*KTHahn* 36:17 and 22), compared by him with Hittite *takšan*, "joint";¹⁶² (8) Šupiuman (*KTS* 46 A 5 and B 13) and Šupišamnuman (*TC* II 73:2), compared with the Hittite element *šuppi*, "pure";¹⁶³ (9) Laparša, the name of a *rubāum*, equated by Hrozný¹⁶⁴ with a word *la-a-pa-ar-ša*, presumably in a Luvian passage; (10) Garna-baga (*AAA* I, Pl. XXVI rev. 7), which may contain as its second part the Indo-European word *baga*, *bogu*, "god," as another name, Garna-ladi¹⁶⁵ (*CCT* I 34 a 8), may contain the word *ladi*, used in many Asianic languages for "woman"¹⁶⁶ (cf. also the personal

¹⁵³ I exclude all the hypocoristic personal names that occur in both Cappadocian and Nuzi texts. Some of the Hurrian names are quoted in Götze, *Kleinasien* p. 69, n. 4.

¹⁵⁴ The personal name form *I-wa-ru-um* occurs on a tablet of the 3d dynasty of Ur in the Oriental Institute Museum (A 4746:2).

¹⁵⁵ *AOr* I (1929) 70.

¹⁵⁶ Hrozný in *AOr* I (1929) 285; *ibid.* IV (1932) 116. ⁴KAL (=Inaraš?) is, however, a Protoḫattic god; cf. Forrer in *ZDMG* LXXVI (1922) 193.

¹⁵⁷ Hrozný, *locis citatis*; the ending *-ašu* of Halgiašu has, however, nothing to do with the Hittite word *aššuš* as assumed by Hrozný. Compare its occurrence above in the Hurrian personal names.

¹⁵⁸ *AOr* IV 116 f.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. 115.

¹⁶² *Loc. cit.*

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 116.

¹⁶³ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁶¹ *ZA* XL (1931) 262.

¹⁶⁴ *AOr* IV 114.

¹⁶⁵ Instead of the personal name Garna (so Landsberger in *ZA* XXXV [1924] 222) read *2⁸⁴-ia qd-ar-na-tim!* in *Gol.* 20:12.

¹⁶⁶ Forrer in *ZDMG* LXXVI (1922) 229.

names Baga-kun [*CCT* I 7 a 20] and Ȩar-ladi [*EL* 34:4]); (11) Tarḫunu (Stephens, *PNC* p. 68) and Tuarḫunu (*EL* 38:3), which evidently correspond to the name of the Luvian god Tarḫunt;¹⁶⁷ (12) Beruwa (cf. p. 51), which is likewise considered to be the name of a Luvian god according to texts from Boğazköy.¹⁶⁸

Hrozný considers all the Cappadocian personal names ending in -š as being of Indo-European origin.¹⁶⁹ The question, however, is much more complicated, since we find this same nominative suffix in many languages which are certainly not Indo-European, such as Haldian, Hurrian, and Kassite. Is it possible, nevertheless, that these Asianic languages, and even the languages of the Ugro-Finnian group, borrowed the -š suffix from Indo-Europeans when they first came in contact with them in some remote period? The -š suffix is common in such Cappadocian personal names as Anaš (Stephens, *PNC* p. 14), Anunuš (*ibid.* p. 15), Dagniš (*ibid.* p. 31), Dalaš (*ibid.* p. 32), Duḫniš (*ibid.* p. 33), Galuluš (*ibid.* p. 38), Malaš (*ibid.* p. 56), and Dunnumnaš (*BIN* IV 208 A 3, with variant Dunnumna *ibid.* B 4 and 8).¹⁷⁰ The fact that the example last cited is to be analyzed grammatically as *Dunn-umna-š* would indicate that the gentilic ending -uman, -umna, also may be Indo-European,¹⁷¹ though it is well known in some Asianic languages.¹⁷²

I have not ventured to assign to any particular ethnic group in Asia Minor the following characteristics of proper names: (1) endings in -t, (2) the element -ass,¹⁷³ (3) the suffix -na, and (4) the reduplication of whole stems. The suffixes -at, -it, -ut, which in later periods through nasalization became -ant, -int, -unt,¹⁷⁴ occur in such Cappadocian geographic names as Badauat(um),¹⁷⁵ Burušḫat(um),¹⁷⁶ Burut(um),¹⁷⁷ Kuburnat,¹⁷⁸ and Luḫuzzatiija,¹⁷⁹ equivalent to Paduwanda, Baršuhunta, Buranda, Kabburnanta, and Luḫuzzantiija respectively in the Boğazköy texts, and also in others: Barat(um),¹⁸⁰ Eluḫut,¹⁸¹ Ȩudarut(ijum),¹⁸² Kunanamit,¹⁸³ Sawit,¹⁸⁴ Talḫat,¹⁸⁵ Turḫumit,¹⁸⁶ etc. The following Cappadocian personal names end in -t: Ašiat¹⁸⁷ (and Ašit¹⁸⁸), Barwawanta,¹⁸⁹ Damešēt,¹⁹⁰ Darḫašiat,¹⁹¹ Ȩurat¹⁹² (and Ȩuruta¹⁹³), Nakiliat,¹⁹⁴ Šaliata (and Šaluwanta),¹⁹⁵ Šarnigat,¹⁹⁶ and Wališit.¹⁹⁷

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p. 218.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p. 196.

¹⁶⁹ *AOr* I (1929) 285 and IV (1932) 117.

¹⁷⁰ Of the many geographical names only Ammaš, Ȩattuš, and Kaniš end in -š.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Hrozný in *AOr* IV 117; Götze in *ZA* XL (1931) 262 f.

¹⁷² *HH* I 23.

¹⁷³ Characteristics 1 and 2 might plausibly be considered Indo-European; cf. Götze, *Kleinasien* pp. 50 and 54.

¹⁷⁴ For the sake of uniformity I here transcribe all these suffixes with *t*, although I am well aware that in classical periods the sound is rendered with *δ* and *θ* as well as with *τ*.

¹⁷⁵ Götze, *Kleinasien* p. 68.

¹⁷⁶ Ehelolf in *OLZ* XXIV (1921) 121 and Lewy in *OLZ* XXVI (1923) 543.

¹⁷⁷ *KTHahn* p. 6, n. 2.

¹⁷⁸ See p. 11.

¹⁷⁹ See p. 11.

¹⁸⁰ *CCT* III 44 b 9.

¹⁸¹ Lewy in *OLZ* XXVI (1923) 541 and Götze in *ZA* XL (1931) 262.

¹⁸² See p. 53.

¹⁸³ *KTS* 57 c 13.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ *TCL* I 242:3.

¹⁸⁵ *CCT* II 23:6.

¹⁹² *EL* 49:17.

¹⁸⁶ See p. 11.

¹⁹³ *TC* I 90 A 4 and B 4.

¹⁸⁷ See p. 11.

¹⁹⁴ Stephens, *PNC* p. 59.

¹⁸⁸ *EL* 167:9.

¹⁹⁵ See p. 27.

¹⁸⁹ *KTHahn* 28 A 4, 7, 13 and B 6 and 10.

¹⁹⁶ *EL* 252:1, 4, 10; cf. *ibid.* p. 273, n. a.

¹⁹⁰ *KTS* 51 b 18.

¹⁹⁷ Stephens, *PNC* p. 70.

When talking about pre-Hellenic influences in proper names, together with the suffix discussed in the preceding paragraph one always mentions the element *-ass*. This occurs in three Cappadocian geographic names: Bališša,¹⁹⁸ Ninašša,¹⁹⁹ and Ušša.²⁰⁰

The origin of the many geographic names ending in *-na* is unknown to me.²⁰¹ This suffix is evidently related to the suffix *-ina* discussed in my *HH* I 23. It occurs in Cappadocian in such names as Badna,²⁰² Burušna(ium),²⁰³ Dikurna,²⁰⁴ Harana,²⁰⁵ Harziuna,²⁰⁶ Tišmurna,²⁰⁷ Waḥšušana,²⁰⁸ Wanizana(ium),²⁰⁹ and Wulušna.²¹⁰

A most striking characteristic is the reduplication of the whole stem in such Cappadocian personal names as Dul-dulu, Duwi-duwi, Gada-gada, Kula-kula, Kulma-kulma, Mada-wada, and Wala-wala.²¹¹ Other examples are Haru-ḥur,²¹² Kur-kura,²¹³ Mana-mana,²¹⁴ and Nuwa-nuwa.²¹⁵ It occurs often also in later Hittite and classical proper names.²¹⁶

Recapitulating what has been said previously, we may draw the following conclusions concerning the ethnic situation in Asia Minor around 2000 B.C.²¹⁷ The oldest discernible ethnic element is the Protoḫattian, which may or may not be autochthonous in Asia Minor. If, as is now believed by many, Protoḫattic is related to the Caucasian group of languages, the Protoḫattians themselves may have immigrated from the northeast around the beginning or middle of the third millennium B.C. and have spread into the southern part of Asia Minor.

The presence of so few Hurrian personal names in the Cappadocian texts proves that the Hurrians did not form any compact group in the population of Asia Minor. These Hurrian personal names probably belong to individuals who ventured abroad from time to time from northern Mesopotamia, perhaps in company with their neighbors, the Assyrians.

The most difficult ethnic problem concerns the immigration of Indo-Europeans into Asia Minor. Of the possible examples of Indo-European names enumerated above there is not even one which could be proved Indo-European beyond any doubt. Cappadocian personal names apparently based on Hittite roots such as *ḫalk*, *walḫ*, *warp*, *kulš*, etc. can be considered as coincidental resemblances or as borrowings by the Indo-European invaders from the language of the pre-Indo-European population. The word *aštiraš*, which seemingly has a good Indo-European relationship,²¹⁸ is not necessarily Indo-European in origin at all, for it corresponds to the old Semitic divine name Aštar, Ištar, also applied by the Babylonians to the planet

¹⁹⁸ *KTHahn* p. 50 and perhaps *CCT* III 2 b 30.

¹⁹⁹ *EL* p. 138, n. c.

²⁰⁰ *KTHahn* p. 24.

²⁰¹ What relation does this geographical suffix *-na* bear to the suffix *-na* preserved in many personal names, such as Arawarḫina, Bulina, Dakuna, Dumana, Hašušarna, Luzina, Šibana, and Walahšina (=Malawašhina in *TC* I 100:11)? For the references see Stephens, *PNC* under each word.

²⁰² *KTHahn* p. 5.

²⁰⁹ See p. 10.

²⁰³ *Ibid.* p. 46.

²¹⁰ *KTHahn* p. 46.

²⁰⁴ *CCT* I 44:10.

²¹¹ Landsberger in *ZA* XXXV (1924) 222.

²⁰⁵ *KTHahn* p. 24.

²¹² *CCT* I 10 a 25. Or is this Hurrian? Cf. p. 14.

²⁰⁶ *KTS* 35 a 7.

²¹³ *BIN* IV 170:4 and *KTS* 56 c 3.

²⁰⁷ *KTBI* 5:11, etc.

²¹⁴ *BIN* IV 208 A 18 and B 3.

²⁰⁸ See pp. 10 f.

²¹⁵ *BIN* IV 160:16.

²¹⁶ A common characteristic of all non-Semitic proper names in Cappadocian texts is the total absence of personal and geographical (except Razama [*KTHahn* p. 5, n. 2], which may be a common noun instead) names beginning with *r*. Cf. Landsberger in *ZA* XXXV (1924) 226. This same characteristic is known in many other languages, such as Hittite, Hurri-Mitannian, Lydian, Lycian, Greek, Armenian, and Turkish. See J. Friedrich, *Hethitisch und "Kleinasiatische" Sprachen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1931) p. 26, and Gelb, *HH* I 20 f.

²¹⁷ The following phase of my argument was thoroughly discussed with Dr. von der Osten from both the archeological and the philological angle, and it must therefore be considered as our common opinion.

²¹⁸ Cf. Eng. *star*, Ger. *Stern*, Lat. *stella* (< *sterla).

Venus. Did the Indo-Europeans borrow their word for "star" from the Semites, or did the Semites borrow it from the Indo-Europeans?²¹⁹

In spite of the weakness of these possible linguistic connections, however, I feel convinced that they cannot all be accidental resemblances and that we have to admit that there was an Indo-European invasion of Asia Minor as early as the middle of the third millennium B.C. This invasion could not have been numerically strong, because it did not lead to the creation of a powerful state. The earliest Indo-European immigration into Asia Minor consisted perhaps of the peaceful infiltration of tribes from the Balkan Peninsula into a country which at that period was probably only very sparsely populated. In the course of time these early Indo-Europeans were entirely absorbed by the population which they had found in possession of the land—the Protohittians.

Somewhere around 2000 B.C. began a tendency toward a strong state in Asia Minor; the country was evidently beginning to be more thickly populated and to feel the necessity of organized power and order. This "political will" for a state appeared first in the south, around Kuššara and Nêšaš. But who were the creators of the Old Hittite Empire—the Protohittians or the Indo-Europeans?

The archeological evidence shows that "Alişar II," remains analogous to which are found at many other sites in Asia Minor, lasted a very long time. Since Cappadocian tablets dated about 1950 B.C. (p. 9) were found at Alişar in the later level of "Period II" (p. 8), we are safe in supposing that that period extended many centuries before 1950, perhaps as far back as 2300 B.C. The creators of the "Period II" culture in Asia Minor could not have been Indo-Europeans, because the Indo-European element in Asia Minor at that early period was still very weak. Since we know that Assyrians were in Asia Minor for only a short time during that period, and since there are no parallels between the material culture of "Alişar II" and that of Mesopotamia,²²⁰ the attribution of "Alişar II" to the Assyrians is out of the question. Thus "Alişar II" can only be the creation of the people represented in the Cappadocian tablets by the Protohittians, as we call them today, whose language, however, is actually called Hittite in the Boğazköy inscriptions.

Just as the "Alişar II" culture was created by the Protohittians, so also the Old Hittite Empire was their creation. For we know that the direction of the Seljuk-Turkish invasion of Asia Minor is shown by the transference of their capital, that is, center of domination, from east to west. First their capital was Konya, then Bursa, and finally, as a result of later conquests, Adrianople and Constantinople. In the case of Indo-European Hittite invaders, we should expect them to have moved from west to east and to have settled first somewhere near Constantinople, then in Hattuš,²²¹ then in Kuššara. But we find that the first historic capital of the Old Hittite Empire was Kuššara, on the east side of the Lycaonian Desert, traversable only with difficulty, and that its capital was moved later to Nêšaš and then northward to Hattuš, where Indo-Europeans should have been in the first place, instead of in countries so far distant from the Balkan Peninsula.²²² So it seems more reasonable to assume that the Old

²¹⁹ Again, the Indo-European god's name Ahura (<Asura) corresponds evidently to that of the Assyrian god Aššur. Cf. the form ^dAs-sa-ra ^dMa-za-aš, later ^dA-ḫu-ur-ma-az-da-, in Deimel, *Pantheon*, Nos. 265 and 55.

²²⁰ With the exception of the Cappadocian tablets, cylinder seals, and seal impressions, scarcely any Mesopotamian influence can be detected in the culture of this period. Dr. von der Osten, who has seen the unpublished material from the Aššur excavations, now in Berlin, tells me that at Alişar absolutely no type of pottery has been found which could be said to resemble the Aššur pottery. Cf. also *OIC* No. 14, p. 46.

²²¹ See p. 10, n. 113.

²²² This reasoning depends on the assumption that the earliest Indo-European immigration into Asia Minor, like those of around 1650 and 1200 B.C., came from the Balkan Peninsula.

Hittite Empire was created by the Protohattians; their route of invasion from the south, around Kuššara, to the north, around Hattuš, is then easily explainable.

There is absolutely no philological argument against the Protohattic origin of the Old Hittite Empire. No text written in the Indo-European Hittite language has been proved to date back to that period. Any text describing deeds of kings of the Old Hittite Empire can always be considered a copy written in the New Hittite period, translated from either the Protohattic or the Akkadian language.²²³ The fact that names of Old Hittite kings—Bithana, Anitta, Hattušil, Tuthaliya, Huzziya, possibly also Muršili—occur in Cappadocian tablets (see p. 34) without the -š ending proves that these names are not Indo-European in origin, but Protohattic, as were most of the names of Hittite kings whether of the Old or of the New Hittite Empire.

Around 1650 B.C. the Old Hittite Empire fell to pieces under the pressure of great invasions which brought the Middle Ages to Western Asia and Egypt for a period of about two centuries. The numerous hosts of Indo-Europeans who constituted at least part of these great invasions overflowed central Asia Minor and were able to impart their language to a large portion of the earlier population. Their material culture was too low, however, to influence that of the Protohattians to any extent. Accepting almost in totality the material culture of the subdued population, the Indo-European conquerors tried also to carry on the tradition of the Old Hittite Empire, as shown by the fact that the Indo-European kings of the New Hittite Empire bear the same names as did the Protohattic kings of the Old Hittite Empire. The newcomers did not build new cities. They were satisfied with ruling the conquered inhabitants from the strong citadels which dominated the existing cities. Few if any of the many hundreds of geographic names of the New Hittite Empire exhibit any Indo-European influence.²²⁴

It is impossible to say exactly when this second Indo-European invasion began. Whether an immigration of the users of hieroglyphic writing, which took place in the middle of the second millennium B.C., was a part of that same invasion is uncertain. The language of the hieroglyphs, as revealed by progress in decipherment during the last three years, is clearly Indo-European and in all probability closely related to the official Hittite language then in use at Boğazköy. Stamp seals bearing in cuneiform and in hieroglyphic the names of some of the New Hittite kings²²⁵ and some hieroglyphic seal impressions on ware which definitely belongs to "Period II"²²⁶ prove beyond any doubt that the Hittite hieroglyphic writing was used in Asia Minor as early as the New Hittite period.

Since no Hittite tablets were found at Alishar, the end of "Period II" could not be illumined by them as its beginning has been by the Cappadocian tablets. The old excavations at Boğazköy had furnished no clues as to the layers in which Hittite tablets had been found. Not until 1933 did the new excavations at Boğazköy finally bring forth absolute proof that the Hittite tablets there belonged to a layer which in cultural remains corresponded exactly to the layer in which Cappadocian tablets had been found at Alishar.²²⁷ Thus "Period II" in Asia Minor extends down to about 1200 B.C. and ends with the fall of the New Hittite Empire under a new invasion of Indo-Europeans from the Balkan Peninsula.

²²³ According to Forrer (*ZDMG* LXXVI [1922] 182–85) the Hittite inscriptions dealing with the history of the Old Hittite Empire are probably translations from Akkadian. Hrozný (*AOr* I [1929] 275, n. 1) considers the old texts as having been written originally in the Hittite language.

²²⁴ E. Forrer in *Journal asiatique* CCXVII (1930) 250.

²²⁵ Gelb, *HH* I 37, and Bittel in *MDOG* No. 72 (1933) pp. 22–26.

²²⁶ Bittel, *op. cit.* p. 26.

²²⁷ Cf. Bittel's various reports: "Vorläufiger Bericht über eine Grabung auf Büyük Kale, der Akropolis von Boğazköy," *Archäologischer Anzeiger, Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts* XLVI (1931) 604–20, esp. 612 ff.; "Die James Simon-Grabung in Boğazköy September 1931," *MDOG* No. 70 (1932) pp. 1–23, esp. p. 18; "Boğazköy 1932," *Forschungen und Fortschritte* IX (1933) 33 f.; "Vorläufiger Bericht über die dritte Grabung in Boğazköy," *MDOG* No. 72 (1933) pp. 29–34.

CUNEIFORM TEXTS

CAPPADOCIAN TABLETS FROM ALIŞAR

1

Alişar No. b 1600,¹ from HH 9, Level 10(?) T; 27×45×17 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹*kunuk A-ni-ta ru-ba-e* ²*kunuk* ¹*A-ku-wa kunuk Ga-ru-nu-wa* ³*[kunuk]* ¹*x-x¹-a kunuk Ha-ni* ⁴*[kunuk*
] *kunuk Ha-šu-wa mera* ⁵*I-na-ar* ⁵[. . . .] (rest of obv. destroyed) [**rev.**] (beginning de-
 stroyed) ¹*i-qá-lí* ²*A-ni-ta* ³*ru-ba-e*

TRANSLATION

¹The seal of Anitta the prince. ²The seal¹ of *Akuwa*. The seal of *Garunuwa*. ³[The seal of] ¹. . . .¹a. The seal of *Ḫani*. ⁴[The seal of] The seal of *Ḫašuwa the son of Inar*. ⁵[. . . .] (rest of obv. destroyed) [**rev.**] (beginning destroyed). ¹By the hand ²of Anitta ³the prince.

NOTES

This tablet was previously copied, transliterated, and translated by Professors Edward Chiera and Arno Poebel.²

LINE 1.—The occurrence of the personal name Anitta in connection with the word *rubāum*, “prince” (cf. p. 52), tempted many scholars, entirely independently, to compare our Anitta of Alişar with Anittaš, prince of Kuššara. The naming of Anitta in another Alişar tablet (No. 49) and of Anitta and Bitḫana (his father) together in a Louvre tablet provides strong support for this supposition (cf. p. 9).

As Professor Poebel has observed,³ the form *ru-ba-e* instead of *ru-ba-im* indicates for this and other tablets from Alişar a date later than that of the Cappadocian tablets from Kültepe (see p. 9). Mimation is used very regularly in the Kültepe inscriptions, in exactly the same way as in the Babylonian tablets of the Ḫammurabi period. The number of cases with no mimation, in comparison with those with the proper mimation, in the Kültepe tablets is so small that all such cases can be considered as merely exceptions to the general rule. The same cannot be said of the Alişar tablets. Among fifty-three of the latter I have noted not less than thirty-three exceptions:

WITH THE NOUN

<i>kunuk A-ni-ta ru-ba-e</i> (1:1 and x+3)	<i>4 ku-sí-a-tù</i> (11:12)
<i>Ni-mar-ša-ra-ma-ti</i> (2:x+3 and x+7)	<i>a-na ba-ti</i> (13:x+6)
<i>maḫar šu-ga-ri-a-e!</i> (3 A left edge)	<i>a-na sá-ḫi-ir-ti</i> (17:x+3)
<i>[pí]-i ru-ba-ti</i> (5:12)	<i>maḫar šu-ga-ru-wa-e</i> (18 A 28)
<i>1 šú-ḫa-ra</i> (6:14)	<i>warah¹ ^{KAM} ša ki-na-ti</i> (18 B x+10; 29:x+3)
<i>[x] na-aḫ-lá-pá-ti</i> (7:11; 37:x+4)	<i>ma-ra-tù</i> (19 A 10 and B 10)
<i>šá-lim tá-ab-ti</i> (10:6)	<i>2^{ti}-ia a-wa-ti</i> (23:x+5)
<i>mu-nu¹-ti</i> (10:12)	<i>6 qá-qá-da-tù</i> (49 A 6; 49 B 10)
<i>[1] ku-šu-tum ša lu-bu-uš-ti</i> (11:7)	<i>rabī sí-mi-il₆-ti</i> (49 B 28)
<i>10 na-aḫ-lá-pá-tù</i> (11:8)	

¹ The prefixed letters refer to the year of discovery: “b” to 1929, “c” to 1930, “d” to 1931, and “e” to 1932.

² In *OIP* XIX 140–42. Another small fragment found at Alişar the same year was published *ibid.* p. 141 in photograph. None of its signs could be read, however.

³ *Ibid.* p. 142.

WITH THE VERB

šu-up-ra (5:27)*dš-tap-ra-ku* (6:4)*i-sá-ḫi-ú-ni-ku* (6:19)*u-šé-bi-lá-ku* (6:23)*iš-qú-ul-šu* (12:10)*a-ša-qá-lá-ku* (18 A 21 and B x+9)*ta-dš-pu-ra* (30:18)

LINE 2.—Instead of *A-ši-wa*¹ I prefer to read *A-ku-wa*. The cast at my disposal offers both possibilities. The personal name Ašiwa does not occur in Cappadocian tablets; for Akuwa cf. *A-ku-ú-a*¹ in 43:2; *A-ku-a*, *A-ku-a-a* in Stephens, *PNC* p. 10, and *Orientalia* XXIII (1927) 13. For *Bi-ru-nu-wa*² I would substitute *Ga-ru-nu-wa*.³

LINE 4.—The reading of the sign after *Ḫa-šu-wa* is very doubtful. DUB *Ḫa-šu-wa-aš(?) i-na-ar*, “seal of Ḫašuwaš(?) . . . ,” has been read.² We might also read *kunuk Ḫa-šu-wa-a-ar <<i-na>>* and compare the personal name with the Kassite name *Ḫa-aš-mar* (found also in *Ḫaš-mar-gal-du*, *Ḫa-aš-mar-saḫ*).⁴ The latter occurs in Nuzi as *Ḫa-šu-ar* (*JEN* 19:21; 9:7; etc.) and *Ḫa-šu-a-ar* (*HSS* V 88:28). The *ina* might then be the beginning of such an expression as *i-na qá-ti* which the scribe forgot to erase later. Or the line might be read *kunuk Ḫa-šu-wa maḫar I-na-ar*. The personal name Ḫašuwa is unknown to me. Inar as a personal name is very common in the Cappadocian texts.⁵

Still another interpretation has been suggested: “There is, moreover, the possibility that *i-na-ar*, as a Semitic verbal form, continues and brings to an end the phrase *i ga-[t]i a-ni-ta ru-ba-e* on the reverse. But this is not very probable, because one would have to assume that the scribe, after writing the obverse, for some unknown reason wrote upon only the left half of the reverse, then turned the tablet around and continued to write upon the right (now, of course, the left) half of the reverse.”⁶ If the order of signs proposed above should prove to have been intended, which seems very improbable, then *i-na-ar* would represent not a Semitic verbal form but the above mentioned personal name Inar, Inaraš, with the title *rabi simmiltim* either implied or carelessly omitted by the scribe.⁷ Against this interpretation, however, stand too many epigraphic difficulties.

LINE x+1.—I join the prepositions *i(n)* and *a(n)* to a following noun by means of a hyphen, since the fact that they never appear alone at the end of a line, with the governed noun in the following one, shows that preposition and noun form an indivisible unit.⁸ Prepositions spelled simply *i* and *a* do not exist at all. Since as a rule double consonants are not expressed in Cappadocian writing,⁹ a compound such as *i-qá-ti* has to be transcribed in connected transliteration as *iqqâti* (<*inqâti), just as *a-šu-mi*

¹ *Ibid.* p. 141.² *Loc. cit.*³ Cf. *Ga-ru-nu-a* in *EL* 209:24.

⁴ A. T. Clay, *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Kassite Period* (New Haven, 1912) p. 79. According to Friedrich Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kossäer* (Leipzig, 1884) p. 26, in a Kassite vocabulary *ḫaš-mar* is explained by the Akkadian *ka-su-su*, “strong.” If *Ḫa-šu-wa-a-ar* is correct that name would be a new proof of the relationship between Protoḫattian and Kassites. The common origin of the Kassite and Protoḫattic languages is proved by the correspondence of such Kassite words as *mašḫu* (“god”), *miriaš* (“earth”), and *meli* (“man”) to the equivalent Protoḫattic words *wašḫab*, *wuru*, and *miliš*.

⁵ Cf. Stephens, *PNC* p. 49.⁷ For this type of phrase cf. p. 50.⁶ *OIP* XIX 142.⁸ Cf. the erased *i* at the end in 56:1 and 19.

⁹ Exceptions, however, do exist. Cf. e.g. the personal name *Wa-ad-du-ilim* (*CCT* I 23:14); *i-di-in-ni-a-ti-ma*, “he gave us” (*CCT* I 49 a 11); a city name *Ma-am-ma* (*CCT* I 30 a 16), compared with *Ma-ma* (*ibid.* lines 10 and 22). The word *um-ma*, “thus,” is always written with double *m*. Very often double *m* appears in such instances as *um-ma Ša-lim-a-ḫu-um-ma* (*BIN* IV 26:1).

Another way of expressing double consonants, by means of double syllables, is shown perhaps in the personal names *A-šur-i-mi-ti-ti* = Aššur-imitti (*KTS* 48 b 10) and *A-šur-i-di-di* = Aššur-iddi(n) (*BIN* IV 119:7) and in the name of a month, *warah ṣi-pi-pi bi-ri-im* = *warah ṣippi-birim* (*BIN* IV 207 B 10; var. *ibid.* A 10, *warah ṣi-pi bi-ri-im*). For the first part of this month name cf. perhaps *ṣipum* or *ṣippu*, well known from the Cappadocian and Middle Assyrian calendar. Probably the second part occurs in *warah* ⁴*Bēlat-bi-ri*, known from Ḫana (*Syria* V [1924] 277, line 5), and ⁴*Be-la-at-bi-ru* (*CT* XXXII 50 obv. 25; not ⁴*Til-la-ad-erim* as read by Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, No. 3284, and similarly Schneider in *Orientalia* VIII [1924] 32) or ⁴*Be-li-it-bi-ri* (Deimel, *op. cit.* No. 362) or ⁴*Be-la-at-bi-ri* (*RA* XX [1923] 98 ii 11; not ⁴*Til-la-ad-bi-ri* as De Genouillac reads *ibid.* p. 100 and *RA* XXV [1928] 137). Cf. also *arab Bi-ri-iš-ša-ar-ru* in a Ḫana text in A. T. Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* IV (New Haven, 1923) 52:30.

corresponds to *aššumi* (<**anšumi*). Similarly, in later periods, when doubled consonants are already expressed in the writing, we have *aššum* (<**an-šum* < *ana šumi*), *immatê* (<**in-matê* < *ina matê*), etc.¹

The prepositions *i(n)* and *a(n)* and their full forms *ina* and *ana* are used in Cappadocian in the same period, and often by the same person and on the same tablet, without any shade of difference in meaning. Compare *a-na šú-ba-tim* (55:61) and *a-šú-ba-tim* (55:63); *a-na qá-ti-a* (*BIN* IV 23:17) and *a-qá-ti-a-ma* (*ibid.* line 18); *i-na sú-ri* (EL 277 B 8) and *i-sú-ri* (*ibid.* A 10); *a-na li-mi-im* (EL 257:15) and *a-li-mi-im* (*ibid.* line 18); *a-na sà-ši-ir-tim* (*KTHahn* 18:13 f.) and *a-sà-ši-ir-tim* (*ibid.* line 15). But the shortened forms are used only when followed by nouns beginning with a consonant,² whereas the prepositions *ina* and *ana* are employed before both initial vowels and initial consonants. That the Cappadocian tablets totally lack the forms *in* and *an*, so common in Old Akkadian inscriptions and in historical inscriptions of the Hammurabi period, is explained by the principle that in Old Assyrian the final *n* is always assimilated to the following consonant (cf. pp. 30 f.).

2

Alişar No. c 2406, from R 29, Level 10 T; 35×50×18 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

(beginning destroyed) ^{x+1}*pá'-at-ra-am ša A-šûr* ^{x+2}*šé-ši-'a'-nim pá-at-ra-am* ^{x+3}*nu-šé-ši Ni-mar-ša-ra-ma-ti* ^{x+4}*pí-šu-ú ip-ti-e* ^{x+5}*um'-ma šu-ut-ma A-bu-tâb x-x* ^{x+6}*A-mur-a-šûr aš-ba-at-ma* ^{x+7}*um-ma Ni-mar-ša-ra-ma-ti-ma* ^{x+8}*a-na A-ba-zu-ma* [rev.] ^{x+9}*a-mi-nim i-a-ti-i* ^{x+10}*ta-aš-ba-ta-ni* ^{x+11}*a-mu-ur mera* ^{x+12}*tám-kà-ri-kà* ^{x+13}*šit-im-tám ú-kà-li-im* ^{x+14}*ša-ba-sú ú šú-'ha-ar'-kà* ^{x+15}*a-ba-x x x ba* [. . .] (rest destroyed)

TRANSLATION

(beginning destroyed) ^{x+1}“The sword of Aššur ^{x+2}take out.” The sword ^{x+3}we took out. Nimar-šarra-mâti ^{x+4}opened his mouth; ^{x+5}thus he (said): “Abu-tâb, the . . . of ^{x+6}Amur-Aššur, I have seized.” ^{x+7}Thus (said) Nimar-šarra-mâti ^{x+8}to Abazu: [rev.] ^{x+9}“Why ^{x+10}did you seize me? ^{x+11}Behold, the son of your merchant ^{x+12}has shown the agreement. ^{x+13}Seize him and your servant boy ^{x+14}. . . [. . .]” (rest destroyed)

NOTES

LINE x+1.—Since the phonetic spelling *A-ši-ir* for the god's name Aššur never appears, I transliterate the sign *šir* as *šûr*. Cf. the interchange of *A-šûr*^{xi} and *A-šu-ur*^{xi} quoted in *AOB* I 3, n. 9.

LINE x+3.—The personal name *Ni-mar-ša-ra-ma-ti* = *nimar šarra mâti(m)*, “the splendor of the king of the land.” Vowel variations in the writing of the divine epithet—^a*Šar-ru-ma-a-tim* in a historical inscription,³ *Šar-ra-am-ma-tim* in a broken context of a hymn,⁴ and ^a*Ša-a-ri-im-ma-ti* at Boğazköy⁵—make it clear that all these spellings are intended to express merely the construct form *šarr + mâti(m)*.⁶

LINE x+11.—The usual word for “son” in Cappadocian is *merum*,⁷ from the root *mr*.⁸ The construct state is *mera*,⁹ written *me-ra*, without the sign for the *spiritus lenis*, which cannot be expressed in Cappadocian writing.⁹ The construct state of this word is always written ideographically¹⁰ when it

¹ Concerning the use of *in* and *an* in poetical texts, cf. W. von Soden, “Der hymnisch-epische Dialekt des Akkadischen,” *ZA* XLI (1933) 134–36; in Old Akkadian, E. Dhorme, “Les prépositions *ina* et *ana*,” *RT* XXIX (1907) 121 ff.

² The only sure exception noted by me among a few hundred examples is *ša a-amême qû-ur-bu-tim*, “which for the approaching days” (*BIN* IV 26:5). Clay miscopied *up* as *a*, exactly as in the personal name *A-šûr-Šamši* (UD!)^{xi} (*ibid.* line 12). A possible but doubtful exception is *a-am-ti[m]* (*JSOR* XI [1927] 134, No. 43:12).

³ *KAH* I 2 vi 2 and *KAH* II 146.

⁴ T. G. Pinches, “Hymns to Pap-due-garra,” *JRAS* Centenary Supplement (1924) Pl. VIII 6.

⁵ *KBo* V 2 ii 12.

⁶ Lewy in *ZA* XXXVIII (1929) 246, n. 2.

⁷ The only cases I know of in which this noun is not in the construct state and is without a pronominal suffix are of the type *maḥar 2šit-na me-er-e* (*BIN* IV 42:20).

⁸ First suggested by Landsberger in *ZA* XXXVIII 276.

⁹ Of course the form *mera* has nothing to do with any Aramaic influence in the Cappadocian inscriptions, as alleged by Lewy, *op. cit.* p. 247.

¹⁰ A possible exception is *ḡ Istar-tù-li-sú me-ra A-ni*-. . .] (*KTS* 60 d 7 f.).

stands in the sing. before a personal name:¹ *A-šur-ma-lik mera² I-na-a* (CCT I 18 a 12 f.); *mera² Šu-Nu-nu* (CCT II 14:3). In the pl. before a personal name it is always written phonetically:² *me-er-ú Ša-ši-a* (nom., BIN IV 171:6); *me-er-e Ša-ši-a* (acc., *ibid.* line 1); *ša me-er-e Lá-qi-ip* (gen., *ibid.* 173:13 f.). In the sing. the construct state with an appellative noun is written either phonetically or ideographically; in the pl., only phonetically: *me-ra me-tim* (*ibid.* 105:6); *mera² me-tim* (CCT I 45:16); *me-er-ú me-tim* (*ibid.* lines 24, 35).

With pronominal suffixes this noun is always spelled phonetically:

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
<i>me-ra-šu</i>	(nom., TCL I 240:2)	<i>me-er-ú-šu</i>	(nom., JSOR XI 134, No. 43:7) ³
<i>me-ra-šu</i>	(acc., KTHahn 22:8)	<i>me-er-e-šu</i>	(acc., Gol. 11:16)
<i>me-er-i-šu</i>	(gen., <i>ibid.</i> line 4)	<i>me-er-e-šu</i>	(gen., TC I 66:8)

The form *mêr* (as construct state of a presupposed *mêrum*) used throughout by Lewy in EL has never been substantiated and has no *raison d'être*. It might possibly occur in the form *me-er me-[tim]* (TC I 131:9), but the context is so broken that it is impossible to make out the sense of the inscription. Lewy's *Sin-na-we-er me-er A-sú a-šar li-bi-šu i-da-an*, "Sin-nâwer wird den Sohn des Ašû, wo er will, geben" (EL 275:4 ff.),⁴ has to be changed to read: "Sin-nawir his daughter (*me-er-a-sû*) wherever he desires shall give." Other occurrences of the fem.—nom.—acc. *me-er-a-sû* (Gol. 24:11), *me-ra-sû-ú* (CCT I 10 b+11 a 15), *mer²at-sû* (BIN IV 141:2); gen. *ša me-er-i-ti-kà* (CCT IV 19 a 4); acc. pl. *me-er-ú-wa-ti-kà*, "your daughters" (CCT III 6 b 27)—presuppose nom. sing. *mêr²utum*.⁵ The abstract formation from the same root appears in *a-na¹ me-er-ú-tim*, "for the sonship" (= "adoption"; AAA I [1908] Pl. XXIV 8:2 f.).

The masc. *mer²um* is found again in an Old Assyrian inscription of Ikunum,⁶ where the words in question were somewhat misunderstood by Meissner. Instead of *a-šûr i-gi šip-ra-šu*, "dem Aššur . . . sein Werk," it is necessary to read *a-šûr-i-mi-ti me-ra-šu*, "Aššur-imitti, his son." Meissner writes: "Die Lesung *i-gi* ist nicht sicher. Das Zeichen *gi* sieht fast wie *me-gar* aus. Die Bedeutung des Wortes ist mir unbekannt. . . ." Since the sign GAR is not used in Old Assyrian inscriptions, the "*gi*?" should no doubt be read *mi-ti*. Unfortunately this inscription of Ikunum has never been published in facsimile, to enable us to verify our reading. The reading *šip-ra-šu* presents two more difficulties. First, the proper form in Assyrian⁸ would be *šiparšu*, not *šiprašu*; second, the sign ME does not have the value *šip* in Old Assyrian inscriptions. Evidently it must be read as *me* to form the good Old Assyrian word *mer²um*.

In later periods similar forms, perhaps under dialectal influence, are still in use. Cf. for example in a *kudurru* inscription *Girra ez-zu me-ru ša Nuskû* (Mém. II p. 90:18 f.) and *Šaḥan me-ru ša KA.DI*⁹ (*ibid.* line 23) and in a religious text *KA.DI me-rat Šar-rat* (G. Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen* [Berlin, 1896] p. 146:44) and *Ka-ni-sur-ra me-rat Na-na-a* (*ibid.* line 45).

The form *mer²um* is derived from *mar²um*, which survived sporadically in Cappadocian. Cf. for example *Ga-ri-[a ú] ma-ar-ú-šu*, "Gari[a and] his sons" (19 B 6 f.), with *Ga-ri-a ú me-ir-ú-šu* (19 A 6 f.); *ma-ar-ú*, "the sons" (13:x+3); *išti Pi-lá-aḥ-A-šur ú Pi-lá-aḥ-Ištar ma-ri A-šur-na-da*, "with Pilaḥ-Aššur and Pilaḥ-Ištar, the sons of Aššur-na²da" (56:58 f.); *Bu-ra-ma-ma ú ma-ru-šu*, "Boramama and his sons" (TC I 64:6 f.). Probably also the reading and translation *ma-rumârû Puzur-Ištar* or *ma-ru Puzur-Ištar* (EL 281:6 and 28), "the sons of Puzur-Ištar," is better than Lewy's *Ma-ru mêr Puzur-*

¹ Only one typical reference is given with each citation.

² Or, very exceptionally, ideogram plus phonetic complements: *mer²me-er-e A-šûr-ma-lik* (gen., KTHahn 19:11 f.).

³ Also *mer²me-er-ú-šu* (KTS 47 a 9).

⁴ Stephens in JSOR XI (1927) 105: "Sin-nawir son of Azu shall pay whatever is due from him."

⁵ Later contracted to *me-er-tu* (KAR 158 i 45; ii 22; rev. ii 39).

⁶ AOB I 20, No. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 21, n. 7.

⁸ Cf. *ši-par*, AOB I 38:21.

⁹ For a reading of *KA.DI* as *Eatran* or *Etaran* see R. Scholtz in ZA XLI (1933) 304. For a possible reading *Hutran* see E. Weidner in AKF II (1924-25) 15, n. 13.

Ištar (*ibid.* p. 319, n. a). In Old Assyrian historical inscriptions we find *ma-ri-šu-nu-ma* (*AOB* I 8:15). The fem. of *mar^um* is *mār^utum*, as shown by the pl. *ma-ra-tù*, "the daughters" (19 *A* 10 and *B* 10). *Marⁱ*¹ and **mara^u* (> *mera^u*) are two forms of the construct state from a presupposed *mar^u*, with different helping vowels as in *šipar* and *šipir*, *uzan* and *uzun*.

In the following periods the word *mar^um* lost its *spiritus lenis* and compensated by lengthening its first vowel, and thus we have in common use *māru(n)*. However, Middle and Late Assyrian still show forms of the old *mar^um* in the following examples cited by Landsberger:² *i-na muḫḫi ma-ar-i-šú* (*HL* 1:13); *mar-mar-i-šú* (*ibid.* 406 rev. 13); *TUR-ú* (Assyrian Code, *KAV* 2 ii 10). Another example is *a-na mar-ú-ut-ti*, "for adoption" (*KAJ* 1:6). The interchange of *a* and *e* in this word is shown by the following examples also: *me-ir* as one synonym of *ma-ar* (II R 30, No. 3:44); *me-i-ru* as a synonym of *ma-a-ru* (II R 36, No. 2:56). For *ma-ar-tum* is given *me-ir-tum* (II R 30, No. 3:50); *me-me-tum*, *me-ir-tum*, and *ši-du-ri* appear as synonyms of *ar-[da-tum]* (II R 32, No. 2:25 ff.).

It remains now only to explain the etymology of *mer^um*. As is evident from the foregoing, the usual derivation of this word from a root *mediae infirmae* must be incorrect. I should be inclined to consider *m^r* and *br^u* as cognate roots and to compare the Akkadian word for "son" with Aramaic *bar*, Mehri *ber*, Dathinah *bir*,³ all with the same meaning. Semitic *br^u*, "to create," would give the word *br* for "son," exactly as *bnⁱ* gave in other Semitic languages the word *bn* for "son." Cf. also the relation between the Akkadian words *bēru*, *bāru*, "young animal," and *mēru*, *māru*, with similar meaning.

LINE x+11.—Our example *tām-kā-ri-kā* and many others written out phonetically⁴ show clearly that the word for "merchant" in Assyrian is *tamkārūm*. If it were **tamkarūm*, it would have the forms **tāmkurūm* in the nom. and **tamkirim* in the gen.; but such forms do not exist.

3

A

Ališar No. c 1000, from M 29, Level 11 T

TRANSLITERATION

¹*Ga-ra-[šu-nu-a]* ²*a-na Šu-ku-[. . .]* ³*iš-ba-at-[. . .]* ⁴*Ga-ra-šu-nu-[a . . .]* ⁵*ra-bi-im [. . .]* ⁶*kaspam ša x-[. . .]* ⁷*i-na li-[. . .]* ⁸*a-na-kam [. . .]* ⁹*x-x-[. . .]* ¹⁰*x-[. . .]* (rest of obv. destroyed) [rev.] ^{last line}
[. . .] [left edge] ¹*maḫar šu-ga-ri-a-e!* ²*[a A-šur šī-bu-ti-ni]* ³*ni-dt-in*

B

Ališar No. c 1000, from M 29, Level 11 T; 56×30×4 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

(obv. destroyed) [rev.] (beginning destroyed) ¹*MA.N[A]* ²*MA.N[A]* ³*MA.N[A]* ⁴*MA.N[A]* ⁵*MA.N[A]* ⁶*MA.N[A]* ⁷*MA.N[A]* ⁸*MA.N[A]* ⁹*MA.N[A]* ¹⁰*MA.N[A]* ¹¹*MA.N[A]* ¹²*MA.N[A]* ¹³*MA.N[A]* ¹⁴*MA.N[A]* ¹⁵*MA.N[A]* ¹⁶*MA.N[A]* ¹⁷*MA.N[A]* ¹⁸*MA.N[A]* ¹⁹*MA.N[A]* ²⁰*MA.N[A]* ²¹*MA.N[A]* ²²*MA.N[A]* ²³*MA.N[A]* ²⁴*MA.N[A]* ²⁵*MA.N[A]* ²⁶*MA.N[A]* ²⁷*MA.N[A]* ²⁸*MA.N[A]* ²⁹*MA.N[A]* ³⁰*MA.N[A]* ³¹*MA.N[A]* ³²*MA.N[A]* ³³*MA.N[A]* ³⁴*MA.N[A]* ³⁵*MA.N[A]* ³⁶*MA.N[A]* ³⁷*MA.N[A]* ³⁸*MA.N[A]* ³⁹*MA.N[A]* ⁴⁰*MA.N[A]* ⁴¹*MA.N[A]* ⁴²*MA.N[A]* ⁴³*MA.N[A]* ⁴⁴*MA.N[A]* ⁴⁵*MA.N[A]* ⁴⁶*MA.N[A]* ⁴⁷*MA.N[A]* ⁴⁸*MA.N[A]* ⁴⁹*MA.N[A]* ⁵⁰*MA.N[A]* ⁵¹*MA.N[A]* ⁵²*MA.N[A]* ⁵³*MA.N[A]* ⁵⁴*MA.N[A]* ⁵⁵*MA.N[A]* ⁵⁶*MA.N[A]* ⁵⁷*MA.N[A]* ⁵⁸*MA.N[A]* ⁵⁹*MA.N[A]* ⁶⁰*MA.N[A]* ⁶¹*MA.N[A]* ⁶²*MA.N[A]* ⁶³*MA.N[A]* ⁶⁴*MA.N[A]* ⁶⁵*MA.N[A]* ⁶⁶*MA.N[A]* ⁶⁷*MA.N[A]* ⁶⁸*MA.N[A]* ⁶⁹*MA.N[A]* ⁷⁰*MA.N[A]* ⁷¹*MA.N[A]* ⁷²*MA.N[A]* ⁷³*MA.N[A]* ⁷⁴*MA.N[A]* ⁷⁵*MA.N[A]* ⁷⁶*MA.N[A]* ⁷⁷*MA.N[A]* ⁷⁸*MA.N[A]* ⁷⁹*MA.N[A]* ⁸⁰*MA.N[A]* ⁸¹*MA.N[A]* ⁸²*MA.N[A]* ⁸³*MA.N[A]* ⁸⁴*MA.N[A]* ⁸⁵*MA.N[A]* ⁸⁶*MA.N[A]* ⁸⁷*MA.N[A]* ⁸⁸*MA.N[A]* ⁸⁹*MA.N[A]* ⁹⁰*MA.N[A]* ⁹¹*MA.N[A]* ⁹²*MA.N[A]* ⁹³*MA.N[A]* ⁹⁴*MA.N[A]* ⁹⁵*MA.N[A]* ⁹⁶*MA.N[A]* ⁹⁷*MA.N[A]* ⁹⁸*MA.N[A]* ⁹⁹*MA.N[A]* ¹⁰⁰*MA.N[A]* ¹⁰¹*MA.N[A]* ¹⁰²*MA.N[A]* ¹⁰³*MA.N[A]* ¹⁰⁴*MA.N[A]* ¹⁰⁵*MA.N[A]* ¹⁰⁶*MA.N[A]* ¹⁰⁷*MA.N[A]* ¹⁰⁸*MA.N[A]* ¹⁰⁹*MA.N[A]* ¹¹⁰*MA.N[A]* ¹¹¹*MA.N[A]* ¹¹²*MA.N[A]* ¹¹³*MA.N[A]* ¹¹⁴*MA.N[A]* ¹¹⁵*MA.N[A]* ¹¹⁶*MA.N[A]* ¹¹⁷*MA.N[A]* ¹¹⁸*MA.N[A]* ¹¹⁹*MA.N[A]* ¹²⁰*MA.N[A]* ¹²¹*MA.N[A]* ¹²²*MA.N[A]* ¹²³*MA.N[A]* ¹²⁴*MA.N[A]* ¹²⁵*MA.N[A]* ¹²⁶*MA.N[A]* ¹²⁷*MA.N[A]* ¹²⁸*MA.N[A]* ¹²⁹*MA.N[A]* ¹³⁰*MA.N[A]* ¹³¹*MA.N[A]* ¹³²*MA.N[A]* ¹³³*MA.N[A]* ¹³⁴*MA.N[A]* ¹³⁵*MA.N[A]* ¹³⁶*MA.N[A]* ¹³⁷*MA.N[A]* ¹³⁸*MA.N[A]* ¹³⁹*MA.N[A]* ¹⁴⁰*MA.N[A]* ¹⁴¹*MA.N[A]* ¹⁴²*MA.N[A]* ¹⁴³*MA.N[A]* ¹⁴⁴*MA.N[A]* ¹⁴⁵*MA.N[A]* ¹⁴⁶*MA.N[A]* ¹⁴⁷*MA.N[A]* ¹⁴⁸*MA.N[A]* ¹⁴⁹*MA.N[A]* ¹⁵⁰*MA.N[A]* ¹⁵¹*MA.N[A]* ¹⁵²*MA.N[A]* ¹⁵³*MA.N[A]* ¹⁵⁴*MA.N[A]* ¹⁵⁵*MA.N[A]* ¹⁵⁶*MA.N[A]* ¹⁵⁷*MA.N[A]* ¹⁵⁸*MA.N[A]* ¹⁵⁹*MA.N[A]* ¹⁶⁰*MA.N[A]* ¹⁶¹*MA.N[A]* ¹⁶²*MA.N[A]* ¹⁶³*MA.N[A]* ¹⁶⁴*MA.N[A]* ¹⁶⁵*MA.N[A]* ¹⁶⁶*MA.N[A]* ¹⁶⁷*MA.N[A]* ¹⁶⁸*MA.N[A]* ¹⁶⁹*MA.N[A]* ¹⁷⁰*MA.N[A]* ¹⁷¹*MA.N[A]* ¹⁷²*MA.N[A]* ¹⁷³*MA.N[A]* ¹⁷⁴*MA.N[A]* ¹⁷⁵*MA.N[A]* ¹⁷⁶*MA.N[A]* ¹⁷⁷*MA.N[A]* ¹⁷⁸*MA.N[A]* ¹⁷⁹*MA.N[A]* ¹⁸⁰*MA.N[A]* ¹⁸¹*MA.N[A]* ¹⁸²*MA.N[A]* ¹⁸³*MA.N[A]* ¹⁸⁴*MA.N[A]* ¹⁸⁵*MA.N[A]* ¹⁸⁶*MA.N[A]* ¹⁸⁷*MA.N[A]* ¹⁸⁸*MA.N[A]* ¹⁸⁹*MA.N[A]* ¹⁹⁰*MA.N[A]* ¹⁹¹*MA.N[A]* ¹⁹²*MA.N[A]* ¹⁹³*MA.N[A]* ¹⁹⁴*MA.N[A]* ¹⁹⁵*MA.N[A]* ¹⁹⁶*MA.N[A]* ¹⁹⁷*MA.N[A]* ¹⁹⁸*MA.N[A]* ¹⁹⁹*MA.N[A]* ²⁰⁰*MA.N[A]* ²⁰¹*MA.N[A]* ²⁰²*MA.N[A]* ²⁰³*MA.N[A]* ²⁰⁴*MA.N[A]* ²⁰⁵*MA.N[A]* ²⁰⁶*MA.N[A]* ²⁰⁷*MA.N[A]* ²⁰⁸*MA.N[A]* ²⁰⁹*MA.N[A]* ²¹⁰*MA.N[A]* ²¹¹*MA.N[A]* ²¹²*MA.N[A]* ²¹³*MA.N[A]* ²¹⁴*MA.N[A]* ²¹⁵*MA.N[A]* ²¹⁶*MA.N[A]* ²¹⁷*MA.N[A]* ²¹⁸*MA.N[A]* ²¹⁹*MA.N[A]* ²²⁰*MA.N[A]* ²²¹*MA.N[A]* ²²²*MA.N[A]* ²²³*MA.N[A]* ²²⁴*MA.N[A]* ²²⁵*MA.N[A]* ²²⁶*MA.N[A]* ²²⁷*MA.N[A]* ²²⁸*MA.N[A]* ²²⁹*MA.N[A]* ²³⁰*MA.N[A]* ²³¹*MA.N[A]* ²³²*MA.N[A]* ²³³*MA.N[A]* ²³⁴*MA.N[A]* ²³⁵*MA.N[A]* 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Ališar No. c 2108, from V 24, Level 10 T; 28×35×17 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

(beginning destroyed) ¹+. . . a]-dī-in x[-. . .] ²+. . .]-ir Ku-ku-lā-num ³+. . .]-be a-šī-īp-[tim¹
⁴+. . .]-a-ma a-na ⁵+. . . A]-am-ku-a ⁶+. . . mu]-kà-ri-bu-šu-nu [rev.] ⁷+. . . i]š-tù A-am-ku-a
⁸+. . .] mu-ga-hu-x ⁹+. . .] ku [-. . .] (rest destroyed)

TRANSLATION

(beginning destroyed) ¹+. . . I gave [. . .] ²+. . .] Kukkulanum ³+. . .] for the incantation
⁴+. . .] . . . to ⁵+. . .] Amkua ⁶+. . .] their [mu]karrībūm [rev.] ⁷+. . . f]rom Amkua ⁸+. . .]
. . . ⁹+. . .] . . . [. . .] (rest destroyed).

NOTE

To judge from the mention of *šiptum*, “incantation” (line 3), and *mukarrībūm*, some kind of priest (line 6), this text deals with religious ceremonies performed in the temple of Amkua. For *mukarrībūm* cf. *BIN* IV 191:13 and the South Arabic *mkrb*, “oblationes afferens, sacerdos, princeps sacerdos.”¹

Ališar No. d 2200a, from M 33, Level 10 T; 56×57×14 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹a-na Na-bi-²En-lil qī-bi-ma ³um-ma E-na-A-šūr-ma a-na 5 ūm[ēme] ⁴a-na Za-al-pd a-lā-ak A-ma dš-lā-kam ⁵dš-ta-dp-ra-ku-um a-ma-kam a-lā-ni lu ⁶15 qa¹ ⁷lu 10 qa lu 5 qa lu 3 qa a-šar i-ba-šī-ū ⁸li-qī-ma šē-bi-lam ū URUDU lu 10 MA.NA ⁹lu 5 MA.NA šē-bi-lam 2 e-tù-dī ¹⁰kà-dā-ru-tī šē-bi-lam šī-ra-am lā i-šu ¹¹a-šu-mi a-wi-lī ha-bi-ri ša ū-da-¹²ru-nim¹ ¹³ša Ša-lā-aḥ-šu-wa ša i-na Ki-šī-[a] ¹⁴[wa]-dš-bu-ni dš-pu-ra-ku-um a-[li-ik-ma] ¹⁵[pī]-i ru-ba-tī ū rabī sī-[mī-il-š-tim] ¹⁶[š]-a-a-al-ma šu-ma š[u-nu-ma] ¹⁷ū-ta-ru-šu-nu šu-up-r[a-šu-nu] [rev.] ¹⁸[šu]-ma lā ū-ta-ru-šu-nu ¹⁹a-wi-lī šu-nu-tī pu-tū-ur ²⁰[m]i-ma ip-tī-ri-šu-nu ša ēkallum²¹ ²²e-ri-šu-kā-ni i-na na-dš-pē-er-[tī-kā] ²³ū-dī-a-ma lu-šē-bi-lā-ku-um ū a-wi-[lī] ²⁴šu-nu-tī Ga-ad-ga-li iṣ-ba-at ²⁵mī-ma na-pd-al-tām ša ēkallum²⁶ ²⁷a-šu-mi a-wi-lī šu-nu-tī e-pu-lu-kā ²⁸i-na na-dš-pē-er-tī-kā ū-dī-a-am ²⁹a-wi-lu ip-tī-ri ma-dī-iš ³⁰ī-šu-ū dš-lā-kam ar-ḥi-iš tū-ur-dam ³¹šu-lu-um a-ḥi-kā a-šar wa-³²dš-bu¹-ni ³³šu-up-ra

TRANSLATION

¹To Nabī-Enlil speak: ²Thus (says) Enna-Aššur: In 5 da[ys] ³I shall go to Zalpa. Amma, the washerman, ⁴I have sent to you. There of my *allānum* either ⁵15 qa¹ ⁶or 10 qa or 5 qa or 3 qa, wherever it is, ⁷take and send to me. And copper, either 10 minas ⁸or 5 minas send to me. Two fat he-goats ⁹send to me; I have no meat. ¹⁰Concerning the *habiru* men of . . . ¹¹of Šalahšuwa, who (now) in Kišī[a] ¹²[s]tay, I write to you: G[o and] ¹³[the wo]rd of the princess and the chief of the *ci[tadel]* ¹⁴ask. If ¹⁵[hey] ¹⁶will let them go, send [them to me]. [rev.] ¹⁷[I]f they will not let them go, ¹⁸redeem those men. ¹⁹Whatever redemption money the palace ²⁰may ask from you, in [your] letter ²¹let me know, that I may send (it) to you. And those men ²²Gadgali has seized. ²³Whatever additional payment the palace ²⁴concerning those men may lay upon you, ²⁵in your letter let me know. ²⁶The men have much redemption money. ²⁷The washerman send (back) to me quickly. ²⁸(News of) the health of your brother, wherever he stays, ²⁹send to me.

NOTES

The addressee, Nabī-Enlil, and the writer, Enna-Aššur, of this tablet correspond to those of No. 6. To some extent also the subjects treated in both tablets are identical.

LINE 2.—It is very difficult to explain satisfactorily the personal name *E-na-A-šūr*.² The older ex-

¹ K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia Arabica meridionalis epigraphica* (Roma, 1931) p. 170.

² This name occurs in the following forms also: *E-na-A-šūr*, *En-na-A-šūr*, *En-na-A-šūr*, *E-na-ma-A-šūr*, *E-nam-A-šūr*, *En-nam-A-šūr*, *En-nam-A-šūr*, *En-nu-um-A-šūr*, *En-nu-um-A-šūr*, *En-um-A-šūr*, *En-um-A-šūr*, *En-um-A-šūr* (examples in Stephens, *PNC* pp. 36 f.). That *En-NAM-A-šūr* is to be read *En-nūm-A-šūr* in many cases is shown from the inter-

planations of Ungnad¹ and Lewy,² deriving the first part of this personal name from *enênu*, "to be merciful," are contradicted by Landsberger and von Soden,³ who prefer to see in *ennam*, *ennum* a pronoun meaning "ecce."

LINE 3.—For *Zalpa* cf. p. 10.

The *A-ma* of this text, written *Am-ma* in 6:4 and 38:1, can be considered either a personal name (cf. the forms *A-ma-a*, *Am-ma-a*⁴) or an exclamation equivalent to "verily!"

LINE 4.—The word *allânum* occurs also in 6:5: *a-lâ-ni ir-bi*, "my *allânum* has grown," which shows that the word in question must be either a plant or an animal. Since, however, *allânum* is measured in *qa*⁵ and is once called *ar-qû-tim*, "green,"⁶ the second possibility is automatically eliminated. In both cases *ašlakum*, the "bleacher" or "washerman,"⁷ is mentioned in connection with *allânum*, which would suggest that *allânum* is some kind of material used in washing. Important for our argument is the fact that *ašleg* or *ašlek* in Talmudic means "a kind of alkali or mineral used as a soap."⁸ This word and the Assyrian *ašlakum* are evidently related. Since the word *allânum* has some connection with the name of an Assyrian month, *warah allânâtîm* (p. 72), we may infer that the plant *allânum* was cut or plucked during that month and that this gave rise to the month's name.

The word *allânum* has been variously translated as "ein Baum,"⁹ "terebinth, oak,"¹⁰ "eine aromatische Gebirgspflanze (Terebinthe?)."¹¹ The **allânu*, **amallânu*, or **am *allânu*¹² is mentioned among many other plants in medical texts, but the occurrences do not help us to establish its meaning more closely. Much more important is the fact that the word *allânum* occurs in connection with *kamânum*, "cake," as **al-la-an-ka-man-nu*¹³ and **amal-la-an-ka-man*.¹⁴ These cases indicate that the plant *allânum* could be made into cakes; and since in our *Ališar* texts the word *ašlakum*, "washerman," is mentioned with *allânum* and recurs in Talmudic as "soap," we may draw a tentative conclusion that *allânum* is a plant used in making soap for the *ašlakum*, "washerman." Etymologically the word *allânum* is the same as Hebrew *allôn*, the meaning of which is not certain but is usually given as "oak" or "terebinth."¹⁵ We

change of this form with *En-um-A-šur* in the same tablet (*BIN* IV 105:1 and 13 and *CCT* I 17 a 22 and 23). Strange to say, the spelling *En-num-A-šur* never occurs. The very common form *En-um-A-šur* can be explained as traditional writing, analogous to the persistent writing of *Kur-ub-A-šur* or *Kur-ub-Ištar* (I know of only one exception, *Ku-ru-ub-Ištar* in *CCT* III 4:31). Many personal names compounded with *ennum*, *ennam* are known also from Babylonia. Cf. Schneider in *Orientalia* XXIII (1927) 67.

¹ "Materialien zur altakkadischen Sprache" (in *MVAG* XX [1915]) p. 39.

² *Studien zu den altassyrischen Texten aus Kappadokien* (Berlin, 1922) p. 29.

³ "Der hymnisch-epische Dialekt des Akkadischen," *ZA* XLI (1933) 99 f.

⁴ Stephens, *PNC* p. 12.

⁵ Cf. also 1 *karpāt a-lâ-nu* (*TC* II 62:8).

⁶ *TC* I 97:3 f.

⁷ Cf. B. Meissner, *Supplement zu den assyrischen Wörterbüchern* (Leiden, 1898) p. 19; P. Jensen, *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek* VI, 1. Teil (1900) p. 494; P. Haupt in *BA* X, Heft 2 (1927) pp. 268 ff.

⁸ Cf. H. Torczyner in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* XXVIII (1914) 464 and Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim* . . . (New York etc., 1926) p. 129.

⁹ Delitzsch, *HWB* p. 71, with ref. to Heb. *allôn*.

¹⁰ Muss-Arnolt p. 48. He derives *allânu* from the root *alâlu*, "be strong," and suggests its possible occurrence in pl. in the month name *arāh al-la-na-a-[ti]*.

¹¹ C. Bezold, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar* (Heidelberg, 1926) p. 37. A few lines above with *allalu*, "Hirtenknabe," he mentions *allânâtî*, "Hirtenmonat, e. Name des vierten Monats."

¹² References in R. C. Thompson, *The Assyrian Herbal* (London, 1924) pp. 170 f.

¹³ Thompson, *Assyrian Medical Texts* (Oxford, 1923) 83, No. 1:7.

¹⁴ *KAR* 196 rev. i 30; 203 i 27. The ending *-nu* shows that this word has to be read **allânkaman*, not **allânkaniš* as contended by Thompson, *The Assyrian Herbal* p. 171. The word **al-la-ka-ni-iš* (E. A. Budge and L. W. King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria* [London, 1902] p. 91 vii 18) is evidently something else.

¹⁵ J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (3d ed.; Berlin, 1886) p. 246: "Im Aram. der Baum schlechthin, im Hebr. der immergrüne und gewöhnlich der Heilige Baum, meist ohne Unterscheidung der Arten. Nicht bloss Eiche und Terebinthe, sondern auch Palme wird einbegriffen."

could perhaps translate the word *allânum* with "terebinth,"¹ were it not for the fact that soap is not made from the terebinth tree. When soap is mentioned, anyone who has traveled in Asia Minor will immediately think of the plant *Peganum harmala* L., one of the most widespread plants in that region. Dr. von der Osten's discoveries show that it is regularly found around human settlements: along roads, on ancient city mounds, and near modern habitations.² The plant has various uses, thus described by Dr. K. O. Müller:

Wie ich bei den Bauern in Erfahrung bringen konnte, ist die Verwendung der Pflanze äusserst mannigfaltig. Die alkaloidreichen Samen (Harmin und Harmalin) werden wegen ihrer schweisstreibenden Wirkung zur Heilung von fieberhaften Allgemeinerkrankungen benutzt, indem man sie röstet und den Dunst einatmet. Ferner dienen sie als Wurmmittel. Ausserdem verwendet man sie zum Würzen von Speisen. In Buchara sollen sie bei den Derwischen wegen ihrer berauschenden Wirkung geschätzt sein. Durch Veraschen des Krautes wird weiterhin ein Waschmittel hergestellt, das grosse Mengen von Alkalikarbonaten enthält und zum Reinigen der Wäsche benutzt wird. Die Asche wird ausserdem bei Zug- und Tragtieren zur Heilung von Scheuerwunden verwendet. Ferner dient sie zur Erhöhung der Zündfähigkeit von Zunderleinwand. Und dann liefert die Harmelstaude noch einen Farbstoff, das Harmalrot oder Türkischrot, das ehemals, bevor die Anilinfarben aufkamen, in der anatolischen Teppichweberei viel gebraucht wurde.³



FIG. 5.—AN ANATOLIAN PEASANT WOMAN BURNING *Peganum harmala*

Of all the uses of *Peganum harmala*, the most important are those in connection with medicine and with soap-making, both of which correspond very well to the uses of the *allânum* plant in antiquity. During a certain period of a few weeks in June each year the peasants in Asia Minor pluck the plants and burn them (Fig. 5). Soap is then made by mixing the ashes with water. This soap is very popular among the villagers. The time of plucking the plants corresponds very well to the month of *allânânum* in the Assyrian calendar, which in turn corresponds to the third or fourth month of the Babylonian calendar, that is, June or July.⁴

It is quite likely that the use of the same term⁵ for "*Peganum*" in Assyrian and for "terebinth" in Hebrew was due to similarities in the plants. The family of Anacardiaceae to which the terebinth

¹ As does Thompson, *The Assyrian Herbal* p. 170.

² *OIC* No. 14, p. 117, with refs. there cited; also *OIP* V 106, where the plant is called merely "a special kind of bushy grass." Cf. Edmond Boissier, *Flora orientalis* . . . (Basileae, 1867) I 917.

³ "Über die Verbreitung der Harmelstaude in Anatolien und ihre Bindung an die menschlichen Wohnstätten," *Berichte der Deutschen botanischen Gesellschaft* L a (Berlin, 1932) 262-75; quotation from p. 274.

⁴ H. Ehelolf and B. Landsberger in *ZDMG* LXXIV (1920) 218.

⁵ Different from this *allânum* are *allânum*, "plug," and *allânum*, "except." For the latter cf. *EL* pp. 95, n. b, and 143, n. b., and von Soden in *ZA* XLI (1933) 96.

belongs has many characteristics of appearance and structure in common with the family of Zygo-phyllaceae to which *Peganum* belongs.¹

LINE 6.—Since the ideogram URUDU rarely has phonetic complements (as in URUDU-*i-ú* in *TC* II 18:7), its pronunciation in Cappadocian is unknown. As a suggestion I would mention *KTS* 54 d 1-5: 1 *mì-at* 94 *bilâtîm wa-ri libba^{ba} 3 bilâtîm a-na mera^a A-ḫi-a as-ni-iq*, in which an unknown metal, *warium* (or pl. *variû?*), possibly to be identified with URUDU, is named. The same word occurs also in a Babylonian letter, *VAS* VII 34:17: 5 *bi-la-tim ú-ri-e*, left untranslated by Thureau-Dangin in *RA* XXI (1924) 7, n. 2, and by Kohler and Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz* III (Leipzig, 1909) 177.

LINE 7.—The word *etûdum* corresponds to Babylonian *atûdum*. It occurs also in 6:9 and 11 and 55:4, in *CCT* II 18:21, etc.

LINE 9.—The word *ḫabirum* has no ethnic or national value, but means simply a captive brought from a foreign country.² It certainly has nothing to do with merchants in the Cappadocian colonies, as maintained by Forrer.³ In the Hittite Code the word *ḫippar*, probably a later development of *ḫabirum*, interchanges with Akkadian *asîrum*, "captive."⁴

LINE 10.—On Šalaḫšuwa and Kiššija cf. p. 10.

LINE 12.—The restoration of *rabî simmiltim* is based on 49 *B* 28, where again this title occurs in connection with freeing of slaves.

LINE 19.—The form *uddi^aam*, "let me know," II 1 impv., is for *waddi^aam*.

LINE 20.—The name Gadgali might be related to the personal names *Ga-da-ga-da* (*CCT* I 7 a 6) and *Ga-al-ga-la^a-ni* (*EL* 209:23), with the usual Protohittite interchange of *t/d* and *l* because of the impossibility of expressing the *tl* sound in cuneiform writing. Similarly the Cappadocian personal names *Ša-lu-wa-ta* (*TC* I 99:3), *Ša-li-a-ta* (*BIN* IV 209 A 5 and 12), and *Ša-lu-wa-an-ta* (*ibid.* *B* 10 and 16) are comparable with the Lydian royal name Σαδνάρτης.

6

Alişar No. d 2200b, from M 33, Level 10 T; 53×51×12 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹*a-na Na-bi^a-En-lil qí-bi-ma* ²*um-ma E-na-A-šûr-ma šal-ma-ku* ³*iš-tù Za-al-pá a-tù-ra-am* ⁴*Am-ma dš-lá-kam dš-tap-ra-ku* ⁵*a-lá-ni ir-bi I-ti-a am-tí* ⁶*ú qí-iš-tám šé-bi-lam* ⁷*a-ḫu-um* 2 1/3 GÍN *kaspam* ⁸*i-na šti-im am-tim šé-bi^a-lam* ⁹[2] ¹⁰*['e]-tù-dí-e damqútí^m* ¹¹[. . .] *il^a-qí-ma lu-šé-bi^a-lam* ¹²*[a-ḫu]-[um]* ¹³*2 e-tù-dí* [rev.] ¹⁴*[damqútí^m] li-qí-ma* ¹⁵*[šé-bi^a-l]am šu-um¹-ki ú šu-ḫu-[x]-ni* ¹⁶*[šé-b]i^a-lam* ¹⁷*1 šú-ḫa-ra* ¹⁸*ar-ḫi-iš* ¹⁹*tù-ur-dam* ²⁰*mì-ma-ša-ma té-em-kà* ²¹*šú-up-ra-am a-na Zu-ra-a* ²²*qí-bi-ma šu-ma a-na šti-mi-im* ²³*<ša>e-me-ri* ²⁴*i-sá-ḫi-ú-ni-ku* ²⁵*e-me-ri ki-i* ²⁶*10^{is}-ra-at* ²⁷*šé-bi^a-lam šu-up-ra-ma* ²⁸*mì-ma ḫa-ša-aḫ-ta-kà* ²⁹*ú-šé-bi^a-lá-ku dš-lá-kam* [left edge] ³⁰*ú 1 šú-ḫa-ra-am ar-[ḫi-iš]* ³¹*tù-ur-dam*

TRANSLATION

¹To Nabî-Enlil speak: ²Thus (says) Enna-Aššur: I am well. ³From Zalpa I have returned. ⁴Amma, the washerman, I have sent to you. ⁵My *allânum* has grown. Itia, my servant girl, ⁶and a gift send to me. ⁷Besides, 2 1/3 shekels of silver ⁸as the price (i.e., wages) of the servant girl send to me. ⁹[Two] good he-goats ¹⁰[. . .] took; may he send (them) to me. ¹¹[Beside]s, 2 [goo]d he-goats [rev.] ¹²take and ¹³[send to] me. . . . and . . . ¹⁴[sen]d to me. One servant boy ¹⁵send to me quickly. ¹⁶Whatever your order, ¹⁷write to me. To Zuraa ¹⁸say: If against the price ¹⁹<of> the sheep they rebel, ²⁰the sheep as tithes ²¹send to me, and write to me. ²²Whatever your desire, ²³I have sent (it) to you. The washerman [left edge] and 1 servant boy qu[ickly] ²⁵send (back) to me.

¹ Engler and Gilg, *Syllabus der Pflanzenfamilien* (Berlin, 1924) pp. 246 and 263.

² Cf. E. Chiera, "Ḫabiru and Hebrews," *AJS* XLIX (1932/33) 115-24, esp. p. 122; E. A. Speiser in *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* XIII (1933) 34 f.

³ *RLA* I 235.

⁴ Cf. A. Walther's translation of the Hittite Code in J. M. P. Smith, *The Origin and History of Hebrew Law* (Chicago, 1931) p. 256, and S. I. Feigin in *AJS* L (1933/34) 227 f.

NOTES

LINE 7.—I do not venture to transcribe gín as *šiglum*, because I do not know what the pl. of that word actually was in Cappadocian. In a few cases *šiglum* in the pl. has the phonetic complement *-tum*, which would point to a form *šiglátum*.¹

LINE 13.—Perhaps the word *šu-um-ki* is identical with *šu-um-ku* in 55:9, where “2 jars” of this unknown commodity are mentioned. The second sign of this questionable word looks, however, more like *ra* than like *um*.

LINE 16.—With our *mimmašamma tēmka* cf. *mimmašamma tērtaka* in *TC* II 12:11.

LINE 19.—On *saḫāum*, “to rebel,” cf. *KTHahn* p. 2.

LINE 22.—The word *hašaḫtum*, “desire,” is an older form of *ḥešeḫtum*.

7

Ališar No. d 2500a, from M 34, Level 10 T; 54×59×16 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹3 MA.NA ša-a[p-tám . . .] ²dAdad-na-šir i-ni-[i-š-a-am . . .] ³3 MA.NA ša-áp-tám [. . .] ⁴ú 20 MA.NA ša-áp-tám m[a-ak-ri-tám] ⁵dAdad-na-šir ú Ma-lu-i i-[ni-iš-ú-nim] ⁶3 MA.NA ša-áp-tám ša Ḫa-h[i-im] ⁷ú 15 MA.NA ša-áp-tám ma-a[k-r]i-tám ⁸dAdad-na-šir i-ni-iš-a-am ⁹10 MA.NA ša-áp-tám ma-ak-ri-tám ¹⁰E-nam mera² Št-wi-na-lá i-ni-iš-a-[am] ¹¹[x] na-aḫ-lá-pá-ti ša ku-ta-ni ¹²d¹Adad-na-šir i-ni-iš-a-[am] ¹³1 na-aḫ-lá-áp-tám ša ku-ta-nim [rev.] ¹⁴Ma-lu-i i-ni-iš-a-am mi-ma ¹⁵ša-áp-tám x x x ša-du-ur ¹⁶3 x x x x-ma Be-lá-ni ¹⁷ú-šé-bi-lá-ku-[um x] gín kaspam ¹⁸a-šu-mi-kà a-na Wa-li-‘wa’-[li] dš-gul ¹⁹5 gín kaspam a-šu-mi-kà a-na ²⁰[I]-na-ar dš-gul 1 1/2 gín kas[pam] ²¹[a-šu]-mi-kà a-na dAdad-n[a-šir dš-gul] ²²[x x] be-ri [. . .] ²³[x x x] ku-ur-ku [. . .] ²⁴[x x x] na-ri [. . .] (3 lines destroyed) [left edge] ²⁸[. . .]-ma 4 1/2 gín kaspam ²⁹[. . .] gín kaspam a-na ³⁰[. . .]-ti dš-gul

TRANSLATION

¹Three minas of wo[ol . . .] ²Adad-nāšir has bro[ught to me . . .]. ³Three minas of wool [. . .] ⁴and 20 minas of r[ed] wool ⁵Adad-nāšir and Malui h[ave brought to me]. ⁶Three minas of wool of Ḫaḥ[ḫum] ⁷and 15 minas of r[ed] wool ⁸Adad-nāšir has brought to me. ⁹Ten minas of red wool ¹⁰Ennam the son of Šiwinala has brought ¹¹to me. ¹²[x] tunic-shirts ¹³Adad-nāšir has brought [to me]. ¹⁴One tunic-shirt [rev.] ¹⁵Malui has brought to me. All the ¹⁶wool ¹⁷Three Belani ¹⁸has brought to y[ou. x] shekels of silver ¹⁹in your name to Wali[wali] I have weighed out. ²⁰Five shekels of silver in your name to ²¹[I]nar I have weighed out. One and one-half shek[els of sil]ver ²²[in] your [na]me to Adad-n[āšir] I have weighed out. (6 lines almost or wholly destroyed) [left edge] ²⁸[. . .] 4 1/2 shekels of silver ²⁹[. . . . x] shekels of silver to ³⁰[. . .]ti I have weighed out.

NOTES

LINE 1.—On *šaptum*, “wool,” cf. *KTHahn* p. 2. For the ideogram sfg = *šaptum*, cf. M. David in *OLZ* XXXVI (1933) 213, n. 4. In later periods the word *šipātum*, pl. of a nonexistent **šiptum*, is used for “wool.”

LINE 2.—The form *inniš'am* < *inniš'am* < *innaš'am* cannot be anything else but IV 1 pret. from *našā'um* (with active meaning, however), analogous to *i-ḫi-ib-lam* (*passim*) from *ḫabālum*. Cf. also 55:46.

LINES 4, 7, AND 9.—The word *ma-ak/g/q-ri-tám* occurs also in 46 B x+3. It may well be derived from

¹ E.g., 1 gín TA kaspam a-na 10 gín-tim (*BIN* IV 57:16 f.); 10 gín-tum 1 gín TA (*CCT* I 6 b 9); 10 gín-tum 1 gín-tum (*EL* 90 A 15 and B 10). See *EL* p. 35, n. d. Cf. perhaps also 3 gín (= *šiglāti*) kaspam da-am-qá-ti [. . .] šu-bi-lam (*F. Lutz*, *UCP* IX, No. 4, 13:5).

the root *mkr*, in Arabic “to be red.”¹ The expressions *ina litti* (GIŠ.ŠÚ.A)² *ma-ak/g/q-ri-ti* (CT XXXIX 39:7) and [*ina*] *iši ma-ak/g/q-ri-i* (*ibid.* line 10) in omen texts are perhaps connected with our word. The commentaries to this text do not explain this word; they read: GIŠ.ŠÚ.A *ma-ak/g/q-ri-tum* = *ul [i-di]*, “I do not [know]” (CT XLI 33 obv. 2). The word *magritu*, “hostility” (pl., “bad words”), from the root *grī* has probably nothing to do with our expression.

LINES 5 AND 14.—Cf. the personal name *Ma-lu-i* (KTHahn 37:18). Lewy reads there a *ba-lu-i*, “zum Verbrauchen.”

LINE 6.—On *Ḫaḫḫum* cf. p. 10.

LINE 10.—The personal name *En-nam*, quoted by Schneider (*Orientalia* XXIII [1927] 67) after E. Chiera, *Selected Temple Accounts* . . . (Princeton, 1922) 15 iii 13, is clearly *En-zi* (read thus by Chiera also, *ibid.* p. 17).

LINE 11.—The word *kutānum* (or *kutannum*?), evidently an enlarged form from *kitām*, “linen,” has given rise to Greek χιτών, κιθών, Latin *tunica* (< **ctunica*), etc.³

LINE 18.—The fem. personal name *Wali-wali* is mentioned in that form in KTS 3 a 17 and 19, as *Wawali* in G. Contenau, *Trente tablettes cappadociennes* (Paris, 1919) 5:8, and as *Wala-wala* in our 59:24. The same personal name⁴ occurs also in an unpublished Cappadocian text copied by me at Kayseri: ¹⁸ GÍN ḫurāṣum ²nī-is-ḫa-sú watrá ³ku-nu-ki-šu Wa-lí-wa-lí ⁴a-na A-šur-ba-ni ⁵mera⁵ Be-lúm-na-da ⁶ta-dí-in-ma a-na ⁷ši-ir A-ta-li ⁸mera⁵ A-mur-ì-lí ⁹a-na a-lim⁵ ¹⁰a-na ší-a-ma-tim ¹¹na-ši maḫar Li-ma-Ištar ¹²mera⁵ I-zi-ḫi-im ¹³maḫar Dan-A-šur mera⁵ ¹⁴En-um-A-na. “Eight shekels of gold, ²in addition to its taxes, ³(with) its seal *Wali-wali* ⁴to Aššur-bānī ⁵the son of Bêlum-na-da ⁶has given. ⁷To Atali ⁸the son of Amur-ili ⁹to the city ¹⁰for the established (prices) ¹¹he carries (it). Before *Lima-Ištar* ¹²the son of Iziḫum. ¹³Before Dan-Aššur the son of ¹⁴Ennum-Ana.”

8

Alişar No. d 2860a, from P 27, Level 10 T; 41×41×16 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

(probably 1 line destroyed) ²[x x] MA.[NA] 5 GÍN kaspam ³ša-ru-pá-am i-ši-ir ⁴d¹A¹-šūr-lá-ma-sí ⁵mera⁵ Puzur-A-na A-ta-ta ⁶i-šu iš-tù ⁷warah¹ ^{KAM} a-lá-na-tim ⁸[l]i-mu-um ⁹Ḫa-na-na-ru-um ¹⁰a-na ša-na-at [rev.] ¹¹kaspam i-ša-gal ¹²šu-ma la₆ iš-qú-ul ¹³1 1/2 ¹GÍN kaspam¹ ¹⁴a-na 1 MA.NA^{e-em} ¹⁵i-na warḫim¹ ^{KAM} im ¹⁶ši-ib-tám ¹⁷[ú]-ša-ab

TRANSLATION

(probably 1 line destroyed) ²[x] mi[nas] 5 shekels of ³refined silver charged to ⁴A¹ššur-lamassi ⁵the son of Puzur-Ana has Atata. ⁶(Reckoning) from ⁷the month of Allānātum, ⁸[e]ponym ⁹Ḫananarum, ¹⁰in a year [rev.] ¹¹he (Aššur-lamassi) shall weigh out the silver. ¹²Suppose he should not weigh (it) out, ¹³1 1/2 ¹shekels of silver¹ ¹⁴per mina ¹⁵per month ¹⁶as interest ¹⁷[he s]hall add.

NOTES

LINES 7 AND 15.—The number “1” after *warah* is written here pleonastically as in the phrase *a 1 MA.NA^{im}* (TMH 9 b 1) for the usual *a-MA.NA^{im}* or *a-na MA.NA^{im}*. The reading *a ištēn* is impossible in Cappadocian (cf. p. 21).

LINE 12.—The sign LA₆ (LAL+LAL), in contrast to its infrequent use in the Kültepe texts,⁶ occurs often in the Alişar inscriptions. Besides its use in *la₆ iš-qú-ul* here, this sign occurs in 15:18; 31:6; and 42:4.

¹ Bezold, *Glossar* p. 172, translates *makrā* with “feuerrot, rot(?)”; for other translations and examples see Delitzsch, *HWB* pp. 392 f., and Muss-Arnolt p. 512, under *magrā*.

² GIŠ.ŠÚ.A = *littu*; cf. Friedrich in *MVAG* XXXIV, Heft 1 (1929) pp. 25 ff.

³ H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter* . . . (Lipsiae, 1914) p. 37.

⁴ Cf. also the personal name *Wwl* in M. Lidzbarski, *Altaramäische Urkunden aus Assur* (WVDOG XXXVIII [1921]) p. 8:10 and Nachtrag.

⁵ Or read *Ti-ša-ma-Ištar* = *Tiššama²i-Ištar*, “Hear continuously, O Ištar”?

⁶ Cf. *TC* II p. 6, n. 2.

Ališar No. d 2711, from dump soil, Level 10 T; 35×30×16 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹um-<ma> ⁴En-lil-n[a-šir-ma] ²a-na I-dī-Ku-b[i₄-im] ³qt-bi₄-ma ṽ a-b[i a-ta] ⁴šu-ma 'li¹-b[i . . .]
⁵Ha-zu-[. . .] ⁶a-n[a . . .] ⁷ú [. . .] ⁸me-[. . .] ⁹x-[. . .] [rev.] ¹⁰ma-[. . .] ¹¹ša-[. . .] ¹²ku-be-[. . .] ¹³a-na
 šit-[mì-im . . .] ¹⁴a-na bīt [. . .] ¹⁵A-bu-ša-lim [. . .] ¹⁶maš-kà-ni šé-bi₄-[lam] ¹⁷a-dī-i a-lá-kà-[ni] ¹⁸li-
 bi₄-št-ú [šu-ma] ¹⁹iš-li-mu [. . .] ²⁰na-dš-pè-er-t[a-kà] ²¹li-li-kam [left edge] ²²a-ḫi a-ta i-ḫi-id-ma ²³lu gi-mì-li

TRANSLATION

¹Thus (says) Enlil-n[āšir]: ²To Iddi(n)-Kubum ³say: [My] brother [you are]. ⁴If 'the heart' [. . .]
⁵Hazu[. . .] (4 lines almost destroyed) [rev.] (3 lines almost destroyed) ¹³for the price [. . .]. ¹⁴To the
 house [. . .] ¹⁵Abu-šalim [. . .]. ¹⁶The pledges sen[d to me]. ¹⁷Until my coming ¹⁸may they be (there).
 [Whether] ¹⁹they are well [. . .], ²⁰may [your] message ²¹come. [left edge] ²²My brother you are. Watch
 out. ²³Have mercy upon me.

NOTES

LINE 2.—My transliteration of the personal name *I-dī-Ku-b[i₄-im]* is based on the belief that the sign \triangle has only the values *dī*, *tī*, *ti*,¹ never *din*, *tin*, *ṭin*, in Cappadocian.² My interpretation of this name as Iddin-Kubum, "Kubum has given," varies from that in EL, where the element *i-dī* in personal names is interpreted not as *iddin*, "gave," but as *iḫi*, "knows," evidently from the root *wadā³um*, "to know."³ But the personal name *I-dī-a-bi₄-im mera³ Šu-Ištar* (BIN IV 197:15 f.) corresponds to that written *I-dī-in-a-bi₄-im mera³ Šu-Ištar* (CCT I 22 b 10 f.);⁴ *I-dī-a-bi₄-im mera³ I-dī-Ištar* (CCT II 10:69) corresponds to *I-dī-a-ba-am mera³ I-dī-in-Ištar* (BIN IV 61:39); and the personal name *E-dī-A-šūr* (CCT IV 14 a 2 and 4) is also spelled *E-dī-na-a* (*ibid.* line 19).⁵ Moreover, in later periods the root *iḫi*, "to know," is extremely rare as an element in personal names; on the other hand, almost all the Cappadocian personal names compounded with *i-dī* are to be found with *iddin* in the Assyrian period.⁶

The variants just cited and the later usage make it clear that the verb intended here is *iddin*. The fact that *i-dī* and *i-dī-in* interchange in the writing of this element means one of two things: Either (1) the sign \triangle , in addition to its value *dī*, has also the value *din*,⁷ or (2) the frequent loss of *n* is a phonetic phenomenon. The first alternative seems out of the question, for it would leave unexplained such forms as *A-šur-i-ti*, *A-šūr-i-ti*,⁸ and *I-ti-A-šūr*,⁹ in which the sign π cannot have the value *din*.¹⁰ The second alternative is evidently the true explanation. The weakness of *n* can be seen clearly from the fact that in Assyrian *n* is always assimilated to a following consonant. Examples are *nī-da-ma*, "we shall give" (CCT II 12 b 19); *šu-ku-ma*, "place" (*ibid.* 45 b 30); *ra-ma-kà*, "yourself" (KTBl 6:5); *e-ku-nu*, "your eye" (BIN IV 89:9); *e-kà*, "thy eye" (*ibid.* line 16); *nī-da-št-im*, "we shall give her" (KTHahn 8:12); *I-ku-pa-ša* = Ikûn-pāša (KTHahn 7:6); *Da-ga-ma-al-ki-im* = Dagan-malkim (KTBl 8:7); *a-du-ra-ar* (AOB I 8:13); *a-lu-um dī-nam i-ti-ma* (Babyloniaca IV [1910–11] 77:2 f.). But the weakness of *n*¹¹ is shown even

¹ So Landsberger in OLZ XXVIII (1925) 230; Thureau-Dangin, TC II p. 5; and EL *passim*.

² See below.

³ Thus EL 25:15; 94:6 and 9; 179:6; etc. A similar compound is transcribed by Landsberger as Assur-Idi (e.g., AO XXIV, Heft 4 [1925] p. 21 [= TC I 2:1] and p. 22 [= TC I 8:1]).

⁴ Cf. also *A-šūr-mu-ta-bi-ils₄ mera³ I-dī-na-bi-im* (TCL I 239:2 f.), where the father's name can be transcribed only as Iddin-abum, not as *Idt-Nabûm, because the name of the god Nabû never occurs in the Cappadocian tablets.

⁵ Cf. the interchange of *E-dī-na-A-šūr mera³ I-sá-li-a* (EL 227:27) with *E-dī-na-a mera³ I-sá-li-a* (*ibid.* line 31), also the examples quoted in EL p. 229, n. b. Note in the Drehem material also the many personal names beginning with *i-ti* and *i-din* (*Orientalia* XXIII [1927] 115) and *da-ti* and *da-din* (*ibid.* pp. 50 f.).

⁶ Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* p. 94: Iddin-abu, Iddina-Aššur, Iddina-Ištar, Iddin-Bêl, etc.

⁷ As accepted by Stephens, PNC p. 3, and by Lewy in his first work, *Studien zu den altassyrischen Texten aus Kappadokien* (Berlin, 1922) p. 32, n. 14 (later rejected).

⁸ Stephens, *op. cit.* p. 18.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 51.

¹⁰ π with the value *dī* occurs in Cappadocian; cf. e.g. KTS 51 c 5 and 11; CCT III 5 a 27; BIN IV 32:14 and 77:7.

¹¹ Cf. Speiser, "Vocalic N in Assyrian," *Language* I (1925) 107 f.

more clearly by its assimilation to a following *weak* consonant in such words as *i^uud* < **in^uud*, from *na^aādum*, “to praise”; *i^uwalid* < **in^uwalid*, IV 1 from *walādum*; *i^uabit* < *in^uabit*, IV 1 from *abātum*; *ma^aīdum* < **man^aādum*, “bed”; *ma^aīdum* < **man^aārūm*, “part of a plow”; and the names *Zijatum* and *Sijatum* < *Sin^aijatum*.

Since such a name as *I-di-A-šur* certainly corresponds to Iddin-Aššur, it is tempting to assume that names of the *A-šur-i-di* type would correspond to Aššur-iddin etc. But I do not know of other instances in which a final *n* disappears, unless the personal name *Šu-La-ba* (CCT 6 b 11, written *Ma-la-ba*; cf. EL p. 35, n. e) corresponds to Šu-Laban¹ and the name of *I-a-ku-la-ba*, father of Ititi (KAH II 1:3), is to be interpreted as Iakū(n)-Laba(n), not Iakū(n)-Labbā as explained by Lewy.²

LINE 23.—With *gi-mi-li* cf. *gi_s-im-li* (e.g. in CCT II 26 a 19). The short form *gimli* occurs in the Cappadocian tablets together with *gimlanni* (e.g. in BIN IV 94:20), the enlarged form with the infix *-am*. For the examples cf. Lewy in OLZ XXX (1927) 26; KTB I pp. 19 and 26; KTHahn p. 4.

10

Alişar No. d 2606, from Q 30, Level 10 T; 63×46×20 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹3 LÁ 1/4 <GÍN> kaspum šit-im ²šú-ba-ti-im 1 1/2 GÍN ³kaspum ⁴iš¹-tù Du-⁵du¹ ⁶41 G[IN kas]pum šit-im ⁷ša-ap¹-ti-im 1 LÁ 1/4 GÍN ⁸kaspum ⁹šit-im tá-ab-ti ¹⁰x+1 GÍN kaspum šit-im ¹¹mu-pá-z[i-ri]-im ¹²1/4 GÍN kaspum ¹³šit-im šamnīm (NI.GIŠ) ¹⁴12 1/2 GÍN kaspum šit-im ¹⁵mu-nu¹-ti 1 1/2 GÍN ¹⁶13 kaspum šit-im šamnīm (NI.GIŠ)

[rev.] ¹⁷14/3 GÍN 15 ŠE kaspam ¹⁸a-na A-¹⁹lu-lu-ú¹ ²⁰16 a-di-in 15 ŠE kaspam ²¹a-na mu-²²šit-ni¹ a-di-in ²³18 1/4 <GÍN> 7 1/2 ŠE kaspam ²⁴a-na ki-ri-im a-di-in ²⁵201 ku-ub-šu-um ²⁶ú 3 šit-šu ku-me-šu ²⁷22 ša ra-mi-ni-a a-di-in ²⁸23 1/4 <GÍN> kaspam a-na ²⁹24 ki-ri-im i-nu-mi ³⁰25 bu-x-x-nu ki-ri-³¹e¹ ³²26 ni-si-ú [left edge] ³³27 a-di-in

TRANSLATION

¹Three minus 1/4 <shekels> of silver, the price ²of a garment; 1 1/2 shekels ³of silver ⁴fr¹om Dudu; ⁵41 she[kel of sil]ver, the price ⁶of ⁷wo¹ol; 1 minus 1/4 shekel ⁸of silver, ⁹the price¹ of salt; ¹⁰x+1 shekels of silver, the price ¹¹of the *storekeeper*; ¹²1/4 shekel of silver, ¹³the price of oil; ¹⁴12 1/2 shekels of silver, the price ¹⁵of . . . ; 1 1/2 shekels ¹⁶of silver, the price of oil.

[rev.] ¹⁷One-third shekel 15 grains of silver ¹⁸to A-¹⁹lulú¹ ²⁰I have given; 15 grains of silver ²¹for our *mûši^um*-man I have given; ²²18 1/4 <shekel> 7 1/2 grains of silver ²³for a lamb I have given; ²⁴201 turban ²⁵and 3 . . . ²⁶of my own I have given; ²⁷23 1/4 <shekel> of silver for ²⁸24 a lamb, when ²⁹25 . . . of the lambs ³⁰26 we counted, [left edge] ³¹27 I have given.

NOTES

The obverse is a record of receipts, the reverse a record of payments.

LINE 1.—After the LÁ in this line and that in line 5 there is a vertical wedge, the value of which I do not understand.

LINE 8.—Cf. *mu-pá-zi-ri-im* in TC I 81:17. The root of this word is *pzr*, “to hide”; cf. Landsberger, AO XXIV, Heft 4, p. 24.

LINE 12. For *munûtum*, an implement, cf. p. 64.

LINE 17.—The translation of the word *mûši^um* is difficult. Lewy, KTHahn p. 15, n. 1, and EL p. 323, n. e, considers it as the causative participle of *wašā^um*, “to go out,” and translates “der herauskommen lassende” as “(a) Amtsbezeichnung, (b) Kapitalbetrag.”

¹ Examples in Stephens, *op. cit.* p. 66.

² EL p. 35, n. e. The name *I-a-ku-la-ba*, however, can be explained in still another way, as Ijakku-la^aba, a form parallel to Ištar-na^ada (TC I 67:7) and Ištar-la^aba (TC I 71:2 and 6). *Lá-ba-na-da* (Gol. 12:2), however, would be Laba(n)-na^ada. *Ijakkum* as a deified shrine occurs in the personal name ^u*Ia-a-ku-lim^uir* (KAJ 17:11; 59:3; 76:25; etc.). *I-a-ku-la-ba* is explained as a Gutian personal name by Forrer in RLA I 230 f.

LINE 21.—Perhaps instead of 3 *št-šu* we should read *šalšit-šu* as in *CCT* IV 33 b 6. The next sign looks like *sīg*+*Aš*, which means “dark red wool”; but that it really is this ideogram in our case is very doubtful.

11

Ališar No. d 2200g, from M 33, Level 10 T; 30×34×14 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹35 *ku-ta-nu* ²2 *subat* *qd-ab-li-ú-tum* ³2 *subat* *ku-si-a-tum* ⁴2 *ku-ša-tum* ⁵*damqatum* 2 *x-na* ⁶5 *ku-ša-tum* ⁷[1] *ku-šu-tum* *ša lu-bu-uš-ti* [rev.] ⁸10 *na-ab-lá-pá-tù* ⁹3 *ba-ku* ¹⁰3 *št-zi-ru* ¹¹4 *ha-ma* ¹²4 *ku-si-a-tù* ¹³*napḥar* 12 *gín kaspum* ¹⁴*ša Be-lúm-mu-ša-lim* ¹⁵8 *gín kaspum* [left edge] ¹⁶*št-im ku-ta-ni* ¹⁷*ša Ma-nu-ša-a-šur* ¹⁸ú *št-im* URUDU

TRANSLATION

¹Thirty-five tunics, ²2 kilts, ³2 headdresses, ⁴2 good *kušutum*, ⁵2 . . . , ⁶5 *kušutum*, ⁷[1] *kušutum* of a garment, [rev.] ⁸10 shirts, ⁹3 *bakum*, ¹⁰3 *šizirum*, ¹¹4 *hama*, ¹²4 headdresses—¹³total (price), 12 shekels of silver ¹⁴of Bêlum-mušallim, ¹⁵(consisting of) 8 shekels of silver, [left edge] ¹⁶the price of the tunics ¹⁷of Mannu-ša-Aš<*šur*>, ¹⁸and the price of the copper.

NOTE

The words *kušutum*, *bakum*, *šizirum*, and *hama* (or read 1 *a!-ha-ma* instead of 4 *ha-ma*?) do not occur anywhere else in Assyrian literature. Some of them may be Protoḫattic names of garments. Cf. such items as 50 *subat* *ma-ku-ḥu* (*CCT* I 15 a 3) or 3 *subat* *na-ma-šu-ḥu* (*ibid.* line 5), which are certainly not of Assyrian origin.

12

Ališar No. d 2860b, from P 27, Level 10 T; 50×44×14 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹*kà-ru-um* *Kà-ni-iš* ²*dī-nam* ³*i-[dī-i]n-ma* ⁴1/3 MA.NA [3] *gín kaspam* ⁵*A-ni-na mera* ⁶*Ar-zi-a-mur* ⁷*a-na nu-a-e-im* ⁸*i-ḥi-bi-il-ma* ⁹1/3 MA.NA 3 *gín kaspam* ¹⁰*ḥu-bu-lu-šu I-dī-Ku-bu-u[m]* ¹¹*mera* ¹²*Ū-šur-ša-A-šur a-an-tim* ¹³*iš-qú-ul-šu* ¹⁴*A-ni-na iš-tù* ¹⁵*bīt nu-a-e-im* [rev.] ¹⁶*ū-šé-št-a-šū* ¹⁷*a-dī-i* 1/3 MA.NA ¹⁸3 *šiqlē* ¹⁹*kaspam I-dī-Ku-bu-um* ²⁰*mera* ²¹*Ū-šur-ša-A-šur* ²²*ušt-ta-bu-ú A-ni-na tamkâr-šu* ²³*ú tamkâr* ²⁴*a-bi-šu* ²⁵*ú lá i-ša-ba-sú!* ²⁶*warah* ²⁷*ḥu-bu-ur* ²⁸[*i-m[u-um . . .]*]

TRANSLATION

¹The *kârum* of Kaniš ²has (thus) [rendered] judgment: ³One-third mina [3] shekels of silver ⁴Anina the son of Ar-zi-a-mur ⁵to the *nuâum* ⁶owed. ⁷One-third mina 3 shekels of silver, ⁸his debt, Iddi(n)-Kubu[m] ⁹the son of Ušur-ša-Aššur . . . ¹⁰has weighed out to him, (and) ¹¹Anina from ¹²the house of the *nuâum* [rev.] ¹³he has released. ¹⁴Until with 1/3 mina ¹⁵3 shekels ¹⁶of silver Iddi(n)-Kubum ¹⁷the son of Ušur-ša-Aššur ¹⁸is satisfied, Anina (object) ¹⁹his merchant or the merchant ²⁰of his father (subjects) will not seize (for debt). ²¹Month of Ḥubur, ²²epo[nym . . .].

NOTES

LINE 4.—With *Ar-zi-a-mur* cf. possibly ⁴*Ar-sa-a-mur* (*BE* XV 164:3).

LINE 5.—On *nuâum* cf. p. 37.

LINE 9.—Is the obscure word *a-an-tim* related to *a²antum*, “Feindseligkeit,” discussed by Ungnad in *ZA* XXXI (1917/18) 38?

LINE 13.—The sign *ū* is often used in Cappadocian, as in Old Akkadian, not only as conjunction but also as a syllable. Cf. for example *ū-št-a-am* (*CCT* IV 18 b 7), *ū-šé-ša-kum* (*ibid.* line 9), *ū-za-ki* (*CCT* II 38:6).

CUNEIFORM TEXTS

33

13

Alişar No. d 2200d, from M 33, Level 10 T; 47×51×16 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

(beginning destroyed) ^{x+1}šu [x] ma ra [. . .] ^{x+2}URUDU ša [. . .] ^{x+3}ma-ar-ú [. . .] ^{x+4}tí-šu-ú ha-ra-n[am . . .] ^{x+5}šú-ha-ra-am iš-tí-[kà li]-qí-ma ^{x+6}a-na ba!-tí ša Kà-ni-iš ^{x+7}li-ip-qí-sú-nu a-šu-mì ^{x+8}e-ma-ri-im ša tù-šé-¹ri-ba¹-šu ^{x+9}a-na-kam maḥar a-ḫi-e-kà ^{x+10}a-dí-i iš-ri-šu [rev.] ^{x+11}ú-ki-ri-im-ma ^{x+12}ú-kà-li-im-šu-ma ^{x+13}ma-ma-an lá-qá-ú-šu ^{x+14}lá i-mu-a a-ma-¹kam¹ ^{x+15}šu-ma a-na 15 GÍN kaspim ^{x+16}a-na Zu-ni dí-šu šu-ma ^{x+17}lá ¹ru¹-a-am Be-lá-zu-a [ù . . .] ^{x+18}a-na Kà-ni-iš lu-[. . .] ^{x+19}ú lu-ta-e-ru-ni [. . .] (rest of rev. destroyed) [left edge] ^{y+1}[. . .]-e-nam li-pu-ul-šu-ma ^{y+2}[a-na . . .] li-li-ik

TRANSLATION

(beginning destroyed) ^{x+1}. . . [. . .] ^{x+2}the copper of [. . .] ^{x+3}the sons [. . .] ^{x+4}she has. The road [. . .]. ^{x+5}The servant bo[ly with you ta]ke. ^{x+6}To the district of Kaniš ^{x+7}may he consign them. Concerning ^{x+8}the donkey which you ha[ve bro]ught, ^{x+9}here before your brothers ^{x+10}ten times [rev.] ^{x+11}I have . . . ed and ^{x+12}shown him, but ^{x+13}to take him ^{x+14}no one there was willing. ^{x+15}If for 15 shekels of silver (Zuni wants him), ^{x+16}to Zuni give him; if ^{x+17}not, bring (the donkey back) to me. May Belazua [and . . .] ^{x+18}to Kaniš [. . .], ^{x+19}and may they bring back to me [. . .] (rest of rev. destroyed). [left edge] ^{y+1}May [. . .]-ennam pay him, and ^{y+2}[to . . .] may he go.

NOTES

LINE x+6.—Since the reading *a-na b/pa-tí ša Kà-ni-iš¹* is certain, we have here *battum* or *pátum* (same word?), “surroundings,” “territory,” as in *i-na b/pa-tí ša Ra-za-ma*, “in the territory of Razama” (BIN IV 124:4).

LINE x+17.—The form *ruam* might be I 1 impv. from *waráum*, “to fetch,” “to get” (cf. KTHahn p. 25). But the reading *ba-a-am*, “come to me,” is also possible.

14

Alişar No. d 2200c, from M 33, Level 10 T; 52×52×21 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹[. . .] ²[. . .]-šu-Aššur [. . .] ³[. . .]-ma na-dš-pè-er-tum ⁴[. . .] Ḫa-tù-ší-il₅ a-n[a-kam] ⁵[i-na na]-dš-pè-er-tí-šu e-[. . .] ⁶[. . .]-ru-kam-ma na-me-[ir . . .] ⁷[. . .]-tí-šu um-ma šu-ut-ma [. . .] ⁸[. . .] mî-nu-um ur-du-n[im . . .] ⁹[. . . e]-lam-ma iš-tí a-bi-ia [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .]-mar ūmam^{ma-am} ma-[. . .] ¹¹[. . .] iš-tí-in i-du-[. . .] ¹²[. . .] x ú-lá im-du-ud [. . .] ¹³[. . .]-am šu-ma 4/za-lá-áp-[. . .] ¹⁴[. . .] at x x x [. . .] [rev.] ¹⁵[A-b]u-ša-lim li-tù-[ur . . .] ¹⁶ú a]-wa-at-kà lu-ta-ir [. . .] ¹⁷[ú-m]e-ša-ma a-wa-tám ¹⁸[ki]-ma ša ú-na-ḫu-du-[kà šu-pur] ¹⁹[a-na a]-wi-lim um-ma ²⁰Ḫa¹-tù-ší-[il₅-ma . . .] ²¹[tá]m-kà-ri-¹kà lá da¹-[. . .] ²²[Ḫa]-tù-¹uš ba¹-na [. . .] ²³[. . .] . . . [. . .] ²⁴[. . .]-e-ma 2 el-[. . .] ²⁵[. . .] iṣ]-ba-at e-[. . .] ²⁶[. . .] ni-dí-ú x-[. . .] (rest destroyed)

TRANSLATION

¹[. . .] ²[. . .]-šu-Aššur [. . .] ³[. . .] the message. ⁴[. . .] Ḫattušil he[re] ⁵[in] his message [. . .] ⁶[. . .] . . . be see[n . . .] ⁷[. . .] his Thus he (said): [. . .] ⁸[. . .] what came down [. . .] ⁹[. . . c]ame up with my father [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] . . . a day . . . [. . .] ¹¹[. . .] one . . . [. . .] ¹²[. . .] . . . he did not measure. [. . .] ¹³[. . .]. If . . . [. . .] ¹⁴[. . .] . . . [. . .]. [rev.] ¹⁵May [Ab]u-šalim retur[n . . .], ¹⁶[and] your report may he bring back [. . .]. ¹⁷[Dai]ly a report, ¹⁸[a]s I call to [your] attention, [write]. ¹⁹[To] the man thus (says) Ḫattuši[. . .] ²⁰your [me]rchant ¹not¹ . . . [. . .] ²¹[Ḫa]ttuš . . . [. . .] ²²[. . .] . . . [. . .] ²³[. . .] . . . 2 [. . .] ²⁴[. . .] he t[ook] [. . .] ²⁵[. . .] which we have thrown [. . .] (rest destroyed).

¹ Cf. also *a-na ma-at Kà-ni-iš*, “to the land of Kaniš” (TC I 18:41 f.).

NOTE

LINE 4.—The occurrence of the personal name Ḫattušil in this tablet permits many important conclusions: (1) This name, borne later by Hittite kings, evidently belongs, like most of the other Hittite royal names, to the Protoḫattic population. (2) The city of Ḫattuš, from which the personal name Ḫattušil is derived, was already in existence in the Cappadocian period (cf. p. 10). (3) The ethnic ending *-il*, well known in Protoḫattic documents from Boğazköy,¹ was used at Alishar also.²

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Alishar No. d 2200n, from M 33, Level 10 T; 74×80×18 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹*a-na Da-a-a ù Ši-l[i]-i-a a-na* ²*D*¹*a-a-a* ṽ *qí-bi-ma um-ma* [N] *a-bi-^dEn-líl-ma* ³[. . .] *x x-me-e 1 šattam* *maršáku^{ku} a-na-ku* ⁴[. . . áš]-*ta-na-pá-ra-¹kum¹ bít* ⁵[. . .]-*ki a-bi lá ilim a-wa-té-a* ⁶[. . .] *ša-tím*
⁷[. . .] ⁸[. . .] *ma x ša tamkârê^{ti-e}* ⁹[. . .] *x ^dEn-líl* ¹⁰[. . .] *ma [l]i/ša ri-ú-um* ¹¹[. . .] *áb-nu-um* *i-ša-ru-ú* ¹²[. . .] *a-wa-té-a* ¹³[. . .] *ší-dí-tí-im* ¹⁴[. . .] *ma ṽ me-tí-e* ¹⁵[. . .] *i-nu-mì* ¹⁶[. . .] *x x id-ba-ra-ni* ¹⁷[. . .] *a-na-ku* ṽ *ú a-ta* [rev.] ¹⁸[*x x x*] ṽ ¹⁹*A-šùr ú šu-ut ku-la₅ ilê-kà* ²⁰[*x x x*]-*ga-ga-ma a-na* *be-lí-a* ²¹[*i*]-*tù-wa-a-ar* [*x-x*]-*ra-ni uš-tù* ²²[Ḫur]-*ma a-na Ḫa*-[*tù-uš a*]-*li-kam-ma* ²³[*i-na*] *Ḫa-tù-uš* ²⁴*'a-na-ku* ²⁵ṽ *ú a-ta ni-na-me-ir-ma* ²⁶[. . .] *5 MA.NA 13 GÍN kaspam* ²⁷[. . .] *k*-*u-si-a-tim 2 ku-ša-tim* ²⁸[. . .] *a-na* *ba-ri-ni a-dí-i* ²⁹[. . .] *Kà-ni-¹iš¹* ṽ *ú Ḫa-tù-uš* ³⁰[. . .] *ú-ma-lí-i a-na* ³¹*ba-ri-ni* [*a*]-*dí-ma tamkârum^{ru-um}* [*kas*] *pam* ³²*i-lá-qí-ma ú ni-ma-lam* [. . .] *šú* ³³*ni-zu-a-ra-lam* ṽ *6 MA.NA kaspam* ³⁴*'iš¹-tù* ³⁵*A-lu-um-a-ḫ-šu* *mera³ A-bu-ša-lim* ṽ *me-eḫ-ra-tim* ³⁶*al-qí-ma* ṽ *um-ma a-ta-ma* ṽ *a-lá-ak* ³⁷*iš-tù* ṽ *ú-ma-nim* ṽ *kaspam* ³⁸*ú-šé-ba-lá-šu-um* ³⁹*um-ma a-ta-ma* ṽ *tí-ir-tám* ṽ ⁴⁰*a-ni-tám* [left edge] ⁴¹*ša a-* [. . .] ⁴²*a-na* [. . .]

TRANSLATION

¹To Daaa and Šillija. To ²Daaa speak: Thus (says) [N]abí-Enlil: ³[. . .] 1 year I was sick. ⁴[. . .] I was] continuously sending to you. The house of ⁵[. . .] my father. Not by the god's (will) my reports ⁶[. . .] of the year ⁷[. . .] ⁸[. . .] of the merchants ⁹[. . .] Enlil ¹⁰[. . .] the shepherd ¹¹[. . .] and] the stone are straight. ¹²[. . .] my reports ¹³[. . .] of provisions ¹⁴[. . .] the dead (pl.) ¹⁵[. . .] w]hen ¹⁶[. . .] he pushed me away. ¹⁷[. . .] you and I [rev.] ¹⁸[. . .] of] Aššur and those of all your gods ¹⁹[. . .] to my lord ²⁰[he will c]ome back From ²¹[Ḫur]ma to Ḫa[ttuš I w]ent. ²²[In] Ḫattuš you and I saw each other. ²³[. . .] 5 minas 13 shekels of silver, ²⁴[. . .] *x h*]addresses, 2 *kušutum* ²⁵[. . .] between ourselves I have laid (=divided). ²⁶[. . .] Kaniš and Ḫattuš ²⁷[. . .] I have (or "he has") paid, between ²⁸ourselves I have laid (=divided). The merchant [the sil]ver ²⁹will take, and the gains [. . .] his [. . .] ³⁰. . . . Six minas of silver from ³¹Ālum-aḫšu the son of Abu-šalim as compensation ³²I took. Thus you (said): I shall go; ³³from the creditor the silver ³⁴I shall send to him. ³⁵Thus you (said): ³⁶That order [left edge] ³⁷of [. . .] ³⁸to [. . .].

NOTES

LINE 1.—The spelling "Daaa" expresses not the true pronunciation of this personal name but my inability to decide on the correct reading of the group A.A. Of its three accepted pronunciations, *d*, *aḫa*, and *aḫ*, the last must be immediately rejected because it has never been proved and because it does injustice, when tried, to the grammar and phonetics of the Akkadian language.³ The var. forms *da-i-nu* beside *da-a-a-num*, *ša-i-du* beside *ša-a-a-i-du*, and *ḫa-i-ru* beside *ḫa-a-a-ru*⁴ all belong to a later period. They would be impossible in classical Akkadian.

One arrives at the most illogical results, however, in the case of personal names, in which the so-called

¹ Cf. Forrer in ZDMG LXXVI (1922) 231.

² Other Hittite royal names recorded on Cappadocian tablets are *A-ni-ta*=Anittaš (cf. p. 51), *Du-ud-ḫa-li-a*=Tutḫališaš (CCT I 34 a 17), *Ḫu-zi-a*=Ḫuzzijaš (KTHahn 18:26), and possibly *Bur-ši-ḫ*=Muršiliš (BIN IV 200:4; cf. EL p. 105, n. c). Lewy in RHA III (1934) 1 mentions *Bi-it-ḫa-na*=Bithanaš, quoting a tablet in the Louvre.

³ For the whole question cf. E. Schrader in ZA III (1888) 1-16 and 112 f., Y. le Gac in ZA VI (1891) 189-216, and M. Jäger in BA I (1890) 443-91, where the older bibliography is given.

⁴ Cf. ZA VI 209.

"hypocoristic" ending written *a.a* is still often read as *aḫ* by many scholars. From such interchanges as *Ku-ku-a*, *Ku-ku-wa*, *Ku-ku-a-a* and *A-ta-a*, *A-ta-a-a* in Cappadocian,¹ *Hu-bi-ta* (*JEN* 332:35), *Hu-bi-ta-ia* (*JEN* 174:17), *Hu-bi-ta-a-a* (*JEN* 83:36) and *A-ta-a-a* (*JEN* 277:27, *HSS* IX 109:1, 9, 13, 15, and 18), *A-ta-a-a-ia* (*JEN* 421:2 ff.), *A-ta-a* (*HSS* IX 109:17 and 40) among many in Nuzi texts, we can conclude that the hypocoristic ending *a.a* was certainly not read *aḫ*. In every case we can get along very well with the simplest reading, *a'a* or *ā*.² In Nuzi texts *a-a* occurs regularly with personal names ending in *a*, proving such pronunciations as *Ata'a* (<*Ata-ā*); *ia* occurs with names in *i*, as in *Gilija* (<*Gili-ā*); *wa* with those in *u*, as in *Akuwa* (<*Aku-ā*).

In cases properly requiring *a'a* we might easily find a var. reading *aḫa* because of the common interchange of the weak consonants *ḫ* and *ḫ*. The apparently abnormal interchange of *a-a-bu* with *i-a-bu* and *a-a-ru* with *i-a-ru* I explain as follows: The group *aḫa* changed in later periods to *iḫa*,³ which in turn could easily have resulted in *ḫa* alone. Thus the older forms *aḫābu* and *aḫāru* correspond to the later *iḫābu* and *iḫāru*, or even to *ḫābu* and *ḫāru* in the very latest periods. The intermediate form *iḫābu* is shown in the Hebrew personal name *Iḫōb*, *iḫāru* in the name of the month *Iḫār*.

LINE 1.—The writing *Ṣi-li-i-a* for *Ṣi-li-a* is rather unusual in Cappadocian.

LINE 13.—We might read *zi-di-di-im* and compare the word *ṣamza-di-du*,⁴ of unknown meaning. The assimilation of an accented vowel to the following one is contrary to the usual vowel-harmony rule, first defined by Lewy,⁵ but we find a few such exceptions: *a-na id-ri* (*KAJ* 152:3), from *adrum*, "threshing floor"; *bi-ir-di* (*BIN* IV 2:21), *bi-ir-dim* (*ibid.* 172:13), from *wardum*, "slave" (cf. *bar-di-šu*, *CCT* IV 6 b 14). More probable, however, is the equation with *ṣidṭum*, "provisions," "victuals."

LINE 18.—With *ku-la₆ ilā-kā* cf. *ku-lā ṣi-li-a-ni*, "alle Kāsten" (*EL* 155:15 and p. 143, n. a).

LINE 21.—On *Ḫurma* and *Ḫattuš* cf. p. 10.

LINE 31.—The name *Ālum-aḫšu* means "Ālum is his brother." On the element *ālum* in Cappadocian personal names cf. Stephens, *PNC* pp. 1 f., where it is compared with *Al*, *Alla* (see Johns, *An Assyrian Doomsday Book* [Leipzig, 1901] p. 15)⁶ and translated "god," corresponding to Assyrian *ilum*. It is perhaps better, however, to identify our *ālum* with *ālum*, "city," following Ungnad in *AOF* VI (1930-31) 25 f.⁷

LINE 33.—The form *ummānim* is contracted from the usual *ummiānim*.⁸ Cf. *ru-ba-um ū-ma-nam a-na pā-ni-ku-nu i-ḫā-ar-dam*, "the high priest has sent the creditor before you" (*CCT* III 44 b 14 ff.).

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Alişar No. d 2860c, from P 27, Level 10 T; 34×43×14 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹/3 MA.NA 6 2/3 GÍN *kaspam* ²*i-ṣi-ir A-ṣūr-na-da* ³*mera* *A-bu-ša-lim ū ṣu-[ḫa-ri-im]* ⁴*ša Šu-Ištar I-di-Ku-bu-[um]* ⁵*mera* *Ū-ṣur-ša-A-ṣūr* ⁶*i-šu kaspam a-na be-[. . .]* (rest destroyed)

TRANSLATION

¹One-third mina 6 2/3 shekels of silver ²charged to Aṣṣur-na-da ³the son of Abu-šalim and the ser[vant boy] ⁴of Šu-Ištar has Iddi(n)-Kubu[m] ⁵the son of Uṣur-ša-Aṣṣur. ⁶The silver to [. . .] (rest destroyed)

¹ Cf. Stephens, *PNC* pp. 52 and 24.

² This hypocoristic ending *ā* originally expressed probably the interjection "O," used after personal names in the vocative. In later periods such vocative forms became used for other cases also.

³ Cf. also the common development in Old Akkadian and Assyrian of *daiḫnum* to *diḫnum*, *iṣaḫam* to *iṣiḫam*, etc.

⁴ V. Scheil, *Annales de Tukulti-Ninip II* (Paris, 1909) p. 18 and p. 22 rev. 18 and 24.

⁵ *Das Verbum in den "altassyrischen Gesetzen"* (Berlin, 1921) pp. 26-32.

⁶ Cf. also the personal name *Ur-āAl-la* in *Orientalia* XXIII (1927) 78, other names with *Alla* *ibid.* pp. 22 f., and Deimel, *Pantheon*, Nos. 176 ff.

⁷ Cf. also *maḫar A-ṣūr-a-lim* in *Analecta Orientalia* VI (Roma, 1933) Pl. IV 14:24.

⁸ For examples and explanation of the word, cf. Landsberger in *ZA* XXXV (1924) 22 and XXXVIII (1929) 278 and Lewy in *KTHahn* p. 14.

Ališar No. d 2860d, from P 27, Level 10 T; 58×53×23 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹a¹-li-ku-um [. . .] ²ša A-am-ku-w[a . . .] ³[. . .] ⁴Ḥa-šu-a¹-ra [. . .] ⁵ša ru-ba-im ni-si-[ú]-ma ⁶um-ma ni-nu-ma mi-nam a-š[i-i]r ⁷ru-ba-im Zu-ga-li-a ⁸iš¹-pu-¹ra¹-kà um-ma šu-ut-ma ⁹[. . .] a-w[i-lim] ⁹[. . .] ša i-na (3-5 lines destroyed) [rev.] ^{x+1}[. . .] ta-t[a-dt-na-ši] ^{x+2}[a-n]a ¹⁰Šamaš ni-qt-am ta-qt-ma ^{x+3}[hur]dšum a-na sd-ḫi-ir-ti ^{x+4}i-tur⁴-ma I-dt-Ku-bu-[um] ^{x+5}lā ú-ta-ši-ra-ni um-ma ^{x+6}šu-ut-ma ú-ba-artum ^{x+7}i-na a-lā-ni i-na-ši-[šu] ^{x+8}a-ta ¹¹hurdašam¹ ta-ša-qa[l] ^{x+9}I-dt-Ku-bu-[u]m ^{x+10}kaspam x x [. . .] ^{x+11}li-iš-p[u-ra-ma . . .] ^{x+12}a-[. . .] [left edge] ^{x+13}[ú]-ta-¹ru¹ warah¹ ¹⁴šam¹ [. . .] ^{x+14}li-¹mu¹-um [. . .]

TRANSLATION

¹The messenger [and . . .] ²of Amkuw[a . . .] ³[. . .] ⁴Ḥašua¹ra [. . .] ⁵of the prince we called. ⁶Thus we (said): Why to ⁶the prince has Zugalia ⁷sent you? Thus he (said): ⁸[. . . of the m]an ⁹[. . .] who in (3-5 lines destroyed) [rev.] ^{x+1}[. . .] you g¹ave her. ^{x+2}[T]o Šamaš an offering you offered, and ^{x+3}the [go]ld in (its) entirety ^{x+4}came back, and Iddi(n)-Kubu[m] ^{x+5}did not leave it to me. Thus ^{x+6}he (said): The station ^{x+7}among other things will carry [it]. ^{x+8}You will weigh ou[t] the 'gold'. ^{x+9}Iddi(n)-Kubum ^{x+10}the silver . . . [. . .] ^{x+11}may he se[nd . . .] ^{x+12}[. . .] [left edge] ^{x+13}[they will return]. Month [. . .], ^{x+14}eponym [. . .].

NOTES

LINE 5.—For mi-nam, "why," see von Soden in ZA XL (1931) 199, n. 5.

LINE x+6.—See wabartum, "Station, Militärposten," KTHahn p. 6; wabartum, "Fremdenniederlassung," David in OLZ XXXVI (1933) 214 f. Both Lewy and David failed to identify our root with Arabic wbr, "constitit, commoratus fuit aliquo loco" (G. W. Freytag, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* [Halle, 1837] IV 429a), which agrees with Lewy's translation better than with David's. In Old Assyrian initial wa interchanges with initial u. Thus besides wabartum (EL 282 A 1; KTHahn 16:22 and *passim*) we have ubartum (EL 282 B 1 and 267:13). The same interchange is to be observed in wabrum, ubrum; wardum, urdum; warḫum, urḫum; etc. Beginning with Middle Assyrian and continuing in later periods, the forms with initial u seem to have been in the majority. In the Babylonian dialect, instead of the transition from wa to u, the initial w was dropped. Thus in the Kassite period wardum > wardu > ardu.

Ališar No. d 2557, from Q 30, Level 10 T; 61×47×14 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹A-mur-A-šūr mera² ¹Šu-Ištar¹ ²x ša A-šūr a-na ³Ta-az-ku-ul ⁴iš-ba-at-ni-a-ti-ma ⁵um-ma A-mur-A-šūr a-na ⁶Ta-az-ku-ul-ma ⁷2 al-p[ē]-e ú ku-lu-ma-am ⁸ú-ta-[e]-ra-ku-um ⁹a-na wa[rḫim¹] ¹⁰šú-ḫa-ri ¹¹ší-im-tám [t]ù-ta-ra-¹am¹ ¹²lā tū-ta-e-ra-ma ¹³ša ta¹-[aš-b]a-ta-ni ¹⁴u[m-ma] Ta-az-k[u]-ul-ma [rev.] ¹⁵a-na A-mur-A-šūr-ma! ¹⁶ki-na 2 al-pē-a ¹⁷ú ku-lu-ma-am ší-im-tám ¹⁸tū-ta-e-ra-am ¹⁹a-na warḫim¹ ²⁰šú-ḫa-ra-am ²¹lā ú-ta-e-ra-ku-ma ²²1/2 MA.NA kaspam ²³a-ša-qd-lā-ku¹ ²⁴warah¹ ²⁵šam¹ ša ki-na-tim ²⁶li-mu-um Zi-za-a-a ²⁷mera² A-be-na-ra a-na ²⁸a-wa-tim a-ni-a-[tim] ²⁹. . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] ³⁰A-ša-ta-ru-wa i-dí-ni-[a-ti] [left edge] ³¹i-ba-áb-ti¹ maḫar šu-ga-ru-wa-e ³²ša A-šūr ší-bu-ti-ni ³³ni!-dī-in

TRANSLATION

¹Amur-Aššur the son of ²Šû-Ištar¹, ³. . . of Aššur, to ⁴Tazkul ⁵took us (as witnesses). ⁶Thus (said) Amur-Aššur to ⁷Tazkul: ⁸Two o[x]en and a lamb ⁹I [have] returned to you. ¹⁰In a mo[n]th my servant boy ¹¹per agreement you were supposed to return to me. ¹²You have not returned to me ¹³what you [to]ok. ¹⁴Th[us] (said) Taz[kul] [rev.] ¹⁵to Amur-Aššur: ¹⁶Yes, my 2 oxen ¹⁷and a lamb per agreement ¹⁸you have returned to me. ¹⁹In a month the servant boy ²⁰I was supposed to return, (and) ²¹I have not

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returned (him) to you. ²¹One-half mina of silver 'I will weigh out to you'. ²²Month Ša-kinâtim, ²³eponym Zizaaa ²⁴the son of Abenara. To ²⁵these statements ²⁶[the *kârum* of] ²⁷Ašataruwa has committed [us]. [left edge] ²⁸In the gate before the *šugariaum*-emblem ²⁹of Aššur our testimony ³⁰we have given.

B

Ališar No. d 2557, from Q 30, Level 10 T; 65×54×15 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

(beginning destroyed) ¹um-ma Ta-az-ku-ul-ma ²a-na A-[mur]-[A-šûr]-[ma] ³ki-na ⁴al-pêl-[a] ⁵ku-lu-ma-am ⁶tù-ta-e-ra-[am] ⁷a-na warḫim ⁸šû-[ḥa-ra-am] ⁹šî-im-lâm ú-ta-ra-ku-um ¹⁰lá ú-ta-e-ra-ku-um ¹¹1/2 MA.NA kaspam a-ša-qá-lá-ku ¹²warah ¹³ša ki-na-ti ¹⁴li-mu-um ¹⁵Zi-za-a-a mera ¹⁶A-be-na-ra ¹⁷[a]-na a-wa-tim ¹⁸[a-ni-a-tim . . .] (rest destroyed) [left edge] ¹⁹[. . .] li maḥar šu-ga-[ru-wa-e ša] ²⁰A-šûr šî-bu-ti-ni ²¹ni!-dî-in

TRANSLATION

(beginning destroyed) ¹[Thus (said) Tazkul] ²to A[mur]-[Aššur]: ³Yes, [my] ⁴2 oxen ⁵and a lamb ⁶you have returned [to me]. ⁷In a month the ser[vant boy] ⁸per agreement I was supposed to return ⁹to you, ¹⁰(and) I have not returned (him) ¹¹to you. ¹²One-half mina of silver I will weigh out to you. ¹³Month Ša-kinâti, ¹⁴eponym ¹⁵Zizaaa the son of Abenara. ¹⁶To [these] statements ¹⁷[. . .] (rest destroyed) [left edge] ¹⁸[. . .] . . . before the *šuga[riaum]*-emblem of ¹⁹Aššur our testimony ²⁰we have given.

NOTES

LINE A 2.—The first sign does not look like KA+ŠE; the phrase *x ša A-šûr* may be a title.

LINE A 7.—Is *ku-lu-ma-am* derived from *kalûmam* by vowel assimilation? If so, it would be one of the few examples of this kind of vowel harmony.

LINE A 19.—The form *tù-ta-ra-am* is certainly a mistake for *ú-ta-ra-ku-um* (18 B x+7).

LINE A 30.—Both here and in B y+3 the signs read *a-dî-in*. On account, however, of the pl. forms *šibuttini* in A 29 and *išbatniâtî* in A 4 it is certain that the scribe meant *ni!-dî-in*.

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A

Ališar No. d 2200l, from M 33, Level 10 T; 56×46×16 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹1/2 MA.NA kaspam ²ša Na-bi₄-³En-lil ⁴a-na Ga-ri-a ⁵i-ḫi-ib-lu-ni ⁶1/2 MA.NA kaspam Ga-ri-a ⁷ša-bu-ú Ga-ri-a ⁸ú me-ir-ú-šu ⁹[a]-na Na-bi₄-¹⁰En-lil ¹¹a!-šî-ti-šu me-ir-e-šu ¹²[ú m]a-ra-tù ¹³[lá i]-tù-wa-ar [rev.] ¹⁴[šû-ma i]-tù-ar ¹⁵[x] MA.NA kaspam ¹⁶i!-ša-qal ¹⁷ú šu-wa-ti-i ¹⁸i-kà-dab-ra-tim ¹⁹i-du-ku-šu ²⁰maḥar Ḫi-ma-li-[a mera] ²¹Be-el-be-zi ²²maḥar Zu-zu/ur-ba-an ²³maḥar Ḫu-šî-li-ma-²⁴an ²⁵[maḥar] Rabî-sa-du-e ²⁶maḥar Na-ki-ir-ga-an [left edge] ²⁷maḥar Be-ša-ah¹-šu ²⁸mera . . .

TRANSLATION

¹(As to) 1/2 mina of silver ²which Nabî-Enlil ³to Garia ⁴owed, ⁵with 1/2 mina of silver Garia ⁶has been satisfied. Garia ⁷and his sons ⁸[t]o Nabî-Enlil, ⁹his wife, his sons, ¹⁰[and daughters] ¹¹[shall not] come back. [rev.] ¹²[Suppose he (Garia) comes back,] ¹³[x] minas of silver ¹⁴he shall weigh out, ¹⁵or him ¹⁶in the fields ¹⁷they shall kill. ¹⁸Before Ḫimali[a the son of] ¹⁹Belbezi. ²⁰Before Zuzuban (or "Zurban"). ²¹Before Ḫušilima[n]. ²²[Before] Rabî-sadue. ²³Before Nakirgan. [left edge] ²⁴Before Bešaḥšu ²⁵the son of . . .

B

Ališar No. d 2200l, from M 33, Level 10 T

TRANSLITERATION

¹[1/2] MA.NA kas[pam] ²[ša] Na-bi₄-³En-lil ⁴[a-na Ga-ri-a] ⁵[i-ḫi-ib-lu-ni] ⁶[1/2] MA.NA kaspam Ga-ri-a ⁷[š]a-bu-ú Ga-ri-a ⁸[ú] ma-ar-ú-šu ⁹[a-na] Na-bi₄-¹⁰En-lil ¹¹[me]-ir-e-šu a-šî-ti-šu ¹²[ú] ma-ra-tù lá i-tù-

[wa-ar] ¹¹[šu]-ma i-tù-ar ¹²[x] MA.NA [kaspam i-ša-gal] ^{13ff}[ú šu-wa-ti-i i-kà-d̄b-ra-tim i-du-ku-šu . . .]
(rest of obv. destroyed) [rev.] ^{x+1}[kunuk] 'Na-ki-ir'-[ga]-[an] ^{x+2}[kunuk] Hu-ši-li-ú-[ma-an] ^{x+3}[kunuk]
Ra]bī-sa-du-e kunuk [. . .] ^{x+4}[kunuk] Na-ga-ar kunuk Ga-[ri-a]

TRANSLATION

¹(As to) [1/2] mina of sil[ver] ²[which] Nabī-[Enlil] ³[to Garia] ⁴[owed], ⁵[with 1/2 mina of silver Garia]
⁶[has been s]atisfied. Gari[a] ⁷[and] his sons ⁸[to] Nabī-En[lil], ⁹his [s]ons, his wife, ¹⁰[and] daughters shall
not co[me back]. ¹¹[Sup]pose he comes back, ¹²[x] minas [of silver he shall weigh out], ^{13ff}[or him
in the fields they shall kill . . .] [rev.] [. . .]. ^{x+1}[Seal of] 'Nakirgan'. ^{x+2}[Seal of] Hušiliu[man]. ^{x+3}[Seal
of Ra]bī-sadue. Seal of [. . .]. ^{x+4}[Seal of] Nagar. Seal of Ga[ria].

NOTE

LINE A 16.—The pl. *kabrātum* may be either parallel to *kebrātum* (cf. *ḥašaḥtum*: *bešeḥtum*) or mis-
written for *qarbātum*. Other texts use the expression *i-na i-di-nim* in this connection; cf. p. 51.

20

Ališar No. d 2860e, from P 27, Level 10 T; 44×39×12 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹15 GÍN kaspam ṭi-ri ²i-ši-ir A-šūr-rabī ³mera^o A-šūr-i-šū¹ ⁴I-dī-Ku-bu-um¹ ⁵mera^o Ū-šu[r-ša-A-šūr]
⁶i-šu [i-warḥim¹ KAM kaspam] ⁷i-ša-[gal šu-ma] ⁸lā iš-qú-[ul] ⁹. . . . [. . . a-na] [rev.] ¹⁰Ga-r[i-a] ¹¹šī-ib-tām
[ú-ša-áb] ¹²warah¹ KAM [. . .] ¹³ti-[mu-um] ¹⁴Ri-iš-[dAdad] ¹⁵mera^o A-nu-pi-ša¹ ¹⁶maḥar A-nu-nu ¹⁷mera^o
¹⁸Adad-šulūli ¹⁹maḥar Ni-mar-Ištar ²⁰mera^o I-dī-Ku-bi₄-im

TRANSLATION

¹Fifteen shekels of silver . . . ²debited to Aššur-rabī ³the son of Aššur-išu ⁴Iddi(n)-Kubum ⁵the
son of Ušu[r-ša-Aššur] ⁶has. [In a month] ⁷he shall weig[h out the silver. Suppose] ⁸he should not
weig[h (it) out], ⁹. . . . [. . . to] [rev.] ¹⁰Gar[ia] ¹¹as interest [he shall add]. ¹²Month of [. . .], ¹³epo[nym]
¹⁴Riš-[Adad] ¹⁵the son of Anu-piša. ¹⁶Before Anunu ¹⁷the son of ¹⁸Adad-šulūli. ¹⁹Before Nimar-Ištar ²⁰the
son of Iddi(n)-Kubum.

NOTE

LINE 1.—For *ṭi-ri* and the root *ṭarāum*, “aufschmieren, aufstreichen,” cf. Meissner, *Beiträge zum
assyrischen Wörterbuch* I (Chicago, 1931) 48 f., and EL p. 29, n. a. Probably also the common expres-
sion *annuku* or *kaspu ṭi-ri* in *KAJ*¹ belongs to the same verb. According to its form, *ṭi-ri* must be acc.
pl. in apposition to GÍN *kaspam*. For a similar formation cf. . . . MA.NA *kaspam li-ti* (*CCT* I 6 c 1;
7 a 2; etc.).

21

Ališar No. d 2200i, from M 33, Level 10 T; 43×29×14 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹1 GÍN [. . .] ²1 1/4 GÍN Ti-ḡa-ra-šu-ú¹ ³2/3 GÍN A-šūr-ṭa-a-a-ar¹ ⁴1/2 GÍN A-ṭa-a¹-a ⁵1 LÁ 1/6 GÍN
Be-ru-wa¹ ⁶1/2 GÍN Ti-ḡa-ra-šu-ú¹ ⁷1/3 GÍN [. . .] ⁸3/4 GÍN 'Ri'[- . . .] [rev.] ⁹1 LÁ 1/6 Ḥa-za-[. . .]
¹⁰1/4 GÍN 7 1/2 ŠE A-zu ¹¹[x] GÍN Ti-ḡa-ra ¹²[x] GÍN 7 1/2 ŠE ¹³I-du-x-x¹

TRANSLATION

¹One shekel [. . .]; ²1 1/4 shekels Tiḡarašū¹; ³2/3 shekel Aššur-ṭajjār¹; ⁴1/2 shekel Aṭaa'a; ⁵1 minus
1/6 shekel Be'ruwa¹; ⁶1/2 shekel Tiḡarašū¹; ⁷1/3 shekel [. . .]; ⁸3/4 shekel 'Ri'[- . . .]; [rev.] ⁹1 minus
1/6 Ḥaza[. . .]; ¹⁰1/4 shekel 7 1/2 grains Azu; ¹¹[x] shekel Tigara; ¹²[x] shekel 7 1/2 grains ¹³Idu. . . .¹

¹ E.g. *KAJ* 12:3; 13:3; 18:3; 19:3; etc.

CUNEIFORM TEXTS

39

22

Alişar No. d 2860f, from P 27, Level 10 T; 53×57×19 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹2 gâr-ba-tim ša alpim [[x]] ²5 GÍN kaspam šî-im-šî-na ³iš-ti bît Ħa-nu-nu al-qî ⁴2 LÁ ¹1/4 GÍN¹ kaspum a-na Da[. . .] ⁵ša x x x [. . .] ⁶2 LÁ 1/4 GÍN kaspum [. . .] ⁷2 GÍN kaspum Ħa-[. . .] ⁸[x-x]-ud lá i-dî-[. . .] ⁹1/2 [GÍN] kaspum [. . .] (rest destroyed)

TRANSLATION

¹Two oxhides, ²5 shekels of silver their price, ³from the house of Ħanunu I took. ⁴Two minus 1/4 shekels of silver to Da[. . .] ⁵. . . [. . .]. ⁶Two minus 1/4 shekels of silver [. . .]. ⁷Two shekels of silver Ħa[. . .] ⁸. . . [. . .]. ⁹One-half [shekel] of silver [. . .] (rest destroyed).

NOTES

LINE 1.—The translation of *garbatum* by “hide” rests on comparison with Syriac ܠܒܐ, “uter”; Arabic جَرَب, “sac de peau”; Ethiopic ግራብ, “uter, culeus.” The same word occurs also in *BIN* IV 143:1–5: 10 na-ru-uq še'am^{am} i-na ga-ar-bi₄-ti a-na Ħa-bu-a-¹šu¹ ni-iḥ-bu-ul, “10 sacks of barley in the skins (saddlebags?) to Ħabuašu we owe.”

LINE 3.—The form *išti*, “from,” is parallel to, or a mistake for, *ištu*. Cf. 53:4.

23

Alişar No. d 2200j, from M 33, Level 10 T; 35×44×14 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹um-ma Ma-num-¹ba-lúm¹-i-li-ma ²a-na A-šûr-damiq ³qî-bi₄-ma a-na-kam ⁴Be-lúm-mu-ša-lim ⁵i-na šu bu-lu-li-¹šu¹ ⁶e-mu-¹ra-ni¹ [. . .] (rest of obv. destroyed) [rev.] ¹ni-bu-u[m . . .] ²ú ga-šî-im ³ša-¹ak¹-nu a-ma-kam ⁴a-wa-at li-bi₄-kà ⁵2¹ú¹ a-wa-ti ⁶i-na na-dš-pè-er-ti-kà ⁷ú-dî-a-ma ⁸er-¹ba-am¹ ⁹A-num [left edge] ¹⁰ú¹-kà-lim (end?)

TRANSLATION

¹Thus (says) Mannum-¹balum¹-ilim: ²To Aššur-damiq ³say: Here ⁴Bêlum-mušallim ⁵in . . . ⁶has se'en me¹. [. . .] (rest of obv. destroyed) [rev.] ¹ni-bû[m of . . .] ²and of the master ³are set. There ⁴the wish of your heart, ⁵(even) two wishes, ⁶in your letter ⁷let me know; ⁸and the ⁹tax payment¹ ¹⁰Anum [left edge] ¹¹has¹ shown (end?).

NOTES

LINE x+1.—For *nibûm* (title or personal name?) cf. *TC* I 1:1 ff.: [a-na kà-ri]-im Kà-ni-iš qî-bi-ma um-ma ni-bu-um-ma.

LINE x+8.—For *erbum*, “Leistung von Abgaben,” see *EL* p. 289, n. e.

24

Alişar No. d 1650, from S 27, Level 10 T; 32×37×21 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

(beginning destroyed) ¹2 mu-[. . .] ²maḥar 5 da-a-n[i . . .] ³a-na 5 šubâtê¹[a . . .] ⁴am-ḥu-ur [. . .] ⁵15 1/2 GÍN [. . .] ⁶a-ḥu-u[r . . .] ⁷ni-[. . .] (rest of obv. destroyed) [rev.] (beginning destroyed) ¹tamkârum¹ [. . .] ²ú kaspum [. . .] ³lâ i-mu-r[u . . .] ⁴qî-bi₄-ma a-[. . .] ⁵na-[. . .] (rest of rev. destroyed) [left edge] ¹[. . .] a-dî na-ma-li-[a . . .] ²[. . .] mî-ma ú tá-ba-¹at¹ [. . .] ³[i]-ḥi-be-el kaspam [. . .] ⁴[. . .] išti šî-ib-ta-ti-¹šu¹ [. . .]

TRANSLATION

(beginning destroyed) ^{x+1}and 2 [. . .] ^{x+2}before 5 *jud[ges . . .]* ^{x+3}for 5 garments [. . .] ^{x+4}I received [. . .]. ^{x+5}Fifteen and one-half shekels [. . .] ^{x+6}is late [. . .] (rest of obv. destroyed) [rev.] (beginning destroyed) ^{x+1}the merchant¹ [. . .] ^{x+2}and the silver [. . .] ^{x+3}they did not se[e . . .] ^{x+4}say [. . .] ^{x+5}. . . [. . .] (rest of rev. destroyed) [left edge] ¹[. . .]. Until [my] profit [. . .] ²[. . .] whatever, and it is good [. . .] ³[. . . o]wed. The silver [. . .] ⁴[. . .] with its (compound?) interest [. . .].

NOTES

LEFT EDGE, LINE 1.—*na-ma-li* < *na³malum*. Cf. also *ni-ma-lam* in 15:29.

LEFT EDGE, LINE 4.—The double pl. formation, *ṣibtātum*, is an exception in Cappadocian. The usual pl. form of *ṣibtum* is *ṣibātum*. The reading of the middle radical as *b* instead of *p* is based on arguments furnished by W. Eilers, *Gesellschaftsformen im altbabylonischen Recht* (Leipzig, 1931) p. 12, n. 4.

25

Alişar No. d 2200e, from M 33, Level 10 T; 40×36×13 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹*a-na Na* [. . . *mera*] ²*A-bi₄-a qí-bi₄-ma* [*um-ma . . . -ma*] ³*a-na bití¹⁴-kà* ṽ ⁴*ú* [. . . *lu-ú*] ⁵*šu-ul-mu-um a-lúm* [. . .] ⁶*ni-ší-e-kà* ṽ *ni-dí-ma* [. . .] ⁷*ra-ší-a-tí* ṽ *lá i-na* [. . .] ⁸*il₅-qí-ú* ṽ *pá-ni ša* [. . .] ⁹*qá-tim i-ba-ší* [. . .] ¹⁰*amam^{ma-am}* [. . .] ¹¹*ú* [. . .] ¹²*lá* [. . .] [rev.] ¹³*ekallim^{tim}* [. . .] ¹⁴*at-bu-ul-ma* [. . .] ¹⁵*a-tám lá i-ša-a* [al . . .] ¹⁶*ú šamnam a-na 2* [. . .] ¹⁷*pí-šu-nu ni-ša-be* [. . .] ¹⁸*ú iš-tù úmē^{me}* ¹⁹*ú* ²⁰*išti ni-ší e-li* [a-ma] ²¹*a-ta-na-dí-in* ṽ *um* [. . .] ²²*qá-tí-e* ṽ *ki-iz-ba* [am . . .] ²³*lá* *i-ba-ší ma-lá* [. . .] ²⁴*š* [u-ma *ilum lá i* [mu-a . . .] ²⁵*x x* *ší-e* [. . .] ²⁶*x x x* *ní* [. . .] ²⁷*x x x* *lá* [. . .] [left edge] (3 lines illegible)

TRANSLATION

¹To Na [. . . *the son of*] ²Abia say: [Thus (says) . . . :] ³To your house and [to your . . . be] ⁴peace. *The city* [. . .] ⁵we looked upon you and we gave [. . .]. ⁶My possessions not in [. . .] ⁷they took. Before [. . .] ⁸of the hand it exists [. . .] ⁹a day¹ [. . .] ¹⁰and [. . .] ¹¹. . . [. . .] ¹²not [. . .] [rev.] ¹³of the palace [. . .] ¹⁴I took away [. . .]. ¹⁵The road tax he will not as[k . . .] ¹⁶and oil for 2 [. . .] ¹⁷their mouth . . . [. . .] ¹⁸and from the 22d day [. . .] ¹⁹[and] with the people I went [up and] ²⁰I gave. . . . [. . .] ²¹of the hands. A lie [. . .] ²²there is [not]. According to [. . .]. ²³[I]f the god is not will[ing . . .] (lines 24–26 almost destroyed) [left edge] (3 lines illegible).

NOTES

LINE 4.—The greeting formula with *lú šulmum* is entirely unknown in Cappadocian and Old Babylonian letters. Its use begins with the Amarna letters and continues until the end of the Assyrian Empire.¹

LINE 15.—For *ta²tum*, “Wegezoll,” cf. Landsberger in *OLZ* XXIV (1921) 121, n. 1, and esp. Lewy, *KTHahn* pp. 32 f.

26

Alişar No. d 2500c, from M 34, Level 10 T; 43×44×12 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

(obv. destroyed) [rev.] ^{x+1}[um-ma] *a-ta-m* [a . . .] ^{x+2}[x MA.N]A 2 1/4 GÍN [*kaspum . . .]* ^{x+3}[. . .] *bu-lá-tù* . . . ^{x+4}[a-na-kam *sá-hi-ir-tí* ^{x+5}a-ga-ma-ar-ma ^{x+6}a-ta-bi₄-a-ma ^{x+7}a-ta-lá-kam a-ma-kam ^{x+8}i-ší-ir a-wi-il₅-tim ^{x+9}e-in-kà ^{x+10}li-li-ik¹

TRANSLATION

(obv. destroyed) [rev.] ^{x+1}[Thus] you (said): [. . .] ^{x+2}[x min]as 2 1/4 shekels [of silver . . .] ^{x+3}[. . .] ^{x+4}[H]ere my circuit ^{x+5}I will finish, ^{x+6}I will arise, and ^{x+7}I will go. There ^{x+8}upon the lady ^{x+9}may¹ your eye ^{x+10}go¹ (i.e., watch the lady).

¹ Cf. Schroeder's article “Briefe” in *RLA* II 64 f.

NOTES

LINE x+10.—Concerning the form of the 3d fem. sing. Delitzsch writes: “Die 3 m. Sg. wird sehr oft *promiscue* für die 3 f. mitgebraucht”;¹ Ungnad: “3. f. sg. oft durch 3. m. sg. ersetzt (vgl. § 18c); im klassischen Altbabyl. ist das die Regel.”² This rule for the fem. prefix of the 3d person does not suffice, however, in the Cappadocian tablets. I have collected the Cappadocian material and compared it with the material of other periods and dialects. My results coincide in part with those obtained lately by von Soden.³ It is impossible to form an exact idea about the conditions in the Old Akkadian language on account of the small number of examples.⁴ Three fem. forms, *tá-at-ti-in-šum* (RA IX 34 i 2), *tá-di-in* (BE I 11 rev. 7), and *tám-ḫur* (BE I, Pl. VII v 23), occur, which would prove the existence of the prefix *t* in the oldest period of Akkadian. Fem. nouns are used with verbs in the masc. form in the Old Akkadian period in *ḫarrán KI UD-šu₁₁ a i-ši-ir*, “may his military expedition . . . not succeed” (ZA IV [1889] pl. opp. p. 407:29), *4Ištar ma-ḫi-ra la it-ti-šum* (URI 274 ii 11–13), and *4Nin-ḫur-sag-gá in ma-ti-šu₁₁ a-la-da-am li-ip-ru-us* (CT XXXII 4 xii 26–29).⁵ The few cases do not suffice, however, to give a clear idea of the use of the fem. prefixes in Old Akkadian.

The Elamitic dialect, closely related to Old Akkadian, shows the same alternation between prefixed *t* and *i* in fem. forms. Cf. for example *ta-ad-di-in* (Mém. XXIV 374:5), *ta-ad-di-iš-ši* (*ibid.* 381:8 and 36), *ta-ra-a-mu* (*ibid.* 379:39), but elsewhere in this last text *i-na-ḫu* (line 7), *i-li-ku* (line 8), and *i-ta-ad-di-in* (line 40) and in other texts *id-di-in-ši* (*ibid.* 382:13) and *i-ta-ba-al* (*ibid.* 380:16).

With the differentiation of the Babylonian and Assyrian dialects began also a difference in the treatment of fem. forms. In the Babylonian dialect from the time of the Hammurabi dynasty until the beginning of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, the masc. form *ikšud* was regularly used for both masc. and fem. forms. Exceptions, however, can be found in all periods, probably under the influence of some dialect other than Babylonian. Among exceptions of the Hammurabi period are *ta-at-ta-na-la-ka-ma* (VAB VI 232:14), *tu-š[e-l]i-kum* (*ibid.* line 17), and *tu-dam-mi-qá-kum* (*ibid.* line 19).⁶ In Nuzi the masc. forms were always used; the only exception I have been able to find there is *ta-at-ta-la-ak* (HSS V 49:6; *ibid.* line 4 has, however, *it-ta-ši-ma*).

Though during the Old Babylonian and Kassite periods *ikšud* forms for the fem. are predominant, the situation changes entirely with the Neo-Babylonian period. Perhaps the reason for this lies in the influence of the Aramaic dialect, used along with Akkadian during that period in Babylonia, which could have influenced to some extent the morphology of the Akkadian language. In the Neo-Babylonian period (including Persian and Seleucid) the fem. forms almost always prefix *t* and only very exceptionally *i*. Sometimes, however, regular forms and exceptions occur even in the same tablet, for example in Strassmaier, *Inscripfen von Nabuchodonosor* . . . (Leipzig, 1889) 283:3 and 13, *tak-nu-uk-ma*; line 5, *tu-šad-gil*; line 8, *ta-ad-din*; line 10, *ta-ak-kil*; line 11, *taš-šal-laṭ-ma*; lines 12, 14, and 16, *ta-ad-din-nu*; but line 18, *it-tal-ku*.

The use of the fem. prefixes in the Old Assyrian period is entirely different from that in any other.⁷ The Cappadocian texts regularly prefix *t* for verbs depending on a personal, *i* for those depending on

¹ *Assyrische Grammatik* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1906) p. 266.

² *Babylonisch-assyrische Grammatik* (2d ed.; München, 1926) p. 42.

³ ZA XLI (1933) 148–51.

⁴ The form *im-ḫu-ur* (CT XXXII 2 iv 6), taken as fem. by Ungnad (MVAG XX [1916] 64) and von Soden (ZA XLI [1933] 149), is perhaps masc., like the preceding word, *u-ki-il-ši-im-ma*.

⁵ It is not true—as contended by von Soden, *op. cit.* p. 149, n. 1—that the fem. form never occurs in the precativ. Cf. p. 42.

⁶ In line 18 of the same letter, however, masc. prefixes for fem. forms are found in *id-di-ma it-ta-la-ak*.

⁷ Under the term “Old Assyrian inscriptions” I understand the inscriptions of Assyrian kings from the oldest period to Šarrukin I (about 2300–1982 B.C.) and all of the Cappadocian inscriptions (about 2000–1900 B.C.). In the system of writing of that period the most important characteristics are the following: (1) Double consonants are never expressed (cf. p. 20). (2) The following signs, otherwise very common, are never used: A⁷, AŠ, KA, MI, PA, QI, SU, ŠI, ŠÁ, ŠE, ŠÚ, TĒ, TU, U. (3) DI has only the value of *sá*; KIB of *tur*₄; PI of *wa*, *wi*, *wu*; QA of *šál*; SI of *ši*, *še*; ŠI of *lim*. (4) Voiced, voiceless, and emphatic sounds are not distinguished. Thus TA has the values of *ta*, *da*; GA of *ga*, *qa*, *ka*; etc. (5) With the exception of DINGIR, 𒀭.A (and 𒀭), KAM, KI, and TUG, no determinatives are used.

an impersonal, fem. subject. Thus *illik* is used with *têrtum* (BIN IV 86:4 and 8), *išbat* with *qâtum* (CCT II 48:10); but the fem. personal name *Lamassatum* is used with *taddin* (KTHahn 23:6), *aḥâtum* with *tamgur* (CCT III 15:6), etc. Exceptions to this rule are extremely few and are found primarily in tablets where not the Assyrians but natives are mentioned, which might account for the misuse of the fem. prefixes. Thus *i* for *t* occurs irregularly in CCT III 20:38 f.: *ú šú-ḥa-ar-tum da-ni-iš ir-ti-bi* (similarly *i-ir-ta-bi-ú-ni* in line 18); BIN IV 9:20: *šú-ḥa-[ar]-tum₅ ir-ti-bi₄*; TC I 100:15 f.: *šu-ma i-tù-wa-ar 1 manām kaspam ta-ša-qal*; TCL I 240:13 and 23: *ú-lá-ad*.

In the Old Assyrian historical inscriptions there is no example of a fem. form. In the Babylonian inscriptions of Šamši-Adad I¹ we find ¹*Ištar . . . li-iš-bi-ir* (AOB I 26 vi 18) and ¹*Ištar . . . lu-ú iš-ru-kam* (AAA XIX [1932] 105 iii 9). Similarly in the Babylonian inscriptions of Adadnārārī I we have ¹*Ištar . . . li-iš-ku-un* (AOB I 66:60) and *ki-si-ir-tu ši-i ú-šal-ba-ru-ma* (*ibid.* p. 72:33; cf. also similarly p. 74:5 f. and 16 f. and p. 85, No. 8:3). In the Middle Assyrian period there are a few examples of fem. verbal forms; cf. *ta-na-sa-aq, ta-la-aq-[qí]* (KAJ 9:19), *tu-ka-al, ta-ta-na-bal* (*ibid.* line 24), *ta-da-an* (*ibid.* line 27), *tu-ša-ab* (*ibid.* lines 29 and 30), *ta-ti-din* (KAJ 100:19). For masc. forms, on the other hand, cf. *im-me-gi-ir-ma* (KAJ 3:2), *il-qí* (*ibid.* line 4), *i-qa-bi* (*ibid.* line 12).

In the Middle Assyrian law code we have only one sure example with prefixed *t*: *iš-ku ša-ni-tu il-te-ša-ma ta-at-ta-al-pa-at* [ši]-ri-im-ma tar-ti-i-ši (KAV 1 i 82 ff.).

In the New Assyrian period the fem., personal or impersonal, regularly prefixes *t*: *a-bat šarri . . . ta-tal-ka* (HL 88:11 f.), ²*elippu . . . ta-za-az-za* (*ibid.* 89:10), *tú-pa-dš* (*ibid.* line 13), *lu-u ta-li-ik* (*ibid.* rev. 3), *lu tú-pi-iš* (*ibid.* rev. 5), *lu ta-li-ka* (*ibid.* rev. 6), *e-gír-[tú] pa-ni-tú ta-li-kan-ni* (*ibid.* 1206:3 f.). Contrary to von Soden's assumption (*op. cit.* p. 149, n. 1), prefixed *t* occurs very often in the precativ; cf. the examples quoted above and also *lu te-ru-ba*, "may . . . enter" (HL 15:9 and rev. 4; ⁴*Nin-líl . . . lu taš-ru-[uq]* (*ibid.* 1060:8); *ši-pir-ti . . . lu tak-šu-da* (*ibid.* 896 rev. 17). Of other New Assyrian examples, note ¹*Ištar . . . taq-bu-ú* (V R 3 iii 5), *tam-nu-šu-u-ma* (*ibid.* line 7), and a text completely misunderstood by Pinches in *Babylonian and Oriental Record* I (1886–87) 119: ¹*sinništu ša šam-mu a-na mār mu-ti-šá² ta-dš-qu-u-ni ta-du-ku-šu-ni*, "the woman who to the son of her husband has given poison to drink (and) killed him."

27

Ališar No. d 2860g, from P 27, Level 10 T; 40×50×17 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹*a-na Ū-šú-ur-ša-A-šur² qí-bi-ma um-ma Wa-ší-nu-ma-an³ Ū Hu-¹da¹-ar-lá-ma⁴ a-bu-ni a-ta mī-nam* (rest of obv. destroyed) [rev.] (beginning destroyed) ²*am-m[a . . .] ga-ni-za [. . .]*

TRANSLATION

¹To Ušur-ša-Aššur ²say: Thus (say) Wašinuman ³and Hudarla: ⁴Our father are you. Why (rest of obv. destroyed; rev. almost destroyed).

28

Ališar No. d 2200o, from M 33, Level 10 T; 43×55×17 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹*na šattim^{im} [. . .]* (rest not inscribed)

¹ The inscriptions of Šamši-Adad I published in AOB I 22–26 and AAA XIX (1932) 105 ff. are Babylonian, not Assyrian, on account of the following characteristics: (1) Lack of vowel harmony; cf. *i-pa-aš-ša-šu* (AOB I 24 v 10) for Assyrian *ipaššušu*, *ú-na-ak-ka-ru-ú-ma* (*ibid.* v 15) for *unakkurūma*, etc. (2) Use of *ši-pi-ir* (*ibid.* ii 8), *qí-ri-ib* (*ibid.* iii 10), and *be-li-it* (*ibid.* vi 15) for Assyrian *šipar*, *qirab*, and *bēlat*. (3) Use of *šu-ú* (*ibid.* vi 7, also AAA XIX 106 iv 11) for Assyrian *šát*, *ša-a-ti* (AOB I 24 v 22) for *šuāti*. (4) Use of *li-te-ir-šu-nu-ti* (*ibid.* v 7) for *lūtēršunu*. (5) Use of *ša . . . ib-bu-ú* (*ibid.* i 17) and *ša . . . šu-te-iš-bu-ú* (*ibid.* ii 11) for *ša . . . ibbāni* and *ša . . . šutešbāni*. (6) *i-pu-šu* (*ibid.* i 21) for *ēpušu*, *i-na-aḥ-ma* (*ibid.* line 22) for *ēnaḥma*.

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TRANSLATION

¹In the year [. . .] (rest not inscribed).

29

Alişar No. d 2860h, from P 27, Level 10 T; 14×43×15 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

(beginning destroyed) ^{x+1}št-[ib-t]ám ^{x+2}i-ta-na-ša-ab ^{x+3}warah¹ ^{xam} ša ki-na-ti [rev.] ^{x+4}li-mu-um
^{x+5}^dAdad-ba-ni (rest destroyed; probably nothing missing)

TRANSLATION

(beginning destroyed) ^{x+1}the in[ter]est ^{x+2}he shall regularly add. ^{x+3}Month Ša-kināti, [rev.] ^{x+4}eponym
^{x+5}Adad-bānī (rest destroyed).

30

Alişar No. d 2860i, from P 27, Level 10 T; 34×37×12 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹a-na I-dī-Ku-bi₄-im ²Be¹ru-wa¹ ³Ili¹-ma-⁴ili¹ ⁵ū A-šūr-[x]-ma-šit¹-x-x¹ ⁶qī-bi₄-ma ⁷um¹-ma ⁸Šamaš-⁹tak-lâ-
lâ-ku-ma¹ ¹⁰mî-num tû-š[ti- . . .] ¹¹x x [. . .] ¹²x x [. . .] ¹³x x [. . .] [rev.] ¹⁴a-na šit-ti¹ [. . .] ¹⁵a-dī-in šit-
ti¹ [. . .] ¹⁶ū ¹⁷x x¹ ¹⁸MA.NA¹ ¹⁹8 GÍN kaspam ²⁰ta-x-x-lâ-ku ²¹a-na ²²Ha-[t]û-uš ²³a-li-kam-ma ²⁴Ma-da-lâ-a
²⁵ta-dš-pu-ra ²⁶ta-dī-nam [left edge] (a few illegible signs)

TRANSLATION

¹To Iddi(n)-Kubum, ²Be¹ruwa¹, ³Ili¹-ma-⁴ili¹, ⁵and Aššur- . . . ⁶say: Thus (says) ⁷Šamaš-⁸taklâku¹:
⁹What have you [. . .] ¹⁰. . . [. . .] ¹¹. . . [. . .] ¹². . . [. . .] [rev.] ¹³fo¹r the rest¹ [. . .] ¹⁴I gave.
The re¹st¹ [. . .] ¹⁵and . . . ¹⁶2 ¹⁷minas¹ ¹⁸8 shekels of silver ¹⁹. . . ²⁰To Ha[tt]u¹š ²¹I went. ²²Madalaa ²³you
have sent, ²⁴you have given me [left edge] (a few illegible signs).

31

Alişar No. d 2200m, from M 33, Level 10 T; 40×36×13 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹2 MA.NA URUDU a-na ²Wa-ni-za-na-i-im dš-qul ³3/4 MA.NA ⁴5 GÍN URUDU ⁵Be-r[u-w]a iš-pu-ra-ma
⁶a-dī-in ⁷1/3 MA.NA ⁸2 1/2 GÍN URUDU ⁹a-na Ku-ku-la₅-nim ¹⁰dš-qul ¹¹1/2 MA.NA URUDU ¹²a-na ¹³Ha-ar-na
dš-qul¹ ¹⁴15 GÍN URUDU a-na ¹⁵Ki-zi-lâ dš-qul [rev.] ¹⁶11/2 MA.NA URUDU ¹⁷a-na ¹⁸Adad-na-šir ¹⁹dš-qul ²⁰
15 GÍN URUDU ²¹a-na ²²Adad-na-šir ²³dš-qul ²⁴15 GÍN URUDU ²⁵šit-im ²⁶mar-šit

TRANSLATION

¹Two minas of copper to ²Wanizana¹um I have weighed out. ³Three-fourths mina 5 shekels of copper
⁴Ber[uw]a has sent to me, and ⁵I have given (it out). One-third mina ⁶2 1/2 shekels of copper to Kuku-
lân¹um ⁷I have weighed out. One-half mina of copper ⁸to Harna I have weighed out. ⁹Fifteen shekels of
copper to ¹⁰Kizila I have weighed out. [rev.] ¹¹One-half mina of copper ¹²to Adad-nâšir ¹³I have weighed
out. Fifteen shekels of copper ¹⁴to Adad-nâšir ¹⁵I have weighed out. Fifteen shekels of copper (is) ¹⁶the
price of the stands.

NOTE

LINE 16.—The word *maršum* was translated by Lewy as “Bett”¹ after Muss-Arnolt p. 593. Since, how-
ever, 13 *mar-šit* are mentioned in EL 233:22 and as many as 230 are mentioned in our 55:54 f., it is out
of the question that this word should mean “bed.”² In the Amarna tablets this word occurs in the follow-

¹ EL p. 239, n. c.

² Moreover, the price of 5 shekels of silver for these 230 *maršû* shows that a *maršum* was much smaller in value than a
bed.

ing connections: 1 ¹narkabtu du-li-e-mi-šu mar-ši-šu ù si-iḫ-bi-šu gap-pa ḫurāšu (EA 22 i 2); 1 ^{mašak}ap-pa-tum i-ši-iz-zu ù m[a]-ra-az-zu ḫurāšu uḫḫuzu (ibid. lines 24 f.); 1 ^{mašak}pa-a-gu-mu 2 ^{aban}ḫulālu . . . ša i-na mar-ši-šu šu[k-k]u-ku (ibid. lines 48 ff.). These cases show that a *maršum* can form part of a chariot, reins, or a shield(?). Cf. also 3 mar-šu-ú ša a-mu-di (PBS II, Part 2, No. 63:23); H. Torczyner, *Altbabylonische Tempelrechnungen* (Wien, 1913) pp. 122 and 110, translates this *maršu* as "Lederüberzug(?)" and *amādu* as "עמוד, عمود ['pillar'](?)." If it is to be connected with *maršum*, "bed," then perhaps our word meant originally merely a "stand" or "base," which could have had different uses corresponding to varying needs.

32

Ališar No. d 2200h, from M 33, Level 10 T; 51×38×16 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹[x x] GÍN kaspum šī-im ²[2⁸]^{1-1a} ḫ e-ša-tim ³[x x] GÍN kaspum ⁴[šī-im] e-ri-qt ⁵[x GÍN] kaspum ḫ šī-im ⁶[x x] ki-ša-ri ⁷[x x] GÍN kaspum ⁸[šī-im] na-ga-ri-[im] ⁹[x GÍN] 8 1/2 še kaspum ¹⁰[šī-im x] ki-ri (rest of obv. destroyed) [rev.] (beginning destroyed) ¹¹[. . .] ¹²[. . .]-ba-e ḫ [. . .] ¹³[. . .] ¹⁴ti¹ šī-li [. . .] ¹⁵[x x] GÍN 7 še kasp[um šī-im] ¹⁶[2⁸]^{1-1a} šu-ḫu-ul-x-x ¹⁷[x x] GÍN kaspum ḫ šī-im ¹⁸[ḫu]-ra-ša-nim 1/3 MA.NA ¹⁹[x] 1/2 GÍN URUDU ḫ šī-im ²⁰[ḫu-r]a-ša-nim ²¹[x x] GÍN kaspum ²²[x-x] ša šū-ba-tim

TRANSLATION

¹[x] shekels of silver, the price ²[of t]wo trees; ³[x] shekels of silver, ⁴[the price of] the carts; ⁵[x shekels] of silver, the price of ⁶[. . .] . . . ; ⁷[x] shekels of silver, ⁸[the price (i.e., wages) of] the carpenter; ⁹[x shekels] 8 1/2 grains of silver, ¹⁰[the price of x] lambs (rest of obv. destroyed) [rev.] (beginning destroyed) ¹¹[. . .] ¹²[. . .] . . . ¹³[. . .] ¹⁴[. . .] ¹⁵[x] shekels 7 grains of silv[er, the price] ¹⁶[of tw]o . . . ; ¹⁷[x] shekels of silver, the price ¹⁸[of ḫu]rāšanum; 1/3 mina ¹⁹[x] 1/2 shekels of copper, the price ²⁰[of ḫu]rāšanum; ²¹[x] shekels of silver, ²²[. . .] of a garment.

NOTE

LINE x+7.—The restoration of [ḫu]rāšanum is based on the common occurrence of this name in other Cappadocian tablets.¹

33

Ališar No. d 1776, from U 31, Level 10 T; 28×34×11 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹15 GÍN kaspam ²ša Tab-ba-ba-a ³Ma-num-ba-lum-A-šūr ⁴ú-kà-al ⁵1 2/3 MA.NA 5 <GÍN> ⁶URUDU Ma-num-<ba>-lum-A-šūr [rev.] ⁷ú-kà-al

TRANSLATION

¹Fifteen shekels of silver ²of Tabbabaa ³Mannum-balum-Aššur ⁴is holding back. ⁵One and two-thirds minas 5 <shekels> ⁶of copper Mannum-<ba>lum-Aššur [rev.] ⁷is holding back.

NOTES

LINE 2.—Or read *Tappā^{14-a}*?

LINE 6.—Cf. the faulty writing of *Ma-nu-um-ba-<lum>-A-šūr* in TC I 75:4.

34

Ališar No. d 2200f, from M 33, Level 10 T; 38×33×11 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹[x x] GÍN kaspam ²[. . .] ³[x x] ḫa [x x x]-[a¹]-tim dš-qul ⁴40 GÍN [kaspam] šī-im ⁵ki-ri a-na A-[lā-ḫi/bi¹]-im ⁶dš-qul 1 1/4 GÍN LÁ 1 kaspam ⁷a-na I-[na]-ar ⁸dš-kà-pi-im ḫ dš-qul ⁹1/4¹ GÍN kaspam a-na ¹⁰Zu-[ra-a dš-qul] 1 1/2 ¹¹GÍN kaspam . . . -a [rev.] ¹²taš-pu-ra-am ¹³a-dī-šu-um (rest illegible)

¹ Cf. Stephens, PNC p. 41 a.

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TRANSLATION

¹[x sh]ekels of silver ²[. . .] ³[. . .] I have weighed out. ⁴Forty shekels [of silver], the price ⁵of the lambs, to A¹la¹bu¹m (or "A¹labu¹m") ⁶I have weighed out. One and one-fourth shekels minus 1 <grain> of silver ⁷to I[na]r, ⁸the leather-worker, I have weighed out. ⁹One-fourth¹ shekel of silver to ¹⁰Zu[raa] I have weighed out]. One and one-half ¹¹she[kels of silver . . .] [rev.] ¹²you sent to me. ¹³I have given (it) to him (rest illegible).

35

Ališar No. d 2200p, from M 33, Level 10 T; 37×51×14 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹a-na Na-bi₄-^[d]En-lil ²q₁-bi₄-ma¹ um-[ma] Mi-gi₅-ir-^dEn-<lil>-ma ³[. . .] x ša bi¹bi⁴-it ⁴[. . .]-ku taš-pu-ra-ni ⁵[. . .]-t[a-ti-sá] ⁶[. . .]-an (rest of obv. destroyed) [rev.] ^{x+1}[. . .] kaspam ša [. . .] ^{x+2}[. . .] k[u-a-me] ^{x+3}[. . .] ù a-sú-ri-¹im¹ ^{x+4}[. . .] um-ma a-ta-ma ^{x+5}[. . .] a]-na Ma-a-ma ^{x+6}[. . .]-ma-a ^{x+7}ni-šu lá a¹bu-lu ^{x+8}a-šu-mi-kà-ma ^{x+9}ú-nu-tum qá-at-at ^{x+10}a-šu-kà-am [left edge] ^{x+11}ša [. . .]

TRANSLATION

¹To Nabī-Enlil ²‘speak¹: Thus (says) Migir-En<lil>: ³[. . .] of the house ⁴[. . .] you have sent me ⁵[. . .] . . . ⁶[. . .] (rest of obv. destroyed) [rev.] (beginning destroyed) ^{x+1}[. . .] the silver of [. . .] ^{x+2}[. . .] . . . ^{x+3}[. . .] and to the priest ^{x+4}[. . .] thus you (said): ^{x+5}[. . .] t]o Māma ^{x+6}[. . .] . . . ^{x+7}we have, which I do not owe, is ^{x+8}in your name. ^{x+9}The implements are finished. ^{x+10}The temple [left edge] ^{x+11}of [. . .].

NOTES

LINE x+9.—The form qá-at-at is the permansive of qatāum, “zu Ende sein” (Bezold, *Glossar* p. 248 b).

LINE x+10.—For ašuk¹kum, “Göttergemach,” see *ibid.* p. 212 b.

36

Ališar No. d 2200q, from M 33, Level 10 T; 34×21×16 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹1¹ GÍN kasp[am . . .] ²5/6 MA.NA [. . .] ³5 1/2 GÍN [. . .] ⁴1¹ GÍN kasp[am . . .] ⁵i-na [. . .] ⁶a¹-na še²im^{im} [. . .] ⁷2 ku-ša-tum [. . .] ⁸1 ku-ša-tám [. . .] ⁹ša up-ta- [. . .] ¹⁰. . . [. . .] (rest of obv. destroyed) [rev.] (beginning destroyed) ^{x+13}[. . .] ^{x+2}Mi-gi₅-ir-^dEn-l[il . . .] ^{x+37}1/2 GÍN kaspam [. . .] ^{x+4}ša iš-tù Kà-ni-[i¹š . . .] ^{x+513}GÍN kaspam š[im . . .] ^{x+6}x x x [. . .] ^{x+79}GÍN kaspam [. . .] ^{x+8}tù-ša-dī-in [. . .] ^{x+9}E-nam-A-šur . . .] ^{x+105}GÍN kaspam [. . .] ^{x+111}1¹ MA.NA k[aspam . . .] ^{x+12}[x]-ha-x [. . .] ^{x+13}a-d[i-in] [left edge] ^{x+14}nap¹har¹ 5 MA.NA kaspam Ša-wi-ia-¹na¹ ^{x+15}u¹š¹-ta-dī-in

TRANSLATION

¹One¹ shekel of sil[ver . . .] ²5/6 mina [. . .] ³5 1/2 shekels [. . .] ⁴1¹ shekel of silve[r . . .] ⁵in [. . .] ⁶for the barley [. . .] ⁷2 kušutum-garments [. . .] ⁸1 kušutum-garment [. . .] ⁹which . . . [. . .] ¹⁰. . . [. . .] (rest of obv. destroyed) [rev.] (beginning destroyed) ^{x+13}[. . .] ^{x+2}Migir-En[il . . .] ^{x+37}1/2 shekels of silver [. . .] ^{x+4}which from Kani[š . . .] ^{x+513}shekels of silver, the pri[ce . . .] ^{x+6}. . . [. . .] ^{x+79}shekels of silver you caused [. . .] ^{x+8}to give [. . .] ^{x+9}Ennam-A[ššur . . .] ^{x+105}shekels of silver [. . .] ^{x+111}1¹ mina of sil[ver . . .] ^{x+12}. . . [. . .] ^{x+13}I ga[ve . . .]. [left edge] ^{x+14}Total¹, 5 minas of silver, I caused Šawija¹na¹ ^{x+15}to give.

NOTE

LINE x+9.—The sign following E-nam gives clearly two vertical wedges. If these are numbers, then the preceding two signs form the personal name Ennam (cf. 7:10). If not, then the two vertical wedges must be read a, and the whole name is Ennam-A[ššur].

Alişar No. d 2200r, from M 33, Level 10 T; 29×21×15 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

(beginning destroyed) x^{+1} [. . .] x^{+2} [. . .] 8 GÍN [kasap]^d p-šu x^{+3} [. . .]-im 5 šá-ki x^{+4} [. . .] 3 MA.NA URUDU 'x na-aḥ-lá-l-pá-ti x^{+5} [. . .] 1 ku-ša-tám x^{+6} [. . .] uš-ta-dí-in x^{+7} [. . .] GÍN kaspam x x x^{+8} [. . .] (rest of obv. destroyed) [rev.] (beginning destroyed) y^{+1} [. . .] u]b-lá-ku-nim y^{+2} [. . .] nu-a-i-am y^{+3} [. . .] x kaspam y^{+4} [. . .] tū-ša-dí-in y^{+5} [. . .]-na-am tū-ša-dí-in y^{+6} [. . .] 'i]na ší-na y^{+7} [. . .]-ku-um

TRANSLATION

(beginning destroyed) x^{+1} [. . .] x^{+2} [. . .] 8 shekels of his [silver] x^{+3} [. . .] 5 sacks x^{+4} [. . .] 3 minas of copper, 'x šir¹ts x^{+5} [. . .], 1 kušutum x^{+6} [. . .] he ca]used to give. x^{+7} [. . .] shekels of silver . . . x^{+8} [. . .] (rest of obv. destroyed) [rev.] (beginning destroyed) y^{+1} [. . .] he b]rought to you. y^{+2} [. . .] the nuḍum y^{+3} [. . .] silver y^{+4} you caused [. . .] to give. y^{+5} [. . .] you caused . . . to give. y^{+6} [. . .] in two y^{+7} [. . .] to you.

NOTE

LINE y+2.—The word *nuḍum* was considered a personal name by Stephens¹ and Lewy.² Landsberger³ thinks that at least in part we have here a word denoting a profession (= Akkadian *nuḍu*). That this word actually denotes a profession, though perhaps in a very few cases used as a personal name, is shown by the fact that *nuḍum* never appears as son or father of another person. The spellings *nu-a-i-am* here (*nu-a-e-im* in 12:5 and 12) and *nu-wa-e* (unpublished; quoted in EL p. 251, n. b) prove conclusively that the root of this word is *nuḍ*, from which in Akkadian was derived the word *nawû*, *namû*, "desert." The *nuḍum*, then, would be a "man of the desert," a Beduin. In agreement with this explanation a Boğazköy syllabary⁴ explains Akkadian *nu-u-ú* by Hittite *dam-bu-bi-iš*, "uncultivated (land)."⁵ In the literal sense of "Beduin" occurrence of *nuḍum* as a personal name would be reasonable. The word *nuḍum* was later contracted to *nuḍ*. The latter form seems to have normally the secondary meaning "stupid." This usage may have originated in the cities by a development analogous to that of Latin *rusticus*, German *Bauer*, and English *boor*.

Alişar No. d 2200s, from M 33, Level 10 T; 24×27×16 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹Am-ma kaspam ma-[. . .] ²i-na ší-na ḥu-[. . .] ³15 1/2 GÍN kaspam [. . .] ⁴a-na Ga-ar-ti-nu-w[a . . .] ⁵10 1/3 GÍN kaspam a-na [. . .] ⁶[. . .] 3 MA.NA [. . .] (rest of obv. destroyed) [rev.] (beginning destroyed) x^{+1} [. . .] x x [. . .] x^{+2} [x]-sú-ḥi a-na [. . .] x^{+3} [x] 'GÍN kaspam¹ i-ší-[. . .] x^{+4} ù a-ba-ší ga-ni¹-[. . .] x^{+5} 1/4 GÍN kaspam [. . .] x^{+6} x x iš [. . .] x^{+7} 1 1/2 GÍN kaspam [. . .] x^{+8} a-na Ḥa-šu-e [. . .] [left edge] x^{+9} napḥar ṽ 1 MA.NA [. . .]

TRANSLATION

¹Amma the silver [. . .] ²in two [. . .]. ³Fifteen and one-half shekels of silver [. . .] ⁴to Gartinuwa [. . .], ⁵10 1/3 shekels of silver to [. . .] ⁶[. . .], 3 minas [. . .] (rest of obv. destroyed) [rev.] (beginning destroyed) x^{+1} [. . .] x^{+2} . . . to [. . .], x^{+3} [x] shekel of silver x^{+4} [. . .], x^{+5} 1/4 shekel of silver [. . .] x^{+6} [. . .], x^{+7} 1 1/2 shekels of silver [. . .] x^{+8} to Ḥašue [. . .]. [left edge] x^{+9} Total, 1 mina [. . .].

NOTES

LINE 4.—With Gartinuwa cf. possibly Garšunua (39:2).

LINE x+8.—With the personal name Ḥa-šu-e cf. Ḥa-šu-i (59:38).

¹ PNC p. 59 b.

² EL p. 251, n. b.

³ Quoted in EL p. 251, n. b.

⁴ KBo I 30:8 f.

⁵ Friedrich in MVAG XXXIV (1930) 153.

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Ališar No. d 2860j, from P 27, Level 10 T; 30×39×14 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹[x MA].NA 4 GÍN kaspam ²[i-šú]-ir Ga-ar-šu-nu-a ³[ú A-šú]ur-ni-im-ri ⁴[I-dí-K]u-bu-um mera⁵ Ū-šur-ša-
[A-šúr] ⁶[i-šu] kaspam a-na warḫim⁷ ⁸[i-ša-qú-lu] ⁹[šu-ma] lá i[š-qú-lu] ¹⁰[x GÍN kaspam] ¹¹[i-warḫim] ¹²[i-ib-tám] [rev.] ¹³[ú]-šú-¹⁴bu¹ ¹⁵[warah] ¹⁶ḫu-bur ¹⁷[I]-i-mu-um ¹⁸[I]-ku-pi-a ¹⁹[mer]a²⁰ Šál-lim-A-šúr

TRANSLATION

¹[x mi]has 4 shekels of silver ²[debi]ted to Garšunua ³[and Ašš]ur-nimri ⁴has Iddi(n)-Kubum the son of Ušur-ša-[Aššur]. ⁵The silver in 2 months [they shall weigh out]. ⁶[Suppose] they should not w[weigh (it) out], ⁷[x shekels of silver] ⁸[per month] ⁹[as interest] [rev.] ¹⁰they shall add¹. ¹¹[Month] of Ḫubur, ¹²[e]ponym ¹³[I]kū(n)-pía ¹⁴[the s]on of Šallim-Aššur.

40

Ališar No. d 2860k, from P 27, Level 10 T; 30×34×12 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

(beginning destroyed) ^{x+1}[na-g]a-r[i-im . . .] ^{x+2}[n]a-ga-ar [. . .] ^{x+3}ù Wa-ba-ra [. . .] ^{x+4}I-gal qí-bi₄-ma [. . .] ^{x+5}I-dí-Ku-bu-um mera⁶ Ū-šur-ša-A-šúr ^{x+6}im-ḫu-ur-ni-a-tí [. . .] ^{x+7}um-ma šu-ut-¹ma¹ a-na [. . .] (rest destroyed)

TRANSLATION

(beginning destroyed) ^{x+1}[of the car]penter [. . .] ^{x+2}the carpenter of [. . .] ^{x+3}and Wabara [. . .] and] ^{x+4}Igal speak: [. . .] ^{x+5}Iddi(n)-Kubum the son of [Ušur-ša-Aššur] ^{x+6}received us [. . .]. ^{x+7}Thus he (said): To [. . .] (rest destroyed).

NOTE

The reading and the existence of the personal names Wabara (line x+3) and Igal (line x+4) are very doubtful; *Na-ga-ar* (cf. line x+2) is surely a personal name in 19 B x+4.

41

Ališar No. d 2200t, from M 33, Level 10 T; 44×39×15 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹um-ma [. . .] ²Ša-ar-³[. . .] ⁴ú 1 šú-up-ru-[um . . .] ⁵2/3 MA.NA 7 [GÍN . . .] ⁶2 A-zu x [. . .] ⁷a-dí-in [. . .] ⁸1/3 MA.[NA . . .] ⁹ki-¹⁰[. . .] ¹¹a-¹²[. . .] [rev.] ¹³[x] x [. . .] ¹⁴ú-šé-ri-b[a-am . . .] ¹⁵du-dí-na-tim iš-[ti . . .] ¹⁶ša ni-x-x [. . .] ¹⁷mera¹⁸ Da-š[u- . . .] ¹⁹ú 2 šú-b[a-tí-in . . .] ²⁰mí-ma ²¹a¹-[nim . . .] ²²[. . .] (rest of rev. destroyed) [left edge] ^{x+1}[x x] x x x i-šú-ir x x x ^{x+2}[x-x]-nam lá ta-lí-¹ik¹ ^{x+3}[x x]-ta-ga-nam lá a-¹[. . .] ^{x+4}[x-x]-ba-du-tum a-ta-x-x

TRANSLATION

¹Thus [. . .] ²Šar[. . .] ³and 1 nail [. . .]. ⁴Two-thirds mina 7 [shekels . . .] ⁵2 Azu[. . .] ⁶I gave [. . .]. ⁷One-third mi[na . . .] ⁸. . . . [. . .] ⁹. . . . [. . .] [rev.] ¹⁰. . . . [. . .] ¹¹I caused to ente[r . . .] ¹²breast ornaments wi[th . . .] ¹³of [. . .] ¹⁴the son of Daš[u . . .] ¹⁵and 2 garne[nts . . .] ¹⁶all th[at . . .] (rest of rev. destroyed) [left edge] ^{x+1}[. . .] upon ^{x+2}[. . .] you did not go, ^{x+3}[. . .] not [. . .] ^{x+4}. . . .

NOTE

LINE 5.—*A-zu* may be a name in itself or the beginning of a longer name such as Azumanu or Azutaa; or it may be the beginning of a prepositional phrase = *ana zu*[. . .].

Alişar No. d 2200u, from M 33, Level 10 T; 33×16×12 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹[. . .]-lā-sā ²[. . .]-ma-an ³[. . .] ¹x¹ ⁴[. . .] Ga-ra-la₆ ⁵[. . . iṣ]-bu-tù ⁶[. . .-t]a du-ma-⁷qū⁷ ⁷[. . .]-am-ni (rest of obv. destroyed) [rev.] (beginning destroyed) ⁸⁺¹[. . .] a-na ⁸⁺²[. . .] a-bi-im ⁸⁺³[. . .] e-bu-ri-im ⁸⁺⁴[. . .]-am i-na ⁸⁺⁵[. . .]-ma ⁷ú-⁸ta-šī-ir¹ ⁸⁺⁶[. . . ú]-ba-dē-šī ⁸⁺⁷[. . .] x lá šu-a-⁸tī¹ ⁸⁺⁸[. . .] qá-ta-tim ⁸⁺⁹[. . .] ú a-na [left edge] (destroyed)

TRANSLATION

¹[. . .]lāsa, ²[. . .]man, ³[. . .] . . . ⁴[. . .] Garala ⁵[. . . they] seized. ⁶[. . .] gifts ⁷[. . .] me (rest of obv. destroyed) [rev.] (beginning destroyed) ⁸⁺¹[. . .] to ⁸⁺²[. . .] of the brother ⁸⁺³[. . .] of the harvest ⁸⁺⁴[. . .] in ⁸⁺⁵[. . .] he left. ⁸⁺⁶[. . . he] will clear her. ⁸⁺⁷[. . .] not him ⁸⁺⁸[. . .] the hands ⁸⁺⁹[. . .] and to [left edge] (destroyed).

Alişar No. d 2860l, from P 27, Level 10 T; 44×42×16 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹a-na I-dī-[Ku-bi₄-im] ²ú A-ku-¹ú-a¹ ³qí-bi₄-ma um-m[a . . .] ⁴a-na-kam I-dī-K[u-bu-um] ⁵mera⁷ Ū-šur-ša-A-[šūr] ⁶iṣ-ba-ta-ni ⁷um-ma šu-ut-[ma] ⁸tuppam^{pa-am} ⁹ša a-bi₄-š[u . . .] [rev.] ¹⁰[x x] na [. . .] ¹¹[x x x] bīt [. . .] ¹²[. . .] x x x [. . .] ¹³[x x x] qá-ti-a lá [. . .] ¹⁴[x x x] tī [. . .] ¹⁵a-ma-kam x x [. . .] ¹⁶ta-x x x [. . .] ¹⁷a-na ra-[. . .] ¹⁸ša-ni-[. . .] ¹⁹ni-ga-[. . .] [left edge] ²⁰. . . [. . .] ²¹. . . [. . .]

TRANSLATION

¹To Iddi(n)-[Kubum] ²and Aku¹a¹ ³speak: Thu[s (says) . . .]: ⁴Here Iddi(n)-K[ubum] ⁵the son of Ušur-ša-A[ššur] ⁶has seized me. ⁷Thus he (said): ⁸The tablet ⁹of his father [. . .] (rest untranslatable).

Alişar No. d 2200k, from M 33, Level 10 T; 42×39×15 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹[. . .]-ma um-m[a . . .] ²[. . . k]i-ma i-na [. . .] ³[. . .]-e am-tám ta-[. . .] ⁴[. . .] a-ta-ma a-lik am-[tám . . .] ⁵[. . .] a-šu-mi a-ma-ti-in [. . .] ⁶[. . .] a-na-kam ⁷[. . .] lá i-tab-ba-šī x x x ⁸[. . .] (rest of obv. destroyed; rev. and left edge illegible)

TRANSLATION

¹[. . .:] Thus [. . .] ²[. . .] as in [. . .] ³[. . .]. The slave girl you [. . .] ⁴[. . .]. Go you; the slave [girl . . .] ⁵[. . .]. Concerning two slave girls [. . .] ⁶[. . .]. Here ⁷[. . .] he does not . . . ⁸[. . .] . . . (rest of obv. destroyed; rev. and left edge illegible).

Alişar No. d 2860m, from P 27, Level 10 T; 34×35×16 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹I-dī-Ku-bu-um ²mera⁷ Ū-šur-ša-A-šūr ³a-na A-šūr-ma-lik [mera⁷] ⁴x-ku-be-be qí-bi-ma¹ ⁵um-ma I-dī-Ku-bu-um-[ma] ⁶a-n[a A]-šūr [. . .] ⁷a-lá-ak [. . .] ⁸kaspam [. . .] ⁹[a]-na [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] (rest illegible)

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TRANSLATION

¹Iddi(n)-Kubum ²the son of Ušur-ša-Aššur. ³To Aššur-malik [the son of] ⁴l. . . .*kubebe*¹ say: ⁵Thus (says) Iddi(n)-Kubum: ⁶T[o Aš]šur [. . .] ⁷I will go. [. . .] ⁸of silver [. . .] ⁹[t]o [. . .] (rest illegible).

NOTE

LINE 6.—Or Aššur may be not the city but the beginning of a personal name.

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Fragment A

Ališar No. d 2200v, from M 33, Level 10 T; 38×23×14 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

(beginning destroyed) ^{x+1}ru-[. . .] ^{x+2}zu-[. . .] ^{x+3}ni-za-[. . .] ^{x+4}a-na [. . .] ^{x+5}ū [. . .] ^{x+6}x [. . .] ^{x+7}[x]-ku-ú [. . .] (rest of obv. destroyed) [rev.] (beginning destroyed) ^{y+1}[x]-li-[. . .] ^{y+2}ra¹-bi-a-[tim . . .] ^{y+3}zi-ki-ú-[. . .] ^{y+4}maḥar rabī st-[mī-il₅-tim] ^{y+5}li-li-[ik . . .] ^{y+6}a[l . . .] ^{y+7}ta-dī-[in . . .] (rest of rev. destroyed) [left edge] ¹[. . .]-ki-a-tim [zi]-ki-ú [. . .] ²[. . .] Ḥu-ra-ma a-na [. . .] ³[. . . a]-ma-kam ki-lá-lá-ku-nu [. . .]

TRANSLATION

(beginning untranslatable) ^{y+2}grea[t (fem. pl.) . . .] ^{y+3}. . . [. . .]. ^{y+4}Before the chief of the ci[tadel] ^{y+5}may he g[o. . . .] ^{y+6}[. . .] ^{y+7}was give[n. . . .] (rest of rev. destroyed) [left edge] ¹[. . .] . . . [. . .] ²[. . .] Ḥurama to [. . .] ³[. . . . T]here you both [. . .].

Fragment B

Ališar No. d 2200v, from M 33, Level 10 T; 26×12×12 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

(beginning destroyed) ^{x+1}[. . .]-a-am ^{x+2}[. . . a]-na Ḥa-bi-im ^{x+3}[. . . m]a-ak-ri-tám ^{x+4}[. . . Ka]-ni-iš ^{x+5}[. . .]-im (rest destroyed)

TRANSLATION

(beginning destroyed) ^{x+1}[. . .] . . . ^{x+2}[. . . t]o Ḥaḥhum ^{x+3}[. . .] red ^{x+4}[. . . Ka]niš ^{x+5}[. . .] . . . (rest destroyed).

47

Ališar No. d 2200w, from M 33, Level 10 T; 45×37×16 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

(obv. destroyed) [rev.] (beginning destroyed) ^{x+1}[. . .] x x ^{x+2}[. . . N]a-bi₄-dEn-líl ^{x+3}[. . . ma]ḥar A-šur-li-tù-¹ul¹ ^{x+4}[. . .] e-zi-iḥ

TRANSLATION

(obv. destroyed) [rev.] (beginning destroyed) ^{x+1}[. . .] . . . ^{x+2}[. . . N]abi-Enlil ^{x+3}[. . . be]fore Aššur-liṭṭul ^{x+4}[. . .] he left.

48

Ališar No. d 2200x, from M 33, Level 10 T; 16×27×10 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

(beginning destroyed) ^{x+1}[. . .] ku-du-x-x ^{x+2}[. . .]-el-i-li ^{x+3}[. . .]-ma-e ^{x+4}[. . . a-na] ma-ni-im ni-lá-ak ^{x+5}[. . . š]u-ta-ar-ti-a-ni ^{x+6}[. . .] a-na Ku-ša-ra ^{x+7}[. . .] a-dī I-na-x ^{x+8}[. . .] (rest destroyed)

TRANSLATION

(beginning destroyed) ^{x+1}[. . .] . . . ^{x+2}[. . .]el-ili ^{x+3}[. . .] . . . ^{x+4}[. . . to] whom shall we go? ^{x+5}[. . .] . . . ^{x+6}[. . .] to Kuššara ^{x+7}[. . .] until . . . (rest destroyed).

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A

Alishar No. e 844, from S 0; 64×51×21 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹*Ha-ar-šu-ma-al-ga* ²*Šu-bu-nu-ma-an* ³*I-a-ni-ga* ¹*Zu-ma* ⁴*I-lá-li-el-ga* ⁵*ú Be-ru-wa šaḥrum*
⁶*ša iš-ti-ni-iš* ⁶*qá-qá-da-tù* ⁷*i-na A-ku-wa* ⁸*i-na bi-it* ⁹*Ha-bu-wa-lá* ¹⁰*bu-ru-lim rabîm^{im}* ¹¹*uš¹-bu Šu-bu-*
¹²*[na-aḥ]-šu [rev.]* ¹²*ni-šu-ta-šu-nu* ¹³*i-li-kam-ma* ¹⁴*ú-di-šu-nu-ma iš-ti* ¹⁵*Ha-bu-wa-lá bu-ru-lim* ¹⁶*rabîm^{im}*
¹⁷*ša Am-ku-wa* ¹⁷*i-mi-ig-ru-ma ni-šit-šu* ¹⁸*Ha-bu-wa-la a-na* ¹⁹*Šu-bu-na-aḥ-¹šu ú-ta¹-šit-ir* ²⁰*i-tap-ru-sú a-ḥ[u-*
²¹*u]m* ²¹*a-na a-[ḥi-im lá i-tù-wa]-ar* ²²*ša i-tù-¹ru¹* ²³*MA.NA kaspam i-¹da-an¹ [left edge]* ²⁴*ú i-du-ku-šu i-qá-ti*
²⁵*A-ni-ta* ²⁵*ru-ba-im rabîm^{im}* ²⁶*Be-ru-wa* ²⁷*rabi¹ s < i-mi-il⁵-ti >*

TRANSLATION

¹Haršumalga, ²Šubunuman, ³İaniga, Zuma, ⁴İlalelga, ⁵and Beruwa, the younger, who ⁶together (make) 6 heads, ⁷in Akuwa ⁸in the house ⁹of Habuwala ¹⁰the great *burulum* ¹¹are staying. Šubun[naḥ]šu ¹²[rev.] ¹²their relative ¹³has come and ¹⁴informed them (that) with ¹⁵Habuwala, the great *burulum* ¹⁶of Amkuwa, ¹⁷they have found favor. His people ¹⁸Habuwala to ¹⁹Šubunahšu has released. ²⁰They have agreed (thus): One ²¹against the o[ther shall not come ba]ck (i.e., shall make no claim). ²²The one who shall come back ²³1 mina of silver shall 'give', [left edge] ²⁴or they shall kill him. By the hand of Anitta, ²⁵the great prince, (and) Beruwa, 'the chief' of the *c < itadel >*.

B

Alishar No. e 844, from S 0; 86×67×36 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹*[kunuk . . .]-lá* ²*[kunuk . . .]-lá-nu* ³*[kunuk . . .]-wa-šu a-ša-at* ⁴*[. . .] kunuk Šu-bu-na-aḥ-šu*
⁵*[kunuk x]-ša-ga-ar-na-ti* ⁶*[kunuk . . .]-ni/ir* ⁷*Ha-ar-šu-ma-al-ga* ⁸*[Šu-bu-nu]-ma-an* ⁹*Zu-ma* ¹⁰*[I-a]-ni-*
¹¹*ga* ¹²*I-¹lá-li¹-al-ga ú Be-ru-wa šaḥrum* ¹³*ša iš-ti-ni-iš* ¹⁴*6 qá-qá-da-tù* ¹⁵*i-na a-lim¹* ¹⁶*A-ku-wa bi-it* ¹⁷*Ha-bu-a-lá*
¹⁸*be-ru-lim rabîm^{im}* ¹⁹*uš¹-bu Šu-bu-na-aḥ-šu* { (seal of) ²⁰*Zu-ma-li-a* } ²¹*[rev.]* ²²*a-ḥu-šu-nu i-li-kam-ma* ²³*ú-di-*
²⁴*šu-nu-ma iš-ti* ²⁵*Ha-bu-wa-lá* ²⁶*bu-ru-lim rabîm^{im}* ²⁷*i-mi-ig-ru-ma* ²⁸*6 qá-qá-da-tim* ²⁹*šu-nu-ti* ³⁰*Ha-bu-wa-lá*
³¹*a-na* ³²*Šu-bu-na-aḥ-šu a-ḥi-šu-nu* ³³*ú-ta-šit-ir* ³⁴*šu-nu-ma* ³⁵*i-tap-ru-sú a-ḥu-um a-na* ³⁶*a-ḥi-im lá i-tù-wa-ar*
³⁷*ša i-tù-ru* [1 MA.NA] ³⁸*A kaspam [left edge]* ³⁹*[i-da-an ú i-du]-ku-šu Šu-bu-na-aḥ-šu* ⁴⁰*[iq-bi a-na H]a-bu-*
⁴¹*wa-lá* ⁴²*[x-x]-le-šu lá¹ i-tù-ru i-qá-ti* ⁴³*A¹-ni-ta ru-ba-im rabîm^{im}* ⁴⁴*Be-ru-wa [rev.]* ⁴⁵*rabi¹ si-mi-il⁵-ti*

TRANSLATION

¹[The seal of . . .]la. ²[The seal of . . .]lanu. ³[The seal of . . .]wašu the wife of ⁴[. . .]. The seal of Šubunahšu. ⁵[The seal of . . .]šagarnati. ⁶[The seal of . . .]ni/ir. Haršumalga, ⁷[Šubun]man, Zuma, ⁸[İa]niga, ⁹İlali'alga, and Beruwa the younger, who ¹⁰together (make) 6 heads, ¹¹in the city of Akuwa (in) the house ¹²of Habuwa the great *berulum* ¹³are staying. Šubunahšu { (seal of) Zumalia } ¹⁴[rev.] ¹⁴their brother has come and ¹⁵informed them (that) with Habuwala ¹⁶the great *burulum* they have found favor. ¹⁷These 6 heads ¹⁸Habuwala to ¹⁹Šubunahšu their brother ²⁰has released. They ²¹have agreed (thus): One ²²against the other shall not come back (i.e., shall make no claim). ²³The one who shall come back [1 min]a of silver [left edge] ²⁴[shall give, or they shall k]ill him. Šubunahšu ²⁵[has said: Against H]abuwala ²⁶[. . .] . . . they shall not come back. By the hand ²⁷of Anitta, the great prince, (and) Beruwa, [rev.] ²⁸the chief of the *citadel*.

NOTES

LINES A 1-5.—Since the determinative of personal names is not used at all in the Cappadocian tablets, the vertical wedge before each of the six personal names denotes only the number "one."¹ Such passages as this give the key to the origin of the determinative of masc. personal names. The

¹ As in *KTS* 60 d *passim*; *TC* II 41:2; etc.

vertical wedge, denoting the number "one," was evidently found useful in lists of slaves or workmen, where it indicated the beginning of each item.¹ Since such items were names, the sign became the determinative for personal names in general,² later, however, of masc. ones only.

LINE A 4.—The personal name *I-lá-li-el-ga* and its var. *I-lá-li-al-ga* in B 9, as compared with *I-lá-li-iš-ga* (TC II 66:8) and *E-lá-li-iš-ga* (*ibid.* 76:18), exhibit the interchange of *š* and *l* well known in the Protohittite language³ but not found in Assyrian until the Middle Assyrian stage.

LINES A 5 AND 25 ETC.—The personal name Beruwa and variations of it are common in the Cappadocian tablets.⁴ The occurrence of the personal name Beruwa at Boğazköy is attested by F. Sommer.⁵ A god Biruwa or Birwa is also well known from Boğazköy inscriptions. Examples are ^d*Bi-ir-wa-an* (KBo IV 13 vi 9); ^d*Bi-ru-wa-an* (unpublished); ^d*Bi-ir-wa-aš* (KUB VI 45 i 54=46 ii 19);⁷ ^{ša} *Ne-ni-ša-ku-wa* ^d*Bi-ir-wa-aš* ^{ša} *Du-ru-wa-du-ru-wa* ^d*Bi-ir-wa-aš* ^{ša} *Ik-šu-nu-wa* ^d*Bi-ir-wa-aš* (*ibid.* 45 ii 62 f.), with a duplicate text ^{ša} *Ne-ni-ša-an-ku-wa* ^d*Bi-ir-wa-aš* ^{ša} *Du-ru-ud-du-ru-wa-aš* ^d*Bi-ir-wa* ^{ša} *Ik-šu-nu-wa* (*ibid.* 46 iii 29 f.); perhaps also [^d*Bi-ir*]-*wa-aš* (Friedrich, *Staatsverträge* II 14:10). In a list of Babylonian gods (III R 66 rev. 19 f) we read ^d*Bi-ru-u-a* ^{ša} *Su-ti*.

LINES A 9 AND 11 ETC.—The names of both of the leading personalities in our slave contract are known from the Kültepe inscriptions. For Habuwala see Stephens, *PNC* p. 39; for Šubunaḫšu, *ibid.* p. 64.

LINE A 10.—The title *burulum* (var. *be-ru-lim* in B 12), probably pronounced **borul*, does not exist in Akkadian. Professor Arnold Walther has called my attention to EZEN+ŠE *bu-u-ru-li-ia-aš* (discussed by Hrozný in *BKS* III 235, n. 4), which could constitute a Hittite word borrowed from the old Protohittite language.⁸

LINE A 12.—Cf. the var. *a-ḫu-šu-nu* in B 14 for our *ni-šu-ta-šu-nu*.

LINE A 17.—The form *immigrāma* (<*immagirā*) is IV 1 pret. from *magārum*, "to be willing." Cf. a similar case, ⁴*Am-mi-ni-ši-na mārāt Urad-Še-ru-a im-me-gi-ir-ma i-na mi-ig-ra-ti-ša* ⁴*A-ḫa-at-uq-ra-at mārāt Be-la-sú-nu a-na ma-ru-ti-ša il-qí* (KAJ 3:1-4).

LINE A 24.—The word *ū*, "or," corresponds to Semitic ^{aw}, for *u* (Semitic *wa*, "and") would not make sense here. A man who is doomed to die would certainly not pay an additional fine in money. This is contrary to Lewy (EL 3:x+8; 4:17 and 21; 8:18; etc.), who translates: "so wird er/sie x Mine Silber darwägen; auch werden sie ihn/sie töten." A similar case is found in EL 5:16 and 24 and 10:10, where, however, *i-na i-dí-nim* would mean "in the plain" rather than "beim Termine des Prozesses." Meissner⁹ translates *i-na i-dí-nim* "auf freiem Felde," but the particle *ū* with "und."

LINES A 24 AND B 27.—The fact that a Cappadocian tablet in the Louvre associates an Anitta with a prince Bithāna¹⁰ tends to prove that the Anitta mentioned there and in Alişar tablets I and 49 also is to be identified with Anittaš the son of Bithānaš, king of Kuššara, known from the Boğazköy inscriptions.

¹ Cf. the use of the vertical wedge at the beginning of every line in the syllabaries.

² In Old Akkadian business literature the sign \square for "one" is used regularly with both masc. and fem. personal names. Professor Meek informs me that the same is true in the Old Akkadian texts from Nuzi soon to be published by him. In Nuzi a thousand years later the determinative of masc. names is used very often before fem. names, with or without *sal* following it. Cf. *JEN* 511 *passim*; *JEN* 333:14 and 55; *JEN* 477:9 and 10; etc. ^{ma}*Ša-ma-a-a-tu* is found in a Semitic text from Elam in *Mém.* XXII 67:6 and 18.

³ Forrer in *ZDMG* LXXVI (1922) 234 f.

⁴ Stephens, *PNC* p. 26. Can the official Beruwa named in 49 A 25 and B 27 be the same man mentioned in *KTS* 57a 7 f.: *a-ru-ba-im* \dot{u} *Bi-ru-a*?

⁵ *Die Ahhiyawā-Urkunden* (München, 1932) p. 294.

⁶ Quoted by Forrer in *ZDMG* LXXVI (1922) 196.

⁷ Cf. also Götze, *Kleinasiens* p. 126.

⁸ So Götze, *Die Annalen des Muršiliš* (MVAG XXXVIII [1933]) pp. 264 f.

⁹ *Babylonien und Assyrien* I (Heidelberg, 1920) 175; in the same way already Thureau-Dangin in *Florilegium M. de Vogüé* (Paris, 1909) p. 592. For *i-na i-dí-nim* No. 19 reads *i-kā-ab-ra-tim*.

¹⁰ Lewy in *RHA* III 1.

LINES A 25 AND B 27.—The usual translation of *rubâum* with “prince” by Landsberger,¹ Hrozný,² and David³ is opposed by Lewy,⁴ who proposed the translation of “(pontifex) maximus.” Though according to him the title PA.TE.SI ⁴A-šûr used by Ilušumma interchanges with the title *rubû* given to the same king by his successors, it proves the religious character of the *rubû* title as little as the interchange of *waklum* and PA.TE.SI⁵ proves the identity of these two expressions. The important point is the equation *ka-ru-bu* = *ru-bu-û*,⁶ quoted in the same article by Lewy. This brings nearer the possibility of a religious connotation for the word *rubâum*.⁷ The translation of *rubâum* by “high priest” does not, however, fit all the cases. The frequent occurrence of *alum* and *rubâum* in the same tablet (*TC* II 41:19 f.; *BIN* IV 112:33 f.) proves that in such cases the *rubâum* is the ruler who controls the *alum*, “City (of Aššur).” Sometimes we find together *rubâum* and *êkallum* (5:12, 17, 21; *CCT* IV 19 c 18 ff.); and, since *êkallum* is certainly “palace,” not “temple,”⁸ *rubâum* is “princess,” not “priestess.” Cf. also *TMH* I 1 b 4 ff., according to which the *be-el a-lim*⁹ is living in the *êkallum*, “palace.” Evidently, then, the title *rubâum*, literally “great (man),” included both religious and secular aspects.⁹

LINES A 25 AND B 28.—On account of lack of space at the end of the left edge of A the scribe evidently omitted all except the beginning of the word *simmilti*. In B lack of space elsewhere forced the words *rabî simmilti* into the middle of the reverse.

As to *rabî simmiltim*, “chief of the citadel,” see *simmiltum*, “Spitze, Höhe,” in B. Meissner, *Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch* II (“Assyriological Studies,” No. 4 [Chicago, 1932]) 53–55. Landsberger in *ZA* XLI (1933) 230 f. and XLII (1934) 166 and Lewy in *RHA* III 1 translate *simmiltum* simply as “Treppe” and “escalier” respectively.

50

Ališar No. e 291, from DD 25, Level 10 T; 39×37×8 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

(beginning destroyed) ^{x+1}[. . .]-ma ^{x+2}šu-¹ma x¹-e-ša-ma ^{x+3}û-da-bi-x [rev.] ^{x+4}sà-ri-dá-am ^{x+5}û-ga-ar-šu-ma ^{x+6}ig-ri 1 sà-ri-dî-im ^{x+7}û-ma-lá ¶ maḥar Zu-ma ^{x+8}maḥar Lá-qí-pt-im

TRANSLATION

(beginning destroyed) ^{x+1}[. . .] ^{x+2}If ^{x+3}. . . [rev.] ^{x+4}the harnesser ^{x+5}he will hire. ^{x+6}The wages of 1 harnesser ^{x+7}he will pay. Before Zuma. ^{x+8}Before Láqîpum.

NOTE

LINE x+4.—The *sáridum* (from *sarâdum*, “to hitch,” “to harness”) is the man who takes care of the donkeys of a caravan during travel. The Cappadocian tablets often mention the wages paid to a *sáridum* for his hire from city X to city Y (e.g., *CCT* I 31 a 1 ff.).

51

Ališar No. e 393, from S 21, Level 10 T; 53×41×15 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹a-na Ša-[. . .] mera² A-m[ur-. . .] ²û A-šur-ma-lik a-na ³A-šur-ma-lik qí-bi₄-ma ⁴um-ma Ū-šur-pti-ša-A-šur-ma ⁵2 1/4 gín kaspam ū-ri ⁶ša¹ li-bi₄-kà a-na ⁷[A]-ki-ki-a šu-qul ⁸[a]-na-kam iš-ti A-ki-ki-a ⁹ma¹-aḥ-ra-tim al-qí [rev.] ¹⁰a¹-ma-kam 2 1/4 gín kaspam ¹¹a-na A-ki-ki-a šu-qul ¹²a-na A-ki-ki-a qí-bi₄-ma ¹³i-ḫi-da-ma ¹⁴kasap^{4p}-kà ¹⁵ša-dš-gi-il₅-šu

¹ ZA XXXV (1924) 227.

⁴ ZA XXXVI (1925) 24–27.

² AO^r IV (1932) 114.

⁵ *Babyloniaca* IV (1911) 77:1 and the seal of Sargon.

³ OLZ XXXVI (1933) 210.

⁶ V R 41 a–b 13.

⁷ Cf. also the occurrence of *rubâum*, *rubâtum*, and *kumrum* in one tablet, Gol. 11 = EL 188. For *kumrum* cf. p. 53.

⁸ Cf. the contrast of *êkal šarri*, “royal palace,” with *bît ilî*, “temple,” in *CT* XL 41 b rev. 4 ff.

⁹ In Polish also the expressions *książę*, “prince,” and *ksiądz*, “priest,” developed out of a single Germanic word, **ku-ninga*, “king.” Cf. F. Miklosich, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen* (Wien, 1886) p. 155.

CUNEIFORM TEXTS

53

TRANSLATION

¹To Ša[. . .] the son of Amu[r- . . .] ²and (to) Aššur-malik. To ³Aššur-malik say: ⁴Thus (says) Ušur-pi-ša-Aššur: ⁵Two and one-fourth shekels of silver . . . ⁶of your heart to ⁷[A]kikia weigh out. ⁸[H]ere with Akikia ⁹I have taken the compensation. [rev.] ¹⁰There 2 1/4 shekels of silver ¹¹to Akikia weigh out. ¹²To Akikia say: ¹³Watch out, ¹⁴your silver ¹⁵make him weigh out.

52

Ališar No. e 292, from DD 25, Level 10 T; 73×73×8 mm.

NOTE

No sign on this tablet is entirely legible. May it be a school tablet with one line repeated three times?

53

Ališar No. e 2321, from P 26, Level 10 T; 47×37×17 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹[x-x-x-^dE]n-lil ²Na-qar-ša-šu¹ ³UḪ.ME ša Ḫi-gi-ša ⁴iš-ti ḫ Dar-ši-be-a-ti-ša ⁵ip-tur₄ ḫ šu-ma ⁶e-dam ḫ
⁷šu-ma i-[x] ⁸a-ma-a-ti-ma ⁹lu x x x x [rev.] ¹⁰x x [. . .] ¹¹10 MA.NA kaspam [li]-ti ¹²i-da-an ú
¹³i-du-ku-šu¹ ¹⁴i-qá-ti ¹⁵Ḫa-ar¹-ba-ti-wa ¹⁶[. . .]-a-lá¹ ¹⁷[. . .]-ma-da ¹⁸[. . .]-šu ¹⁹[. . .]

TRANSLATION

¹[. . . -E]nlil (object) ²Naqaršašu¹ ³the priest of Ḫigiša ⁴with Daršibeatiša ⁵has freed. If ⁶one, if . . . ⁷slave girls ⁸. . . ⁹. . . [. . .] ¹⁰. . . [. . .] ¹¹10 minas of silver . . . ¹²he shall give, or ¹³they shall kill him¹. ¹⁴By the hand of ¹⁵Ḫar¹batiwa ¹⁶[. . .] . . . ¹⁷[. . .] . . . ¹⁸[. . .] . . . ¹⁹[. . .] . . .

NOTES

LINE 3.—With our UḪ.ME ša Ḫi-gi-ša cf. *maḫar ku-um-ri ša Ḫi-ki-ša* (Gol. 11:24) on the one hand and *išti UḪ.ME Di-ša* (KTHahn 36:20) on the other. On the basis of these comparisons alone it is impossible to decide whether UḪ.ME = *pāšišum*, as usually accepted, or *kumrum*. For *kumrum* cf. Lewy's discussion in ZA XXXVIII (1929) 243 ff. and EL p. 182, n. c, also the mention of *maḫar šum-ma^d Adad ku-um-ru* (KAJ 179:24).

Besides Ḫik/giša, a few other non-Semitic gods, probably belonging to the Protoḫattic population of Asia Minor, occur in Cappadocian tablets. From KTHahn 36:20 we know the god Diša. *Ibid.* line 24 we find *išti ku-um-ri-im ša Ku-ba-ba-at*. Judging from the interchange between Ḫepat, the name of a Hurrian goddess at Boğazköy,¹ and Hepa in Hurrian personal names such as Pudu-Ḫepa and ARAD-Ḫepa, we can deduce that similarly the goddess Kubabat=later Kubaba, Kupapa,² well known from Hittite cuneiform and hieroglyphic inscriptions.³ Another god's name is Nibaz, discussed by Lewy in EL p. 15, n. a.⁴ Perhaps we have—though it is very doubtful—three more Protoḫattic gods in TCL I

¹ Cf. also Μητροι Ἰππερ καὶ Διελ Σαβαζιῶν on Greek inscriptions from Maeonia mentioned by Kretschmer in *Glotta* XXI (1932) 79.

² The dropping of a final *t* is very common, especially in geographical names. The following examples are typical: *i-na Ku-na-na-mi-it* (CCT II 23:37), *Ku-na-na-ma-at* (in an unpublished text from Kültepe; cf. *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi* I [1933] 93), and URUDU *Ku-na-na-ma-i-am* (CCT II 23:11); *rabī šī-ki-tim Ḫu-da-ru¹-di-im* (BIN IV 45:9) and *Ḫu-un-ta-ra-a* (Mayer and Garstang, *Index of Hittite Names. Sec. A. Geographical. Part I* [London, 1923] p. 23, and KTHahn p. 24); URUDU *Ḫa-bu-ra-ta-i-um* (TC I 55:5 and 18 and EL p. 134, n. a), evidently "copper from the Ḫabur region"; *Ni-nu-a-ia Pu-ru-da-ia*, "Ninuaia from Purradate (KAJ 101:10); *Ku-bu-ur-na-at* (61:46; Gol. 17:5) and *Ku-bu-ur-«nu»-nu-um* (TC I 47:17); *ša šarri Ib-li-ta-ia-e*, "of the king of Ibla(?)" (KAV 107:8).

³ Gelb, *HH* I 48, and Bossert in *MAOG* VI, Heft 3 (1932) pp. 34 f.

⁴ Professor F. W. Geers reminds me of the biblical Nibhaz (II Kings 17:31), the god of the Avites. Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (17. Aufl.; Leipzig, 1921) p. 479, compares the biblical Nibhaz with Mandaean ܢܝܒܙܐ, "Herr der Finsternis, was auf einen bösen planetarischen Dämon führen würde; nach Hommel, *OLZ* XV 118, ein elamitischer Gott."

240:25 f.: *maḥar Ma-ḥu-ši maḥar Wa-za-wa maḥar Ša-āp-ta* (cf. the different explanation in EL p. 10, n. d). On Inar cf. p. 20.¹

LINE 14.—Since slaves were usually freed by the princes (cf. Nos. 1 and 49), *Harbatiwa* may have been a local prince of Alishar or of some neighboring territory.

CAPPADOCIAN TABLETS FROM OTHER SITES

The nine Cappadocian tablets treated below do not come from the excavations at Alishar. Of the eight belonging to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, five (Nos. 56–58 and 60–61) were purchased at Kültepe, two (Nos. 55 and 59) were said to have come from Kayseri, and one (No. 54) was bought in Everek. Tablet No. 62, belonging to Beloit College at Beloit, Wisconsin, is another Kültepe tablet.

54

Oriental Institute Museum No. A 12538, bought at Everek south of Kayseri; 43×46×16 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹2/3 GÍN LÁ 6 1/2 ŠE *kaspam* ²ša iš-tù *Kà-ni-iš* ³a-dī *Uš-ḥa-ni-a a-šu-mi* ⁴A-lá-ḥi-im *mera* ⁵Adad-ba-ni *dš-qul* ⁶3 GÍN *annakam ta-at e-ma-ri-šu* ⁷i-na *Uš-ḥa-ni-a-ma dš-qul* ⁸12 GÍN *annakam a-na bīt ub-ri* ⁹i-na *Uš-ḥa-ni-a a-di-in* ¹⁰ki-iš-da-tù-šu ¹¹3 1/2 GÍN *annukum* ¹²105 [[x]] GÍN *annakam i-na Ma-li-ta* ¹³[x] GÍN *annakam ki-iš-da-at* ¹⁴[e]-ma-ri-šu ¹⁵[x] GÍN *annakam ig-ri* [rev.] ¹⁶[r]a-di-e-im *ša iš-tù* ¹⁷Uš-ḥa-ni-a a-na *Ma-li-[ta]* ¹⁸iš-ti-ni *i-li-ku* ¹⁹3 MA.NA URUDU *ši-ku-um* ²⁰iš-tù *Ma-li-ta-a* ²¹a-dī *Wa-aḥ-šu-ša-na* ²²ig-ri-e *ra-di-e-im* ²³Ma-li-ta-i-im ²⁴dš-qul

TRANSLATION

¹(Besides) 2/3 shekel minus 6 1/2 grains of silver, ²which from Kaniš ³to Ušḥanija in the name ⁴of Alāḥum the son of Adad-bānī I weighed out, ⁵3 shekels of lead, the road tax of his donkey, ⁶also in Ušḥanija I weighed out. ⁷Twelve shekels of lead to the khan ⁸in Ušḥanija I gave. ⁹Its acquisitions are 3 1/2 shekels of lead. ¹⁰Five shekels of lead in Malita (I gave): ¹¹[x] shekels of lead the acquisitions ¹²of his [d]onkey (and) ¹³[y] shekels of lead the wages [rev.] ¹⁴of the guide who from ¹⁵Ušḥanija to Mali[ta] ¹⁶went with us. ¹⁷Three minas of copper in pieces ¹⁸from Malitaa ¹⁹to Waḥšušana, ^{20–21}the wages of the Malitaeen guide, ²²I weighed out.

NOTES

LINE 5.—The word for “lead” is never spelled out phonetically in Cappadocian, but from the later occurrences of *an-nu-ku* (KAJ 37:2 and 141:2; HL 555 rev. 9) we can deduce that in Old Assyrian also this was the form of the word for “lead.” The spelling *annukum* is derived through vowel harmony from *annakum*.

LINE 6.—The particle *-ma* is usually left untranslated by Assyriologists; but a meaning “also,” “too,” is shown clearly in such historical passages as *ēkal* ²Aššur-nāšir-apli *šar kiššati šar* ³Aššur apil *Šamši* ⁴Adad *šar* ⁵Aššur-ma, “the palace of Aššur-nāšir-apli, king of the universe, king of Aššur, the son of Šamši-Adad, also king of Aššur” (KAH II 80).

LINES 9 AND 11.—For *kišittum*, pl. *kišdātum*, “acquired things,” “acquisitions,” see EL p. 199, n. a.

55

Oriental Institute Museum No. A 2532, said to have come from Kayseri; 87×63×19 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹63 *bi-ri-qd-nu* *ša lu-bu-uš šu-ḥa-ri* ²1 5/6 MA.NA 1/4 GÍN *kaspum šī-im-šu-nu* ³40 *šubātū bi-ri-qd-nu* [[x]] ⁴1 1/3 MA.NA 6 2/3 GÍN ⁵kaspum *šī-im-šu-nu* ⁶49 *e-me-ru libba* ⁷9 *e-tù-du* ⁸58 *lā-ga-nu šī-im-šu-nu* ⁹5/6 MA.NA 7 1/4 GÍN ¹⁰kaspum ¹¹52 *šubātū* ¹²ku-ta-ni ¹³1 *e-ma-ru-um* ¹⁴13 GÍN ¹⁵kaspum *šī-im-šu* ¹⁶3 *a-ri* *ša al-pi-im* ¹⁷9 GÍN

¹ Neither Harrānatum nor Ana can be considered autochthonous gods in Asia Minor as contended by Götze, *Kleinasien* p. 75. *Ha-ra-na-tim* in CCT IV 35 b 14 and 48 b 20, if it is a god's name (which is doubtful), would be connected with the city Harrān in Mesopotamia. Ana is a Mesopotamian god; cf. *Puzur-A-na* in Stephens, *PNC* p. 29 a, *Šu-A-na* in Deimel, *Pantheon*, No. 86, and the divinity Anammelek quoted in the same biblical passage (II Kings 17:31) as the above mentioned Nibḥaz.

⁸kaspum šit-im-šu-nu 10 na-si-sà-tum 3 GÍN kaspum ⁹šit-im-šit-na 2 karpāt šu-um-ku 1 1/2 GÍN kaspum šit-im-šu-nu ¹⁰8¹ MA.NA a-sú-um 1/2 GÍN kaspum šit-im-ša ¹¹6 1/3 MA.NA šapātum¹² 3 GÍN kaspum šit-im-šit-na 15 MA.NA ¹²e-ri-nu-um 1/4 GÍN kaspum šit-im-šu 2 qa kà-mu-ni ¹³1 1/3 GÍN kaspum šit-im-šu-nu 1/2 qa ku-dī-mu 1/4 GÍN kaspum ¹⁴šit-im-šu-nu 1/2 qa ki-si-ba-ra-tum 1/4 GÍN kaspum šit-im-ša ¹⁵1/4 GÍN kaspam a-na A-lá-dī-ri-im aš-gul 5 MA.NA ¹⁶Ga-nu-e 45 2/3 MA.NA [s]i-pd-ra-tim hu-ur-šit-a-nu-um ¹⁷ša šit-ib-tim ku-nu-ki-kà šit-ra-am pd-šu-ra-am ¹⁸ku-si-a-am ša e-ma-ri-im maš-ki ša-pi-ú-tim ¹⁹bi-ra-qd-nu ki-ma 5 GÍN kaspim i-na Lu-hu-za-ti-a ²⁰al-qi-šu-nu i-na bi-ri-qd-ni ša ^d<Adad>-ba-ni ub-lá-ku-ni ²¹4 bi-ri-qd-nu ša I-bi-ša 7 e-ma-ri ²²ú-nu-sú-nu ¹u hu-ur-šit-a-nu-um ša du-ul-ba-tim ²³mī-ma a-nim ^dAdad-ba-ni ù Ū-ra-ad-Ku-bi ²⁴na-dš-ú-ni-ku-um bi-ra-qd-nu ku-nu-ku-a

²⁵1 MA.NA kaspam ša rābišim ^dAdad-ba-ni il₅-qi ²⁶1/2 MA.NA kaspam a-na Urad(IR)^{ad}-Ku-bi₄ a-dī-in ²⁷3 MA.NA 4 GÍN šit-pd-ra-tim 1/2 MA.NA ²⁸annakam 2 mī-at ki-bu-na-ni [rev.] ²⁹1 mī-at mu-uš-tā-tim ša 1/4 GÍN kaspim ³⁰mar-šit 1/4 GÍN kaspam a-na Du-uq-li ³¹dš-gul 1/2 qa kà-mu-ni mī-ma a-nim a-na ³²dAdad-ba-ni ù Ū-ra-ad-Ku-bi₄ a-qd-ti-šu-nu ³³a-dī-in Ha-zu-a-num A-da-aš-šit ù 4 mī-at ³⁴ki-bu-na-ni i-na iš-ti-it hu-ur-šit-a-ni-im ³⁵kā-an-ku-ma ku-nu-ki-a na-dš-ú-ni-ku-um 1 MA.NA URUDU ³⁶a-qd-ti-šu-nu a-dī-in 3 du-du-ba-a-tim 2 1/4 GÍN kaspum ³⁷šit-im-šit-na 7 ù Ku-ri a-šit-ir a-wi-lim ù-bi-il₅ ³⁸2 MA.NA kaspam a-na A-šur-be-el-a-wa-tim ³⁹mera³ A-mu-ra a-dī-in 1 MA.NA kaspam a-na ⁴⁰Šu-Iš-ḫa-ra a-dī-in 15 GÍN kaspam a-na A-šur-šú-lu-li a-dī-in

⁴¹18 bi-ri-qd-nu 18 GÍN kaspum it-bu-lu ⁴²12 bi-ri-qd-nu 18 GÍN kaspum it-bu-lu ⁴³1 GÍN kaspum šit-im-šit-na na-si-sà-tim 5 GÍN ⁴⁴annukum ša 1 GÍN kaspim 1/4 GÍN a-mar-šit ⁴⁵naphar 1/2 MA.NA 8 1/4 GÍN kaspam ša I-ku-num ⁴⁶i-ni-iš-ú-ni 30 bi-ra-qd-nu 1 emārum ša-lá-mu-um ⁴⁷ú ù-nu-sú a-na I-ku-nim ap-qi-id-ma ⁴⁸3 lu-<bu>-uš šú-ḫa-ri 7 na-šit maḫar ^dEn-lil-ba-ni

⁴⁹8 1/2 GÍN kaspam a-ša ma-ša-ra-tim 2 GÍN kaspum ⁵⁰a-na ra-dī-im ša a-pd-ni 7 Li-bur-be-lī ⁵¹ú-sú-ú a-dī-im 1 1/2 GÍN kaspam a-na a-wi-li ⁵²ša ra-bi-šit ú-šē-ri-ba-ni aš-gul ⁵³52 ma-dš-e-nu ša za-kā-ri 6 1/4 GÍN kaspum ⁵⁴šit-im-šit-na 2 mī-at 30 ⁵⁵mar-šu 5 GÍN kaspum šit-im-šu-nu 20 ma-dš-e-nu ⁵⁶ša si-ni-ša-tim 2 1/4 GÍN kaspum ⁵⁷šit-im-šit-na 2 mī-at 10 lu-ur-[ma]-tim ⁵⁸1 GÍN kaspum šit-im-šit-na mī-ma a-nim ⁵⁹Li-bur-be-lī a-šit-ir [left edge] ⁶⁰a-wi-lim ù-bi-il₅ 1/4 GÍN kaspum a-mar-šit 2 ma-dš-e-nu ša za-kā-ri 1/4 GÍN ⁶¹kaspum šit-im-šit-na a-Li-bur-be-lī-ma a-dī-in 2 GÍN kaspam a-na šú-ba-tim ⁶²ša-mi-šu-nu lá-qi 4 GÍN kaspam a-na na-db-ri-tim ša e-ma-ri 1 1/4 GÍN kaspam a-ti-šú-¹pī ⁶³1 1/4 GÍN kaspam a-šú-ba-tim ša maš-ti-ti 1/4 GÍN kaspam a-na šit-ni-en ⁶⁴ša-mi-šu-nu lá-qi

TRANSLATION

¹Sixty-three bright-colored (garments) for the clothing of servant boys, ²1 5/6 minas 1/4 shekel of silver was their price. ³Forty bright-colored garments, 1 1/3 minas 6 2/3 shekels ⁴of silver was their price. Forty-nine sheep, among them 9 he-goats (and) ⁵8 *laganum*, their price was 5/6 mina 7 1/4 shekels ⁶of silver. Fifty-two tunic-garments (*cost*) 1 donkey—13 shekels ⁷of silver was his price. Three ox yokes, 9 shekels ⁸of silver was their price. Ten *nasistum*-garments, 3 shekels of silver ⁹was their price. Two jars of *šumkum*, 1 1/2 shekels of silver was their price. ¹⁰Eight minas of myrtle, 1/2 shekel of silver was its price. ¹¹Six and one-third minas of wool, 3 shekels of silver was their price. Fifteen minas ¹²of cedar, 1/4 shekel of silver was its price. Two *qa* of cumin, ¹³1 1/3 shekels of silver was their price. One-half *qa* of alkali, 1/4 shekel of silver ¹⁴was their price. One-half *qa* of coriander, 1/4 shekel of silver was its price. ¹⁵One-fourth shekel of silver to Aladirum I weighed out, (and) 5 minas (to) ¹⁶Ganue. Forty-five and two-thirds minas of *aloes*, a bundle ¹⁷of *cloth* (under) your seal, a door socket, a table, ¹⁸a donkey's saddle, *thick* skins, ¹⁹(and) a bright-colored (garment) as equivalent to 5 shekels of silver in Luhuzatia ²⁰I took. Among the bright-colored (garments) which <Adad>-bānī brought you ²¹(are) 4 bright-colored (garments) of Ibiša. Seven donkeys, (besides) ²²their equipment and a bundle of *plane wood*—²³all this Adad-bānī and Urad-Kubi ²⁴are bringing to you. The bright-colored (garments) are (under) my seals.

²⁵One mina of silver of the commissioner Adad-bānī took. ²⁶One-half mina of silver to Urad-Kubi I gave. ²⁷Three minas 4 shekels of *aloes*, 1/2 mina ²⁸of lead, 200 *kibunānum*, [rev.] ²⁹100 combs for 1/4

¹Wrongly "6" in facsimile on Pl. XXXIII.

shekel of silver (each?), ³⁰(and) *stands* for 1/4 shekel of silver to Duqlum ³¹I weighed out, (also) 1/2 *qa* of cumin. All this to ³²Adad-bānī and Urad-Kubi into their hands ³³I have given. Ḥazuanum, Adaḥši, and 400 ³⁴*kibunānum* in one bundle, ³⁵sealed and (under) my seal, they are bringing to you. One mina of copper ³⁶into their hands I have given. Three *dudubātum*, 2 1/4 shekels of silver ³⁷was their price; and Kuri for the master has brought (them). ³⁸Two minas of silver to Aššur-bēl-awātīm ³⁹the son of Amura I gave. One mina of silver to ⁴⁰Šū-Išḥara I gave. Fifteen shekels of silver to Aššur-šulūli I gave.

⁴¹Eighteen bright-colored (garments) cost 18 shekels of silver; ⁴²12 bright-colored (garments) cost 18 shekels of silver; ⁴³1 shekel of silver was the price of two *nasistum*-garments; 5 shekels ⁴⁴of lead were for 1 shekel of silver; 1/4 shekel was for *stands*. ⁴⁵Total: 1/2 mina 8 1/4 shekels of silver, which Ikunum ⁴⁶brought. Thirty bright-colored (garments), 1 black donkey, ⁴⁷and its equipment to Ikunum I entrusted. ⁴⁸Three (suits of) servant boys' clothing he is carrying. Before Enlil-bānī.

⁴⁹Eight and one-half shekels of silver for guards (and) 2 shekels of silver ⁵⁰for the guide who before Libur-bēli ⁵¹went forth were procured. One and one-half shekels of silver to the men ⁵²whom my commissioner brought to me I weighed out. ⁵³Fifty-two sandal thongs of men, 6 1/4 shekels of silver ⁵⁴was their price. Two hundred and thirty ⁵⁵*stands*, 5 shekels of silver was their price. Twenty sandal thongs ⁵⁶of women, 2 1/4 shekels of silver ⁵⁷was their price. Two hundred and ten *pom[egr]anates*, ⁵⁸1 shekel of silver was their price. All this ⁵⁹Libur-bēli to [left edge] ⁶⁰the master has brought. One-fourth shekel of silver for *stands*, also 2 sandal thongs of men, 1/4 shekel ⁶¹of silver their price, to Libur-bēli I gave. Two shekels of silver for a garment, ⁶²their price was taken. Four shekels of silver for pasturing of the donkeys, 1 1/4 shekels of silver for *interest*, ⁶³1 1/4 shekels of silver for a *banquet* garment, 1/4 shekel of silver for two shoes—⁶⁴their price was taken.

NOTES

Memorandum of an agent to his principal. This text almost exactly duplicates an unfinished text in BIN IV 162. For comparison that text is given here in transliteration:¹

¹⁶³ bi-ri-qā-nu(m) ša lu-bu-uš ²šū-ḥa-ri 1 5/6 MA.NA 1/4 GÍN ³kaspum šī-im-šu-nu ⁴⁰ šubātū^{21.1} bi-ri-qā-nu ⁴sá-mu-tum 1 1/3 MA.NA 6 2/3 GÍN ⁵kaspum ⁶šī-im-šu-nu ⁴⁹ e-me-ru ⁶libba^{2a} 9 e-lu-du 8 lá-ga-nu(m) ⁷šī-im-šu-nu 5/6 MA.NA 7 1/4 GÍN ⁸kaspum ⁵² šubātū^{21.1} ku-ta-nu(m) ⁹¹ e-ma-ru-um 13 GÍN kaspum ¹⁰šī-im-šu 3 a-ri-e ša al-pi-im ¹¹⁹ GÍN kaspum ¹¹šī-im-šu-nu ¹²¹⁰ na-si-sa-tim 3 GÍN kaspum ¹³šī-im-šī-na 2 karpal ar-bi-im ¹⁴šu-um-ki 1 1/2 GÍN kaspum šī-im-šu-nu ¹⁵⁸ MA.NA ¹⁶a-šu-um 1/2 GÍN kaspum ¹⁸šī-im-ša 6 1/3 MA.NA ¹⁷³ šapātū^{21.1} ¹⁷³ GÍN kaspum ¹⁷šī-im-ša ¹⁸¹⁵ MA.NA a-ri-nu-um 1/4 GÍN ¹⁹kaspum šī-im-šu 2 qa kà-mu-ni(m) ²⁰¹ 1/3 GÍN kaspum šī-im-šu-nu ^{211/2} qa ku-dī-me 1/4 GÍN kaspum ²²šī-im-šu-nu 1/2 qa ki-si-ba-ra-tum ^{231/4} GÍN kaspum šī-im-ša ^{241/4} GÍN kaspum ²⁵a-na A-lá-da-ri-im ^{25dš-qul} 5 MA.NA ²⁶Ga-nu-wa ²⁶⁴⁵ 2/3 MA.NA ²⁷šī-pá-ra-tim ²⁷ḥu-ur-šī-a-nu-um ²⁸ša šī-ib-tim ²⁸ku-nu-ki-kà ²⁹šī-ra-am ²⁹pá-šu-ra-am ³⁰ku-si-a-am ³⁰ša e-ma-ri-im maš-ki ³¹ša-pi-ú-tim 1 bi-ri-qā-nu-um ³²ki-ma 5 GÍN kaspim ³³i-na Lu-ḥu-za-ti-a ³⁴al-qí-šu-nu ^{34i-na} bi-ri-qā-ni(m) ³⁵sá-mu-tim (3 words omitted) ⁴bi-ri-qā-nu(m) ³⁶ša I-bi-ša 7 e-ma-ri ³⁷ú-nu-sú-nu ³⁸ḥu-ur-si-a-nu-um ³⁸ša du-ul-ba-tim ³⁹«mì-ma» ³⁹mì-ma ⁴⁰a-nim ⁴¹Adad-ba-ni ^{40ú} Ū-ra-ad-Ku-bi-im ^{41na-dš-ú-ni-ku-um} ⁴²bi-ri-qā-nu ⁴³ku-nu-ku-a

LINES 3 AND 21.—To *biriqānum* (*biraqānum* in lines 19, 24, and 46) the duplicate text BIN IV 162:4 and 35 adds the qualification *sāmūtum*, “red.”

LINES 4–5.—Assyrian *emmerum* is a more comprehensive term than the English word “sheep,” including in this instance he-goats and *lag/q/kanum*. I could not find any Semitic word resembling the latter. Perhaps the personal name *Lá-kà-num* (BIN IV 204:3 and 7; cf. also EL p. 143 n. c) is the same word.²

LINE 7.—The word *arām*, “beam” (found also in TC I 30:31 f.), evidently means here a square beam used as an ox yoke.

¹ The var. readings (not uncertain signs in this instance) are in Roman characters. A third copy of the same document, found at Kültepe, was published in photograph by Hrozný in *V Říši Pálměsice* (Praha, 1927) p. 70.

² Could *laganu* be related to *ligittu* (<*ligintu*), which occurs twice in the syllabaries, once corresponding to Sumerian MAŠ (Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexikon*, No. 74:76), the other time to URAŠ (*ibid.* No. 535:5)? Cf. also HL 722 rev. 2 ff.

LINES 8 AND 43.—The word *nasistum* probably corresponds to *na-si-iš-tum*, quoted by Delitzsch, *HWB* p. 131 b (under *urû*), as a synonym of *naḥlapu*, *iltepitum*, etc. The assimilation of *š* to a nearby *s* is common in Assyrian. Cf. *tù-sà-as-ḥa-ar-ma* for *tušasḥar* (*CCT* II 38:29), *ú-sa-ás-sa* for *ušassá* (*KAV* 2 iii 6 and 8), etc.

LINE 9.—Instead of 2 *karpāt šu-um-ku*, the duplicate text *BIN* IV 162:13 f. has 2 *karpāt ar-bi₄-im šu-um-ki*. The last two words are unknown to me. The term *karpatum*, like *naruqqum*, always stands in the construct form before the name of the measured material, which follows in apposition. Cf. 3 *na-ru-uq še^ama^a-am* (*CCT* I 10 b 5 f.), 6 *na-ru-uq qé-mu-um* (*BIN* IV 188:19 f.), 2 *kà-ar-pá-at šamnam* (*TC* II 51:9 f. and 26 f.), 1/2 *karpāt bu-uq-lam* (*KTHahn* 35:11), etc.

LINES 10 AND 12.—Observe the important vars. *a-šu-um* (*BIN* IV 162:15) for *a-sú-um* and *a-ri-nu-um* (*ibid.* line 18) for *e-ri-nu-um*.

LINE 15.—May *A-lá-dí-ri-im* (*A-lá-da-ri-im* in *BIN* IV 162:24) be only a common noun with unknown meaning instead of a personal name?

LINE 16.—With the personal name *Ganue* (*Ga-nu-wa* in *BIN* IV 162:25) cf. *Ga-nu-a* (*CCT* I 35:24), *Ga-nu-e* (*TC* II 14:37; *BIN* IV 169:14), etc.

LINES 16 AND 27.—The word *š/z/si-b/pa-ra-tim* has been discussed by Lewy (*KTHahn* p. 10), who suggested derivation from *šbr*, with the meaning "aloe." Another, less probable, interpretation would result from reading *siparratum* as pl. of *siparrum*, "bronze," meaning "bronzes," "bronze objects." Cf. also 1 *bīt zi-ip-pa-ra-ti ša ḥurāši* (*EA* 14 ii 5) and [1 *bīt zji-ip-pa-ra-du kaspu ḥurāšu uḥ-ḥu-zu* (*ibid.* line 60).

LINES 16, 22, AND 34.—The word *ḥuršīdnum* (*ḥursiānum* in *BIN* IV 162:37) means "Gebundenes" according to Lewy (*EL* p. 258, n. c), who derives it from *ḥrš*, "to bind."

LINE 17.—Is our *šibum* "cloak, cloth" (*Muss-Arnolt* p. 867 b), or is it to be connected with the phrase *a-na ši-bi-it ni-ga-lim* (*BIN* IV 208 A 8 f. and B 12; *KTHahn* 20:7; etc.)?

LINE 17.—With *ši-ra-am* . . . cf. *CCT* II 18:27 ff.: *št-ra-am pá-šu-ra-am ma-dš-kà-am ša alpim ku-st-a-am ša emārim*.

LINE 18.—The word *kussi^uum*, "seat," evidently means in our case a wooden saddle such as is still used for donkey-riding in the Orient. Cf. the expressions *giš.šū.A giš.gu.za anšū* (*Langdon, PBS* XII, [Part] 1, No. 17 rev. 14; *L. Matouš, Die lexikalischen Tafelserien* . . . [Berlin, 1933] I 11:7) and *ku-us[su-ú] si-ir-di* (root *srd*) or *ḥar-ra-ni* (*II R* 23 b 1 ff.), evidently "saddles for traveling."

LINE 18.—The words *maškū šabīūtum* could mean either "satiated (i.e., water-soaked) skins," the second word coming from *šabā^uum*, "to be satiated," or "thick skins," from *šapīum*, "thick." Cf. also the expression *maš-ki ša-b/pá-tim* (*KTHahn* 1:19; *CCT* IV 1 b 5), which Lewy translated with reservations as "Häute, Wolle(haltige)."

LINE 22.—The word *dulbātum* could be pl. of *dulbum*, Arabic *دَلْبٌ*, Syriac *ܕܠܒܬܐ*, "plane tree" or "plane wood."¹ According to 58:31 and *CCT* IV 5 a 18 f., *dulbātum* can be carried in *naruqqātum*, "sacks." The word *dulbum* occurs in a Gudea inscription in the form **tu-lu-bu-um* (*SAKI* p. 70 v 57).

LINE 26.—The personal name *Urad^{ad}-Ku-bi₄* occurs in the same form in *TC* I 43:19 also.

LINE 29.—For *muš/lūum*, "comb," cf. Meissner, *Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch* I 53–56.

LINE 33.—The personal name *A-da-aḥ-ši* evidently corresponds to *A-du-a-aḥ-ši* (*CCT* I 23:21) and probably also to *Adasi*, the name of one of the older kings of Assyria.²

LINE 51.—For *a-dī-im* cf. *KTHahn* p. 12 and *ZA* XXXVIII (1929) 249.

LINE 53.—The word *maš^eenum* evidently corresponds to the later *mešēnum*. For its meaning cf. 3 *mi-še-nu ša še-e-ni ša kaspi* (*EA* 14 ii 58); 3 *mi-še-nu ša šēpi ša ḥurāši* (*ibid.* 1:76).

LINE 57.—The word *lurmātum* can be pl. of *lurimtum*, usually translated as "grapes" because of its common occurrence in connection with *karānu*.³ Or does *lurimtu*, *lurmu* = *nurimtu*, *nurmu*, "pomegranate"?⁴

LINE 62.—For *tišūpum* cf. *ZA* XXXVIII 247 f.

¹ Thompson, *The Assyrian Herbal* p. 180.

² If so, the theory of the Amorite origin of this name, upheld by Lewy in *ZA* XXXVIII (1929) 253–56, collapses.

³ Thus Strassmaier, *Nabonidus* 218:6; 582:4; 606:10 f.; 709:2; etc.

⁴ For these expressions cf. *EA* II pp. 1457 and 1486 f.

TRANSLITERATION

¹³ MA.NA kaspam ša-ru-pá-am [[i]] ²i-št-ir Ū-sá-nim mera³ A-mur-A-šur ⁴tamkârum^{ru-um} i-šu ⁵iš-tù ha-muš-tim ⁶ša I-dí-Ku-bi mera⁷ A-šur-ma-lik waraḥ^{KAM} ⁸kà-ra-a-tim ⁹li-mu-um I-dí-a-ḥu-um ¹⁰a-na 20 ḥa-am-ša-tim i-ša-qal ¹¹wa-bi-il₆ ¹²tuppi^{m^{ru}-im} ¹³šu-ut tamkârum^{ru-um} ¹⁴maḥar Ū-šur-ša-Ištar mera¹⁵ A-šur-i-mi-ti ¹⁶maḥar Lu-zi-na mera¹⁷ A-šur-ba-ni maḥar Sá-ak-lí-a ¹⁸mera¹⁹ Šu-Ištar 3 MA.NA 10 1/2 GÍN kaspam i-št-ir ²⁰I-na-aḥ-ilim mera²¹ Šu-A-šur tamkârum^{ru-um} ²²i-šu iš-tù ha-muš-tim ša A-šur-i-mi-ti ²³mera²⁴ I-ku-pí-Ištar ²⁵a-na 13 ḥa-am-ša-tim ²⁶i-ša-qal ²⁷šu-ma lá iš-qú-ul i-na warḥim^{KAM} ²⁸1 GÍN TA kaspam ²⁹a-MA.NA-im ³⁰ú-ša-ab waraḥ^{KAM} ³¹ḥu-bur li-mu-um I-dí-a-ḥu-um mera³² Ku-da-nim ³³wa-bi-il₆ ³⁴tuppi^{m^{ru}-im} ³⁵šu-ut tamkârum^{ru-um} ³⁶maḥar I-ri-št-im mera³⁷ A-mur-³⁸Šamši³⁹ <maḥar> En-um-A-šur ⁴⁰mera⁴¹ Ša⁴²lim-a-ḥi-im 1 MA.NA kaspam [[i]] ⁴³i-št-ir A-šur-táb mera⁴⁴ A-šur-na-da ⁴⁵ú Ki-ba-al mera⁴⁶ Dan-A-šur tamkârum i-šu ⁴⁷waraḥ^{KAM} ⁴⁸ab ša-ra-nim ilum ⁴⁹ša-ba-tám i-lik-ma ⁵⁰iš-tù ha-muš-tim ša A-ḥu-wa-qar ⁵¹mera⁵² Zur-zur ⁵³li-mu-um A-šur-i-mi-ti ⁵⁴ma-lá-ḥu-um kaspam il₆-qí-ú 1 1/2 GÍN TA ⁵⁵i-na warḥim^{KAM} ⁵⁶im a-na 1 MA.NA-im ⁵⁷št-ib-tám ⁵⁸ú-šú-bu maḥar Puzur(MAN)-A-šur ⁵⁹mera⁶⁰ Šu-Be-lim maḥar A-šur-i-mi-ti [rev.] ⁶¹mera⁶² A-šur-na-da 1 MA.NA kaspam ⁶³ša-ru-pá-am išti En-na-nim mera⁶⁴ Ku-ku-a ⁶⁵maḥar 'U⁶⁶zu-a mera⁶⁷ Li-ba-a ⁶⁸maḥar Lá-qí-ip mera⁶⁹ Šu-Ištar ⁷⁰55 MA.NA erám ma-zi-am ⁷¹da-mu-qam ša-bu-ra-am i-št-ir ⁷²zu.IN-rê⁷³im mera⁷⁴ A-mur-Ištar ⁷⁵Puzur(MAN)-Ištar mera⁷⁶ Im-dí-lim i-šu waraḥ^{KAM} ⁷⁷ti-i-na-tim ⁷⁸li-mu-um A-ku-tum iš-tù ha-muš-tim ⁷⁹ša Li-ip-ta-nim a-na ⁸⁰2 ḥa-am-ša-tim i-Tur₄-ūḥ-mi-id ⁸¹i-ša-qal šu-ma lá iš-qul ki-ma a-wa-at ⁸²kà-ri-im št-ib-tám i-warḥim^{KAM} ⁸³ú-ša-ab ⁸⁴a-na URUDU ⁸⁵ú št-ib-ti-šu A-ni-na ⁸⁶mera⁸⁷ A-šur-be-el-a-wa-tim qá-ta-tum ⁸⁸URUDU ⁸⁹i-qá-qá-ad šál-mi-šu-nu ra-ki-is ⁹⁰1/3 MA.NA kaspum išti A-šu-a-a waraḥ^{KAM} ⁹¹št-ip-im ⁹²li-mu-um Ma-št-ili a-na 4 i-ša-qal šu-ma ⁹³lā iš-qul št-ib-tám ⁹⁴ú-ša-ab 1/2 MA.NA kaspum ⁹⁵išti A-na-lí waraḥ^{KAM} ⁹⁶ab ša-ra-nim ⁹⁷li-mu-um En-na-zu.IN 1/2 GÍN TA ⁹⁸a-na 1/2 MA.NA-im i-warḥim^{KAM} ⁹⁹ú-ša-ab 16 GÍN kaspum išti A-na-aḥ-A-šur ¹⁰⁰mera¹⁰¹ A-šur-na-da 10 GÍN kaspum iš-ti ¹⁰²A-bi₄-táb 1/3 MA.NA išti Šu-Be-lim ¹⁰³mera¹⁰⁴ A-al-táb 2/3 MA.NA 7 1/2 GÍN ¹⁰⁵išti Sá-ak-lí-a mera¹⁰⁶ Šu-Ištar ¹⁰⁷67 GÍN kaspum išti A-šur-i-šu ¹⁰⁸mera¹⁰⁹ A-zu 10 GÍN kaspum [left edge] ¹¹⁰išti En-na-zu.IN mera¹¹¹ A-al-táb 1 1/3 MA.NA kaspum išti Pi-lá-aḥ-A-šur ¹¹²ú Pi-lá-aḥ-Ištar ma-ri A-šur-na-da 1/3 MA.NA ¹¹³kaspum išti Sá-ak-lá-nim mera¹¹⁴ Ki-el-du [[x]]

TRANSLATION

¹Three minas of refined silver ²debited to Usanum the son of Amur-Aššur ³has the merchant. From the *ḥamūštum* ⁴of Iddi(n)-Kubu(m) the son of Aššur-malik, month ⁵of Karrátum, eponym Iddi(n)-aḥum, ⁶in 20 *ḥamūštum* he shall weigh (it) out. ⁷The carrier of the tablet is the merchant himself. ⁸Before Ušur-ša-Ištar the son of Aššur-imitti. ⁹Before Luzina the son of Aššur-bānī. Before Saklia ¹⁰the son of Šū-Ištar.

Three minas 10 1/2 shekels of silver debited to ¹¹Inaḥ-ilum the son of Šū-Aššur has the merchant. ¹²From the *ḥamūštum* of Aššur-imitti ¹³the son of Ikū(n)-pí-Ištar, in 13 *ḥamūštum* ¹⁴he shall weigh (it) out. Suppose he should not weigh (it) out, per month ¹⁵1 shekel of silver per mina he shall add. Month of ¹⁶Ḥubur, eponym Iddi(n)-aḥum the son of Kudanum. ¹⁷The carrier of the tablet is the merchant himself. ¹⁸Before Irrišum the son of Amur-Šamši. <Before> Ennum-Aššur ¹⁹the son of Ša'llim-aḥum.

One mina of silver ²⁰debited to Aššur-táb the son of Aššur-na²¹da ²²and Kibal the son of Dan-Aššur has the merchant. ²³Month of Ab-šarrānim, (when) the god went to rest. ²⁴From the *ḥamūštum* of Aḥu-waqar ²⁵the son of Zurzur, eponym Aššur-imitti ²⁶the sailor, the silver they took. One and one-half shekels ²⁷per month per mina ²⁸as interest they shall add. Before Puzur-Aššur ²⁹the son of Šū-Bélum. Before Aššur-imitti [rev.] ³⁰the son of Aššur-na³¹da.

One mina of refined ³²silver is with Ennanum the son of Kukua. ³³Before 'U³⁴zua the son of Libaa. ³⁵Before Láqíp the son of Šū-Ištar.

³⁶Fifty-five minas of mixed copper (bronze?), ³⁷purified, broken up, debited to ³⁸Sin-rê³⁹um the son of Amur-Ištar ⁴⁰has Puzur-Ištar the son of Imdí(i)-lum. Month of Tinátum, ⁴¹eponym Akutum. From the *ḥamūštum* ⁴²of Liptanum in ⁴³2 *ḥamūštum* in Turuḥmid ⁴⁴he shall weigh (it) out. Suppose he should not weigh (it) out, according to the word ⁴⁵of the *kārum* the interest per month he shall add. ⁴⁶For the copper and its interest Anina ⁴⁷the son of Aššur-bél-awátim is the guarantor. ⁴⁸The copper by the head of their solvency is bound.

⁴⁵One-third mina of silver is with Ašuaa. Month of Šip^uum, ⁴⁶eponym Maši-ili. In 4 (months) he shall weigh (it) out. Suppose ⁴⁷he should 'not' weigh (it) out, the interest he shall add.

One-half mina of silver ⁴⁸is with Anali. Month of Ab-šarrānim, ⁴⁹eponym Enna-Sin. One-half shekel ⁵⁰per 1/2 mina per month ⁵¹he shall add.

Sixteen shekels of silver are with Anaḫ-Aššur ⁵²the son of Aššur-na³da.

Ten shekels of silver are with ⁵³Abi-tāb.

One-third mina is with Šū-Bēlum ⁵⁴the son of Āl-tāb.

Two-thirds mina 7 1/2 shekels are ⁵⁵with Saklia the son of Šū-Ištar.

⁵⁶Seven shekels are with Aššur-išu ⁵⁷the son of Azu.

Ten shekels of silver are [left edge] ⁵⁸with Enna-Sin the son of Āl-tāb.

One and one-third minas of silver are with Pilaḫ-Aššur ⁵⁹and Pilaḫ-Ištar the sons of Aššur-na³da.

One-third mina ⁶⁰of silver is with Saklānum the son of Keldu.

NOTES

LINE 3 ETC.—The question of the meaning of *ḥamūštum* has forced me to probe more deeply into the problem of Assyrian numerals. The grammars usually do not give anything definite about the forms and use of the numerals. Therefore I permit myself to present the whole problem from the very beginning, starting with the Old Assyrian and Old Akkadian, two dialects which have the same rules for the treatment of the numerals.

The forms for "one" in Cappadocian are *ištin* for the masc. and *išti* for the fem. (usually following the noun): *šū-ḥa-ra-am ištī-in*, "one servant boy" (*BIN* IV 34:4 f.); *warḥam^{xam} ištī-in ū šī-na*, "one month or two" (*CCT* II 4 a 17); *i-na ištī-it ḫu-ur-ši-a-ni-im*, "in one package" (55:34); *ištī-it (maškat-tam)*, "one (pledge)" (*TC* I 18:16).¹ The word for "two" in the oldest Akkadian must have been *šinān*, *šinēn*, for the masc.; *šittān*, *šittēn*, for the fem. In the historical period, however, the nunation of this numeral, together with the distinction between the cases, had already disappeared; in Cappadocian the regular form for the masc. had become *šinā*, for the fem., *šittā*.² *šī-na ṭuppān^{pa-an}*,³ "two tablets" (nom., *TC* II 19:6); *maḥar 2^{ti-na} me-er-e*, "before two sons" (gen., *BIN* IV 42:20); *šī-ta na-sī-sā-tim*, "two *nasistum*-garments" (gen., 55:43); *2^{ti-ta} a-wa-ti*, "two words" (acc., 23:x+5). Old Akkadian examples are *i-na šī-na ū-mi*, "in two days" (*CT* XXXVI 4 ii 18); *a-na še-na*, "in two" (*RA* VII [1910] 183:1). The relation of the numerals from three to ten to governing nouns is exactly like that in Arabic: fem. numeral forms with masc. nouns, masc. numeral forms with fem. nouns, the numerals always in construct state: *a-na ša-la-aš mī-at-tim*, "into three hundred" (*RA* VIII [1911] 65 i 18 f.); *ša₁₀-ma-ni ša-na-tim*, "eight years" (*ibid.* lines 8 f.); *ša-la-aš [b]a-ba-tim*, "three [g]ates" (*TC* II 11:6 f.); *a-ša-lā-ša-at ni-a-ti*, "to the three of us" (*TC* I 37:16 f.); *šī-na ū ša-lā-ša-at (tamkārū)*, "two or three (merchants)" (*BIN* IV 32:18 f.).⁴ Very common in Cappadocian are the cardinal numerals in such phrases as *a-dī šī-ni-šu*, "twice" (*CCT* IV 10 a 11); *(a-dī) ša-lā-šī-šu*, "thrice" (*ibid.* line 12); *a-dī ḥa-am-šī-šu*, "five times" (*BIN* IV 86:5); *a-dī ištī-ri-šu*, "ten times" (*KTBI* 3:20).

The fem. of the cardinal numerals is used abstractly. Examples are *maḥar šališti^{ištī}*, "before a (committee of) three" (57:3); *ḥa-mī-išt-tum*, "a (committee of) five" (*BIN* IV 106:5 and 14); *ešertum^{tum}*, "a (committee of) ten" (*CCT* III 36 a 1 and 3; *CCT* IV 30 a 4; *EL* p. 255, n. a).⁵ Sometimes the form

¹ Sometimes *ištin* also is used for the fem.: *a-wa-tām ištī-in* (*KTHahn* 5:11; Lewy reads incorrectly *ištī-ni-iš*); *a-wa-tām ištī-i <n>* (*BIN* IV 39:25; the last sign is written like *ti*). Entirely irregular seems to be the form *ištī-na (amtam)* (*EL* 287:30); cf. similarly in a Samsu-iluna inscription *in li-ib-bu ša-at-tim ištī-a-na* (var. *ištī-te-in*) in *CT* XXXVII 3:42 f.

² The nunation and case endings are preserved when *šittān* means "two-thirds." Cf. Schorr, *VAB* V 129:13; Code of Hammurabi xvi 66; von Soden in *ZA* XLI (1933) 132, n. 1; Thureau-Dangin in *RA* XXXI (1934) 49. The case of *šē-ni-in* (*BIN* IV 71:4) quoted by von Soden is very doubtful; *šē-ni-in* might be "two shoes."

³ In Old Assyrian the word *ṭuppum* is masculine, e.g. in *ṭuppum^{pu-um} a-ni-um* (*KTS* 10:21); but in Middle Assyrian it is fem., e.g. in *ṭuppi^{pi} dan-na-ta* (*KAJ* 12:18 and 20). In dialects, such as those of Boğazköy and Nuzi, it seems to be of both genders.

⁴ So also in later periods we have *ḥa-mī-is sa-a-ti*, "five *sātu*" (*CT* XXXV 7:31); *ḥa-mi-išt-ti MIN (=u-mu)*, "five days" (Lutz in *UCP* IX [1931] Part 1, No. 58:16).

⁵ Cf. also *ilāni^{pi} rabāti^{pi} ḥa-am-ša(t)-su-nu . . . ilāni^{pi} šī-ma-a-tim si-bi-ti-šū-nu*, "the great gods, their five . . . , the gods of destiny, their seven" (Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen* [Berlin, 1896] p. 139, lines 152-54).

hamuštum occurs (e.g. *BIN* IV 179:1) with the same meaning as *hamištum*.¹ The interchange of *iš* and *uš* can be observed elsewhere also, e.g. in *ištu* > *uštu* (*passim* in Nuzi) > *ultu*; *uš-ra¹-a-tum* (equated with *IGI 10 GÁL.LA* in *V R* 40:55 c-d) or *uš-re-e-tum* (*ZA* VII 31 rev. 4) for *iš-ra-tum* (e.g. *CCT* III 26 b 7); *iš-qá-lá-al-ma* (*BIN* IV 63:4) for *ušqallal* (cf. also *iš-qá-lal-la* in *TCL* VI 8:16).

Exactly as the Old Akkadian *šalaš mi²attim* corresponds in form to the Arabic ثَلَاثَ بَنَاتٍ, so on the other hand *kibrátum arba³um* (*kibrátim arba³im* in gen.), "the quarters, the four," i.e., "the four quarters," corresponds in form to the Arabic بَنَاتٌ أَرْبَعٌ.² Possibly in the Old Akkadian period this latter way of expressing numerals with nouns was regular; it occurs often in the Hammurabi period: *al-pi še-na*, "two oxen" (Ungnad, *Altbabylonische Briefe aus dem Museum zu Philadelphia* [Stuttgart, 1920] 144:8); [*hur*]-*ša-ni si-bi-tam*, "seven [mou]ntains" (*URI* 146 iv 12);³ *ga-ba-ri-e ša-lal-ti*, "three copies" (L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary-Stones* [London, 1912] p. 18:27); and possibly *i⁴epinna-ta-am ir-bi-tam*, "each one of the four ploughs" (*VAS* XVI 199:16).

An opinion commonly held is that the form of the ordinal numerals is *fa⁵ulu*.⁴ Only Haupt dared to contend that the actual form of the ordinals in Assyrian, as in Arabic, is *fā⁵ilu*.⁵ Since, however, the later Assyrian words for "third" and "fifth" are *šalšum* and *hamšum* respectively, it is better to say that in Akkadian the original form of the ordinal numerals was *fa⁶ilu*.⁶ A form *fa⁶ulu* was deduced by scholars from fem. ordinals such as *šaluštum*, *rebūtum*, *hamuštum*, used in the Hammurabi period and later, which actually mean "third," "fourth," and "fifth" respectively. But neither Akkadian in its oldest period nor any other Semitic language knows the *fa⁶ulu* formation for the ordinal numerals; the ordinals which I know from the Cappadocian or the Old Akkadian period show only the *fa⁶ilu* formation: *ša-ni-um*, "second" (*CCT* I 12 a 12), *ša-ni-tim* (*CCT* III 10:13), and similar forms; *i-ṭuppi⁷im⁸-im ša-li-ši-im*, "in the third tablet" (*TMH* I 27 b 2 f.);⁷ in *ša₁₀-an-tim ša₁₀-li-iš-tim*, "in the third year" (Legrain, *PBS* XV, p. 24 xxiii 8 f., corrected after Poebel in *OLZ* XXXI [1928] 700 and Landsberger in *ZA* XXXVIII [1929] 114); and *ša-li-iš-tum*, "the third"⁸ (*TC* I 18:45).

Fractions are often expressed in Old Assyrian as in many other languages—cf. English "one-tenth," German "Zehntel" (= "der zehnte Teil")—by means of ordinal numerals, mostly fem., but also masc.: *ša-li-iš-tám*, "one-third" (*Babyloniaca* IV 72:19 f. and 25 f.); *ša-al-ša-am*, "one-third" (*KTBL* 9:16); *i-na i-še-ra-tim*, "in the tithes" (*TC* II 14:22); *iš-ra-am*, "one-tenth," (*KTHahn* 7:34). In the Babylonian of the Hammurabi period we have *ša-lu-uš-ta-šu*, "his third part" (Schorr, *VAB* V 126:7); *ša-lu-uš* (*ibid.* line 5 and 127:7 and 10). According to Thureau-Dangin (*RA* XXXI [1934] 49) the ordinal when used for fractions was probably originally accompanied by the noun *qátum*, "hand," "part," in later periods omitted.

The fact that in the Hammurabi period and thereafter the ordinal numerals regularly take the form *fa⁶ulu* can be explained in two ways. Either the two ordinals *šalištum* and *hamištum* changed on vocalic

¹ Cf. also *rab hamuštiti* (Böhl in *AKF* II [1924–25] 53:16) and *akil(FA) hamušti(NAM-5)-šu-nu* (Lutz in *UCP* IX, Part 4, No. 5:10), evidently titles designating an officer over five men. More titles of this sort are cited by A. Walther, *Das altbabylonische Gerichtswesen* (Leipzig, 1917) p. 74, n. 1.

² In a later period are used *kibrát arba³im*, *kibrát irbittim*, or even (entirely wrongly) *ki-ib-ra-tum er-bi-im* (*RA* VIII [1911] 65:5 f. = *CT* XXXVI 4 i 7 f.; cf. von Soden in *ZA* XLI [1933] 133). The form *kibrátum arba³um* is the less common way to express numerals in Assyrian and should not have been cited as the usual way by Meissner, *Kurzgefasste assyrische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1907) p. 34, and by Ungnad, *Babylonisch-assyrische Grammatik*² (München, 1926) p. 38.

³ For this reference and restoration I am indebted to Professor A. Poebel.

⁴ Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*² (Berlin, 1906) p. 212; Meissner, *op. cit.* p. 34; Ungnad, *op. cit.* p. 38; Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik* I 491.

⁵ "Die Form der assyrischen Ordinalzahlen," *OLZ* XVI (1913) 531–33.

⁶ Though *kāšidum* always remains *kāšidum*, because a short vowel after a long one does not have the tendency to disappear, **kāšidum* (past participle) > *kašdum*, like **šališum* > *šalšum*.

⁷ Cf. in the same tablet lines 5 f.: *i-ṭuppi⁷im⁸-im ša-da-ši-im*, "in the sixth tablet." I cannot explain this form. Is *da* miswritten for *dī*? Cf. the variant spellings *A-lá-da-ri-im* and *A-lá-dī-ri-im* (see note on 55:15).

⁸ Perhaps supply *ellutum* (fem.), "caravan." Preceding *šalištum* we have two numerals: *pá-ni-um*, evidently "the first," and *ša-ni-um*, "the second." These last two numerals are masc., agreeing presumably with some other understood word of similar meaning but masc. in gender.

grounds (cf. p. 60) in the course of time to *šaluštum* and *hamuštum*, and then the other ordinals were changed by analogy; or the *fa^culu* form originated through influence exerted by some other class of numerals. If we look for such a class, the nearest possibility would seem to be that which is used to express a period of time; but its form is *fa^culu*, and it is hard to believe that a form with a naturally long vowel after the second radical could influence to such an extent a simple permansive form such as *fa^c(i)lu*. Probabilities, then, favor the *šaluštum* analogy.

To the *fa^culu* group belongs the Assyrian word *šebūtum*, "seven-day week," by analogy with which the word *hamuštum* evidently represents a period of five days.¹ The fact that *hamuštum* never occurs in the form *hamištum* is one of the most important reasons why we have to see in *hamuštum* the *fa^culu* formation designating a period of time. Much ink has been poured out on the *hamuštum* question. Ever since the studies of Sayce,² Winckler,³ and Landsberger⁴ the common belief has been that *hamuštum* represents the five-day week. Some doubts were expressed by Eduard Meyer,⁵ but an entirely new explanation was given by Lewy, who takes this expression as the ordinal and believes that (1) "Fünftel (*hamištum* und *hamuštum*) bezeichnete ursprünglich wohl den jeweils im Turnus gerade amtierenden Teil der zur Wahrnehmung der Stadtverwaltung usw. berufenen Männer," (2) "Fünftel = Fünfteljahr."⁶ But against Lewy's interpretation and in favor of *hamuštum*, "period of five days," can now be adduced many important arguments:⁷ (1) The usual way to express the full date in Cappadocian is by means of *ištu hamuštim ša A waraḥ B limmum C*. The logical interpretation of *hamuštum*, then, is that it is a period of time shorter than that designated in the successive following expressions, "month" and "year." (2) A *hamuštum* is usually named for an Assyrian official who has been selected as eponym for a certain period. Also known, however, are *ḥa-mu-uš-tum ša ti-i-na-tim*, "the five-day week of the figs" (TC I 3:20 f.), and *ḥa-mu-uš-tum ša ta-aš-me-tim . . . ša ba-ab ṽ a-ap-tim*,⁸ with unknown meaning. These last examples show clearly that *hamuštum* can represent no "Fünftelbehörde," but only a period of time. (3) Often money is lent for a period of 45, 46, or even 50 *hamuštum*, which according to Lewy would correspond to periods up to 10 years. On the other hand, loans are never granted for such a long period of time;⁹ they run mostly for about one to five months. (4) The most important argument against Lewy's interpretation as "one-fifth of a year" is given by KTS 1 a, which Lewy used as the basis of his interpretation.¹⁰ There we find that a certain man has been loaned 8 minas of silver for a period of 10 days; two and even three months have passed, and the money has not been returned. The creditor allows the debtor 7 *hamuštum* without interest and adds that for the (next) 7 *hamuštum* he is supposed to pay 1 1/3 minas of silver. At 5 days (not 1/5 year) each, these 14 *hamuštum* plus 10 days would give 80 days, a good match for the previously mentioned expression "2-3 months."

LINE 18.—The second *maḥar* was accidentally omitted on account of the preceding *igi* sign, which belongs to ^a*Šamš_i*.

¹ In Ethiopic also the *fa^culu* class covers nouns expressing a period of time. Cf. A. Dillmann, *Ethiopic Grammar*² (London, 1907) pp. 370 f. Likewise in Hebrew *šābā^c*, "a period of seven days," and *‘āšōr*, "a period of ten days," are of the same formation. Cf. Haupt in *OLZ* XVI (1913) 531.

² "Tablet Brought by Professor W. M. Ramsay from Kaisarieh," *PSBA* XIX (1897) 288.

³ *Allorientalische Forschungen* II (Leipzig, 1901) 91-102.

⁴ *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer* (Leipzig, 1915) p. 96 and *OLZ* XXVIII (1925) 232.

⁵ *Geschichte des Altertums*³ I, Part 2, p. 357.

⁶ *EL* pp. 141, n. b, and 39, n. b; *MAOG* IV (1928-29) 127; *KTS* p. 61; *KTBl* p. 19.

⁷ Cf. Landsberger in *OLZ* XXVIII (1925) 232 and a very important note by M. David in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung* LII (1932) 500 f.

⁸ So Forrer in *RLA* I 235 b, citing Aššur Photo 4062; Landsberger in *OLZ* XXVIII (1925) 232 reads *Tašmētu ša pī aptim*, quoting Aššur Photo 4026. Which number and which reading are we to accept?

⁹ David, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ *KTS* p. 61. Lewy evidently bases his argument on the high interest asked for the 7 *hamuštum*, if to *hamuštum* must be assigned the value of "five-day week." But this argument is not strong enough, because we know from Cappadocian sources of loans made at 150 and more per cent. Cf. David, *op. cit.*, and Landsberger in *ZA* XXXV (1924) 32.

LINE 22.—The phrase *ilum* 𐎶¹ *šabattam illikma* probably designates a holiday during the month of Ab-šarrānim. We have another occurrence of the word *šabattum* in *JSOR* XI (1927) 136:6–9: *ši-ti kaspim* 4 1/3 MA.NA 7 1/2 [GÍN kaspam] *iš-tù ša-ba-tim a-ni-tim a-ši-ib-tim ni-il₆-qí-ma*, “the rest of the silver, 4 1/3 minas 7 1/2 [shekels of silver], from this sabbath at interest we took.”²

LINE 24.—The reading *Zur-zur* is based on a var. *Zu-ur-zu-ur* (CCT II 5 b 5).

LINE 39.—Turuḫmid = Turḫumid, for which cf. p. 11.

LINE 48.—For Anali cf. EL p. 98, n. c.

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Oriental Institute Museum No. A 6009, bought at Kültepe; 68×53×16 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹*Bu-za-zu Il₆-we-da-ku* ²*iš-a-al um-ma Bu-za-zu-ma* ³*tí-ma-li-ma maḥar šališti*³³⁻⁴¹ ⁴*ta-dš-e-li-ma ú a-pu-ul-kà* ⁵*lā li-bi ilim-ma Puzur-A-šūr* ⁶*TAB.BA-a bīt a-bi₄-ni me-it a-na-ku* ⁷*i-na Wa-aḥ-šu-ša-na wa-dš-ba-ku* ⁸*um-mi-a-nu ù tamkâru^u* ⁹*Puzur-A-šūr a-na bīt Puzur-a- <šūr> e-ru-bu-ma* ¹⁰*ma-ša-ar-tám ša Puzur-A-šūr* ¹¹*ip-ti-ú-ma lu kaspam lu ḥurâšam* (KUG.KI) ¹²*lu ṭuppê^{pe} ta-ma-lá-ki* [[x]] ¹³*ši-ta* ¹⁴*i-li-in ša URUDU mi-ma a-nim* ¹⁵*a-na I-na-zu.IN mera^o I-li-a-lim* ¹⁶*ip-qí-du a-na-ku iš-tù* ¹⁷*Wa-aḥ-šu-ša-na a-li-kam-ma* ¹⁸*I-na-zu.IN aš-ba-at-l^{ma}* [rev.] ¹⁹*lu kaspam lu ḥurâšam lu ṭuppê^{pe}* ²⁰*ta-ma-lá-ki ši-ta i-li-in* ²¹*ša URUDU ša um-mi-a-nu ù* ²²*tamkâru^u* ²³*Puzur-A-šūr* ²⁴*ip-qí-du-šu-ni-ma i-a-ti* ²⁵*ú-ši-ra-ni lu kaspam lu ḥurâšam* ²⁶*a-na ši-it Puzur-A-šūr* ²⁷*ša ša-qú-lim ú-ša-qí-il₆-ma ši-ti* ²⁸*kaspim a-na A-šūr-Šamši⁴¹* ²⁹*ip-qí-id-ma* ³⁰*i-na kaspim ki-ma tamkârim qá-ti* ³¹*dš-ku-un-ma bīt a-bi₄-a ši-mu-um* ³²*i-šé-i-ma i-na ba-dš a-bu-lim* ³³*ša ki-ma i-a-ti i-lu-qú-tim qá-sú-nu* ³⁴*iš-ku-nu* 𐎶 ³⁵*ki-ma me-ir-ú Puzur-A-šūr* ³⁶*mer-at Puzur-A-šūr* ³⁷*râbišam e-ḥu-zu-ni-ni-ma* ³⁸*a-na ši-a-ti ša ki-ma i-a-ti* ³⁹*A-zu-ma-na dš-pu-ur-ma* ⁴⁰*lu-qú-tám a-na Ku-lu-ma-a* [left edge] ⁴¹*ip-qí-du lu-qú-tum iš-tù ékallim^{tim}* ⁴²*ur-da-ma ši-ip-ru ša a-lim^{xi}* ⁴³*ú li-mu* ⁴⁴*annakam* [[x]] ⁴⁵*a-na ḥu-bu-ul Puzur-A-šūr* ⁴⁶*ša a-na* 𐎶 ⁴⁷*A-šūr ḥa-bu-lu a-na bīt kâ-ri-im* (text unfinished because of lack of space)

TRANSLATION

¹Il-wedâku has asked Buzazu. ²Thus (says) Buzazu: ³Yesterday before a committee of three ⁴you asked me, and I answered you. ⁵Not by the god's will Puzur-Aššur, ⁶the partner of the house of our father, is dead. I ⁷in Waḥšušana dwell. ⁸The creditors and merchants of Puzur-Aššur ⁹into the house of Puzur-A <ššur> entered, and ¹⁰the treasury of Puzur-Aššur ¹¹they opened. Whether silver or gold ¹²or tablets (in) containers, (those things and) two ¹³chains of copper—all this ¹⁴to Inna-Sin the son of Ili-álum ¹⁵they intrusted. I went from ¹⁶Waḥšušana and ¹⁷seized Inna-Sin; and [rev.] ¹⁸whether silver or gold or tablets ¹⁹(in) containers, (those things and) the two chains ²⁰of copper, which the creditors and ²¹merchants of Puzur-Aššur ²²had intrusted to him, to me ²³he left. Whether silver or gold, ²⁴for the expenses (or “taxes”?) of Puzur-Aššur ²⁵which had to be weighed out he caused (it) to be weighed out; and the rest ²⁶of the silver to Aššur-Šamši he intrusted. And ²⁷on the silver as a merchant my hand ²⁸I laid, and in the house of my father the price ²⁹was seen. In the door of the gate ³⁰those who are like myself on the goods their hand(s) ³¹have laid. Inasmuch as the sons of Puzur-Aššur ³²and the daughter of Puzur-Aššur ³³have seized the commissioner, ³⁴therefore one like myself, ³⁵Azumanu, I have sent; and ³⁶the goods to Kulumaa [left edge] ³⁷they have intrusted. The goods from the palace ³⁸came down, and the messengers of the city and the eponyms ³⁹the lead against the debt of Puzur-Aššur ⁴⁰which he owed to Aššur to the house of the *kârum* (text unfinished because of lack of space).

NOTES

LINE 1.—Cf. the same beginning in another tablet, *BIN* IV 112: *Bu-za-zu Il₆-we-da-ku iš-a-al-ma um-ma Bu-za-zu-ma*. There the rest of the text is entirely different from that of our tablet, though it treats of the same Puzur-Aššur.

¹ The vertical wedge after *ilum* serves not to separate the phrases but to show that the ideogram DINGIR is a word in itself, not a determinative of the following noun.

² A reference to *šabattum* in *BIN* IV 6:23, quoted by Stephens (*JSOR* XI 107), is not right; read there *ša-pá-tim*, pl. of *šaptum*, “wool” (cf. p. 28).

LINE 4.—The form *taš^helima* is irregular for *taš^halima*.

LINE 11.—The writing KUG.KI instead of KUG.GI for *ḫurāšum* is very common in other Cappadocian texts.¹ It can be explained in the same manner as the writing of IR² instead of IR for *wardum*, and of GA³ (=SILA) for the usual *qa*. These examples, written with signs phonetically equivalent to the proper ideograms, just as the spelling of non-ideographically written words might be varied, prove that (at least in spelling and writing) the Sumerian ideograms were actually pronounced in the Sumerian way.

LINE 12.—The oblique case of the masc. pl. in Assyrian always ends in -ē, not in -ī.⁴ Thus not only nouns with a final weak radical, e.g. *me-er-e* (BIN IV 171:1), *ḫu-ša-e* (*ibid.* 133:2), *mu-ši-e* (CCT I 38 c 6), but also those with a final strong radical, e.g. *ku-nu-ki-e* (EL 120:2), *e-tu-dī-e* (6:9; CCT II 18:21), *tamkârê^{i-e}* (15:8), *qā-ša-ri-e* (TC I 16:7), *ši-ip-ri-e* (TC I 24:45), *lu-bu-ši-e* (TC I 13:16), end in -ē.

LINE 12.—The fem. *šittā(n)*, used here with the masc. dual form *illīn*, proves that *illum* is fem.

LINE 29.—Is *i-šē-i-ma* IV 1 pret. of *še^ddum*, “to see,” “to look”?

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Oriental Institute Museum No. A 6010, bought at Kültepe; 85×64×18 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹[. . .] ú it-ra-sú ²[. . . AN.N]A-ak qā-tim ³[. . . libba]^{ba} 2 šubātān ⁴[. . .] kà-dā-tū-tum ⁵[. . .]-ḫu ⁶[. . .] šī-bi₄-im ⁷[. . .]-um ⁸[. . .]-mu ⁹[. . .] šī-kum ¹⁰[. . .]-ku-ru ¹¹[. . .] GÍN? ¹²[. . .] Ku-lu-ma-a ¹³[. . .] ¹⁴[. . .] a-na ¹⁵[. . .]-šar ¹⁶[. . .] ša a-na ¹⁷[. . .] ¹⁸1/3 MA.NA URUDU ig-ri I-li-bi₄-im ¹⁹3 šubātū ša ²⁰Adad-šū-lu-li [rev.] ²¹3 šubātū ša Ki-zi-a 2 šubātān ša I-lī-a-lim ²²2 šubātān ša šū-ūḫ-ri-im ²³8 ri-ig-lu 7 MA.NA ²⁴annukum ša E-lā-lī mera[?] Zu-ū-a NU.BANDA ²⁵5 šubātū ša Puzur-A-šur mera[?] ru-ba-im ²⁶5 šī-it-ru ša lu-bu-šī ²⁷3 iš-ra-tum 2/3 MA.NA URUDU ²⁸a-na ru-ba-im 13 GÍN URUDU ²⁹5 a-na A-bi₄-a kà-ni-ki-im ³⁰5 MA.NA URUDU ig-ri ³¹3 I-li-bi₄-im ša Tī-bi-ra-ⁿⁱ ³²3 na-ru-qā-tum ša du-ul-ba-tim ³³2 a-za-me-la-an i-li-bi₄ ³⁴mu¹-nu-tim šubātēⁿⁱ i-a-ū-tim ³⁵1 šubātum ša A-šur-ba-ni mera[?] Tī-li-a ³⁶[x M]A.NA AN. <NA> ³⁷šī-im šubātīm ³⁸[. . .]-e-tim 2 ma-at ³⁹[. . .] li-iš-ḫu-td-^{ma} ⁴⁰[. . .]-me a-šū-mi ⁴¹[. . .]-ma 1/2 MA.NA [left edge] ⁴²[. . .]-a ⁴³[. . .]-id

TRANSLATION

¹[. . .] and its surplus ²[. . .] the le[ad] of the hand ³[. . .] amon[g] them 2 garments ⁴[. . .] heavy ⁵[. . .] ⁶[. . .] of the witness ⁷[. . .] ⁸[. . .] ⁹[. . .] in pieces ¹⁰[. . .] . . . ¹¹[. . .] shekels ¹²[. . .] Kulumaa ¹³[. . .] ¹⁴[. . .] to ¹⁵[. . .] . . . ¹⁶[. . .] which to ¹⁷[. . .] besides ¹⁸1/3 mina of copper, the wages of Ilibum; ¹⁹3 garments of Adad-šulūli; [rev.] ²⁰3 garments of Kizia; 2 garments of Ili-ālum; ²¹2 garments of servant boys; ²²8 legs (of furniture?); 7 minas ²³of lead of Elali the son of Zūa the officer; ²⁴5 garments of Puzur-Aššur the son of the prince; ²⁵5 veils of clothing; ²⁶3 (garments[?]) for tithes; 2/3 mina of copper ²⁷to the prince; 13 shekels of copper ²⁸to Abia the sealer; ²⁹5 minas of copper, the wages ³⁰of Ilibum of Tibira; ³¹3 sacks of plane wood; ³²2 baskets within ³³. . . ; my garments; ³⁴[1 garment] of Aššur-bānī the son of Tilīa; ³⁵[x m]inas of le <ad>, the price of a garment; ³⁶[. . .] . . . two hundred ³⁷[. . .] may they tear off. ³⁸[. . .] concerning ³⁹[. . .] 1/2 mina [left edge] ⁴⁰[. . .] . . . ⁴¹[. . .]

NOTES


LINE 22.—Our *riglum* comes from the Semitic root *rgl* and probably means “leg,” here of furniture. The number “8” in our text would be appropriate for two beds, tables, chairs, etc.⁵ But the occurrence

¹ BIN IV 104:11, 24, 25; 138:3; 194:4, 10, 14; etc.

² Cf. 55:26 and the examples cited in EL p. 76, n. c.

³ BIN IV 202:7; CCT I 26 c 9; etc.

⁴ So too in Old Akkadian, if we may judge from three examples: *ša₁₀-lu-e kà-la-šū₁₁-nu-ma* (PBS V 34 xxv 15–17), *tamḫârê* (RA IX 34 i 6), and *MÁ.LAH₄-e* (Mém. XIV p. 83, No. 26:12). But even in Babylonian the oblique case sometimes ends in -ē. Cf. *šip-ti-e* (AJSL XL [1923/24] 227) and numerous examples of *a-we-li-e* (Ungnad, VAB VI p. 244). Probably from the Kassite period onward this form in -ē was used for all pl. cases. A similar development is common in Indo-European languages. Thus the Spanish pl. is derived from the Latin acc. pl. (e.g. *los toros* < *illos tauros*).

⁵ The last sign in *1 ri-ik-* (CCT I 15 b 4, 8, 10 and BIN IV 173:3) should be read *súm* in spite of its resemblance to the usual form of *LUM* and possible connection with our *riglum*. The sign *súm* occurs without any doubt in *ap-qi-súm* (BIN IV 133:8); on the other hand I do not know any examples of *LUM* in Cappadocian tablets.

of *ri-ig-li ú sú-lu-pí*, “. . . and dates,” in *TC* II 7:30 f. would point toward interpretation of *riglum* there as a fruit or plant.

LINE 23.—*NU.BÀNDA*¹ is explained in *CT* XXXI 11:11 f. by *la-bu-ut-tu-ú* = *na-gi-ru* or *ha-za-nu*. Also known is the reading *lu-bu-ut-tu-ú* (cf. King, *Babylonian Boundary-Stones* p. 46 iii 13), which interchanges with the usual *NU.BÀNDA* (e.g., King, *ibid.* p. 81 iii 2 and *passim*).

LINE 24.—The Puzur-Aššur mentioned here as the son of the prince is evidently Puzur-Aššur II, the son of Sargon I of Assyria. The latter is, then, the *rubāum* of line 27.

LINE 25.—The word *šitrum* occurs also in other places: *CCT* I 50:6 (6 *št-it-ri ša Za-al-pá*); *BIN* IV 75:14 (1 *št-it-ra-am*); *ibid.* 1:17 (3 *šubâtê² št-it-ru*); etc. I should connect our *šitrum* with Arabic سِتْر, Hebrew סִטְרָה, “veil,” from *str*, “to cover,” “to hide.” However, the correspondence of Hebrew *samekh* and Arabic *šn* to Assyrian *šin* is not regular.

LINE 30.—For Tibira cf. p. 11.

LINE 32.—An *azamillum* is some kind of basket; cf. e.g. 40 *a-za-i-lu ša IN.NU* (*KAJ* 118:1).

LINE 33.—The exact translation of the word *munūtum* is unknown to me. Does it correspond to *mu-nu-ú*, listed with *ma-nu-ú* and *te-nu-ú* as synonyms of *iršu*, “bed” (*II R* 23:57 c–d ff.)? Another explanation is given by Lewy (*KTHahn* p. 32).

LINE 33.—For the elucidation of the possessive pronoun in Assyrian and Babylonian we are indebted to Landsberger.² As shown by the forms of the 1st person sing., for example—*i-a-um*, “meus” (*CCT* I 16 b 3); *i-a-im*, “mei” (*KTS* 2 b 11); *i-a-am*, “meum” (*KTS* 3 b 12); *i-a-ú-tum*, “mei” (*CCT* III 4:24); *i-a-ú-tim*, “meorum” (*BIN* IV 7:20); *i-a-ú-tim*, “meos” (*KTHahn* 13:33); *i-a-tum*, “mea” (*EL* 247:17); *i-a-tam*, “meam” (*CCT* II 1:24); *i-a-tum*, “meae” (*TC* I 16:6); *i-a-tim*, “meas” (*BIN* IV 71:12)—this is declinable like any other adjective and is as common in Old Assyrian as the corresponding pronouns “meus,” “tuus,” “suus” are in Latin. The 2d and 3d person sing. and the 1st and 2d person pl. also are known. Examples are *ku-a-um*, “tuus” (*CCT* III 45 a 19); *šu-a-um*, “suus,” “eius” (*KTHahn* 18:10); *ni-a-am*, “nostrum” (*CCT* IV 1 a 14); *ku-nu-tum*, “vestra” (*BIN* IV 20:20).³

LINE 36.—The form *ma'atum*, “hundred,” is for the usual Cappadocian *mī'atum*.

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Oriental Institute Museum No. A 2531, said to have come from Kayseri; 89×65×23 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹2/3 MA.NA kaspam ša-ru-pá-am i-ši-ir ²Zu-na-nim mera³ Ili-ba-ni ⁴En-líl-ba-ni ⁵i-šu iš-tù ha-muš-tim ša I-na-a ⁶mera⁷ A-mu-ra-a waraḥ^{KAM} ša sà-ra-tim ⁸li-mu-um ša qá-ti A-ku-tim 1 GÍN TA ⁹i-na warḥim^{KAM} šī-ib-tám ú-ša-ab ¹⁰ša-ni-um tuppū¹¹ šu ša 1/2 MA.NA kaspim li-ti ¹²ša bi-ú-lá-ti-šu 1 1/3 MA.NA kaspum ¹³dammugum iš-ti Bu-lá-na a-ši-ti-šu ¹⁴ú me-ir-e-šu ú Be-ru-a TAB.BA-i-šu ¹⁵a-ši-ti-šu ú me-ir-e-šu ¹⁶1/3 MA.NA 5 GÍN <kaspam> ša-ru-pá-am i-ši-ir ¹⁷Id-na-A-šur mera¹⁸ Ū-zu-a ¹⁹En-líl-ba-ni ²⁰i-šu 1/3 MA.NA kaspam ša-ru-pá-am ²¹i-ši-ir Šál-ma-A-šur mera²² Id-na-A- <šur> ²³En-líl-ba-ni i-šu iš-tù ²⁴warah^{KAM} ab ša-ra-ni li-mu-um ²⁵En-na-zu a-na 3 warḥē^{KAM} i-ša-gal ²⁶šu-ma lá iš-qul 1 1/2 GÍN TA ²⁷a-na 1 MA.NA-im i-na warḥim^{KAM} ²⁸šī-ib-tám ú-ša-ab ²⁹1/3 MA.NA kaspam ša-ru-pá-am [rev.] ³⁰i-ši-ir! (written ni) Ili-ma-lá-ak mera³¹ zu.IN-rē³² ³³ú Wa-lá-wa-lá am-ti-šu ³⁴En-líl-ba-ni ³⁵i-šu iš-tù ha-muš-tim ša ga-ši-im ³⁶ša qá-ti En-na-nim waraḥ^{KAM} ³⁷a-lá-na-tim li-mu-um A-ku-tum ³⁸1/2 GÍN TA i-na warḥim^{KAM} šī-ib-tám ³⁹ú-šú-bu qá-ti ⁴⁰En-líl-ba-ni ⁴¹i-ši-ir Wa-lá-wa-lá ša-ak-na-at ⁴²15 GÍN kaspum ša-ru-pu-um i-ši-ir Ištār-tù-li-sú ⁴³nu-a-ri-im ⁴⁴En-líl-ba-ni i-šu ⁴⁵iš-tù ha-muš-tim ša Li-ip-ta-nim ⁴⁶a-ša-na-at i-ša-gal ⁴⁷šū-ma lá iš-qul ⁴⁸ki-ma a-wa-at kà-ri-im šī-ib-tám ⁴⁹ú-ša-ab waraḥ^{KAM} ti-i-na-tim li-mu-um A-ku-tum ⁵⁰1/2 MA.NA kaspam li-ti i-ši-ir ⁵¹Ha-šu-i ú Hi-iš-du-ma-an a-ḥi-šu ⁵²En-líl-ba-ni i-šu z/s/šū-b/pa-ni ⁵³ša 2 MA.NA TA ú-ul 15 GÍN TA ⁵⁴kaspam i-ša-tim šī-ib-tám ú-šú-bu ⁵⁵1 MA.NA 15 GÍN kaspam i-ši-ir ⁵⁶Id-na-A-šur mera⁵⁷ A-šur-i-mi-ti ⁵⁸En-líl-ba-ni i-šu iš-tù ⁵⁹ha-muš-tim ša I-dī-a-bi⁶⁰-im waraḥ^{KAM} ⁶¹ab ša-ra-ni li-mu-um A-ku-tum

¹ Cf. also *EL* p. 110, n. a, and Götze, *Kleinasien* p. 70, n. 25.

² *ZA* XXXV (1924) 24, n. 2. Cf. also von Soden in *ZA* XL (1931) 193, n. 3.

³ Babylonian examples are given in the two articles quoted in the preceding note.

⁴⁷1 1/2 GÍN TA i-na warḥim^{KAM} ṣi-ib-tám ú-ša-ab [left edge] ⁴⁸10 GÍN kaspam ṣa-ru-pá-am i-ṣi-ir Puzur-A-na mera² ¹I-dí-ZU.IN ⁴⁹En-líl-ba-ni i-šu iṣ-tù ḥa-muš-tim ṣa En-na-ZU.IN ⁵⁰warah^{KAM} ḥu-bu-ur li-mu-'um' Ma-ṣi-i-'lú' a-'na' warah^{KAM} ⁵¹i-ša-qal šu-ma lá iṣ-qul 2/3 GÍN TA i-na warḥim^{KAM} ⁵²ṣi-ib-tám ú-ša-ab

TRANSLATION

¹Two-thirds mina of refined silver debited to ²Zunanum the son of Ili-bānī has Enlil-bānī. ³From the ḥamūštum of Inaa ⁴the son of Amuraa, month Ša-sarātīm, ⁵eponym of the hand of Akutum, 1 shekel ⁶per month as interest he shall add. ⁷His other tablet (i.e., debt), of 1/2 mina of . . . silver, ⁸is of his bi²ulātum.

One and one-third minas of purified silver is ⁹with Bulana, his wife, ¹⁰and his sons and (with) Berua his partner, ¹¹his wife, and his sons.

¹²One-third mina 5 shekels of refined <silver> debited to ¹³Idna-Aššur the son of Uzua has Enlil-bānī.

¹⁴One-third mina of refined silver ¹⁵debited to Šalma-Aššur the son of Idna-A <ššur> ¹⁶has Enlil-bānī. From ¹⁷the month of Ab-šarrāni, eponym ¹⁸Enna-Sin, in 3 months he shall weigh (it) out. ¹⁹Suppose he should not weigh (it) out, 1 1/2 shekels ²⁰per mina per month ²¹as interest he shall add.

²²One-third mina of refined silver [rev.] ²³debited to Ili-malak the son of Sin-rê-um ²⁴and (to) Walawala his servant girl has Enlil-bānī. ²⁵From the ḥamūštum of the master ²⁶of the hand of Ennanum, month of ²⁷Allanātum, eponym Akutum, ²⁸1/2 shekel per month as interest ²⁹they shall add. The hand of Enlil-bānī ³⁰upon Walawala is placed.

³¹Fifteen shekels of refined silver debited to Ištar-tūlissu ³²the singer has Enlil-bānī. ³³From the ḥamūštum of Liptanum ³⁴in a year he shall weigh (it) out. Suppose he should not weigh (it) out, ³⁵according to the word of the kārūm interest ³⁶he shall add. Month of Tinātum, eponym Akutum.

³⁷One-half mina of . . . silver debited to ³⁸Ḥašui and Ḥišduman his brother ³⁹has Enlil-bānī. . . . ⁴⁰of 2 minas each, not of 15 shekels each, ⁴¹of silver per year as interest they shall add.

⁴²One mina 15 shekels of silver debited to ⁴³Idna-Aššur the son of Aššur-imitti ⁴⁴has Enlil-bānī. From ⁴⁵the ḥamūštum of Iddi(n)-abum, month of ⁴⁶Ab-šarrāni, eponym Akutum, ⁴⁷1 1/2 shekels per month as interest he shall add.

[left edge] ⁴⁸Ten shekels of refined silver debited to Puzur-Ana the son of Iddi(n)-Sin ⁴⁹has Enlil-bānī. From the ḥamūštum of Enna-Sin, ⁵⁰month of Ḥubur, eponym Maṣi-ili, in 4 months ⁵¹he shall weigh (it) out. Suppose he should not weigh (it) out, 2/3 shekel per month ⁵²as interest he shall add.

NOTES

LINE 23.—The name Ili-malak, “my god is counselor,” differing from such personal names as Ili-malik and Aššur-malik,¹ is one of many examples of the permansive in *a*, corresponding in form, but not in meaning, to the West Semitic perf. *qatala*. Other examples of the permansive in *a* are *wa-ša-ab* (BIN IV 114:25), *wa-qá-ar* (*ibid.* 6:4), *ḥa-lá-aq* (CCT I 47 b 13), *wa-ta-ar* (TC II 11:12), *wa-tár*² (EL 226:19); it occurs too in personal names such as *Ša-ḥa-ar-<i>-li* (EL 38:16) and *A-šūr-ba-la-aṭ* (KTBI 14:5 ff.). In Babylonian to the same class belong adjectivized permansives such as *rapaš* and *nakar* and such verb forms as *ka-ta-am* (A. T. Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* IV [1923] Pl. 8:31), *ma-a-ad* (*passim*), *ra-a-aq* (CT XXXIX 18:99), and *pa-a-ad* (CT XXXVIII 21:17).

LINE 24.—With the personal name Wala-wala cf. Wali-wali (p. 29).

LINE 31.—The text should read *kaspam ṣa-ru-pá-am* for *kaspum ṣa-ru-pu-um*.

LINE 32.—The frequent occurrence of *nuārūm* in Nuzi documents³ might mean that it was a Hurrian loanword in Akkadian. In view, however, of its occurrence in Cappadocian, the word must be con-

¹ Stephens, PNC p. 89.

² Cf. also *wa-ti-ir* (Giessen 1–4, line 36), quoted in EL p. 110, n. c, end. A third form, written *wa-tū-ur*, is probably *wattur*, II 1 permansive of *watārum*. Cf. Lewy, KTBI p. 37, where also the whole question of *qatal* as permansive is discussed.

³ In published texts compare *mAḥi-illikaka amelnu-a-ri* (RA XXIII [1926] p. 142, No. 2:2); *mA-ḥi-li-qa amelnu-a-ri* (*ibid.* No. 47:8); *Šu-uk-ra-pu nu-a-ri* (JEN 289:27).

sidered as being of good Akkadian stock. For the meaning of *nuðrum* two passages from the Nuzi documents are important. Both are in the Harvard Semitic Museum, unpublished. Quotations from the Harvard tablets are given with the kind permission of Professor Robert H. Pfeiffer. One instance (SMN 2731:6 f.) cites *naphar 11* SAL.MEŠ is-¹ri-du¹ nu-a-ra-ti¹ ša °Ta-še-ni-wa, "a total of 11 captive women, *nuðrâti*, of the city of Tašeni." In SMN 3190 are mentioned portions of barley distributed to the *nuðru*'s of different cities along with people of other professions—*lâsimu*, *şuðâru*, *nuḫatimmu*, *gallâbu*, *sukkallu*, etc. From the foregoing examples we can deduce that the profession of *nuðrum* could be practiced by women also, probably even by captive slaves. This conclusion makes it seem likely that *nuðrum* and the contracted form *nâru*,¹ "singer," are identical.

LINE 39.—The word *z/s/şub/pânum* is unknown to me. The reading *zu-ba-ni* = Sin-bânî (e.g. *KTS* 16:8) as a personal name does not fit well. The examples *2 zu-ba-ni ša UD.KA.BAR* (*CCT* III 20:5), *1 zu-ba-nam ša UD.KA.BAR* (*ibid.* line 6), *1 zu-ba-nam ša kaspim* (*ibid.* lines 11 f.), and *[1 zu]-ba-nam 1/3 MA.NA 6 GÍN şuğultaşu* (KL.LAL.BI; *BIN* IV 122:5 f.) would tend to show that *z/s/şub/pânum* is an object of relatively small weight made of metal. From *BIN* IV 122:9 f. we see that a *riksum* is placed in the midst of the *z/s/şub/pânum*, which would speak for the interpretation of the latter as a container.

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Oriental Institute Museum No. A 6011, bought at Kültepe; 51×56×21 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹x x x m[a/zu¹-a-am ûmam^{ma-am} . . .] ²(d)En-lil-ri-şî-ma a-lu-um ù [. . .] ³[û]-za-ki-ni-a-tî lu tù-na-ḫa-ni tù-[. . .] ⁴û kaspam ma-dam lá tù-ša-ak-ş[î-da-ni] ⁵û 6 ^{sub}şû-ba-tî-a [ša¹ A-ki-dî-e ù [. . .] ⁶ku-lu-şu-ma şî-mî-şu-nu ip-ḫu-ru-[ma] ⁷kaspam ù ni-ma-al-¹şu¹ a-li-e ⁸Bu-za-zu A-şûr-i-mî-tî e-pu-ul ⁹um-ma Bu-za-zu-ma uş-kà-in ¹⁰a-na tuppim^{pt-im} ša a-lim^{xi} ¹¹û rábişim ša be-lî-a 10 MA.NA ¹²kaspam ša a-na ¹Šu¹-Ištar ḫa-bu-lá-tî-ma ¹³[a-na]-¹ku¹ qá-t[a-tù]-kà ¹⁴[. . .]-da-ma tuppam^{pd-am} ¹⁵[. . .] ša kaspim [rev.] ¹⁶[. . .]-ni-ma a-na-ku ¹⁷[. . .]-z[a-ku-ni] ú-kà-al ¹⁸[. . .]-tî-im šu-a-tî ¹⁹[. . .] ¹A¹-ni-ta ùḫ-dî-iş-ma ²⁰[. . .] . . . ki-x maḫar da-a-ni ²¹[. . .] . . . şubâtû ša A-ki-dî-e ²²[. . .] 50 ša A-şûr-ad-ma-ma ²³[. . .]-ku-x-mu-ni ku ma tî šu-nu-tî ²⁴[. . .] x x a-dî-şu-nu-ma ²⁵[. . .] lá al-qí lá a-wa-[. . .] ²⁶[. . .]-pu-um a-na x x [. . .] ²⁷[. . .] x x lá al-qí [. . .] (rest destroyed)

TRANSLATION

¹. . . . toda[y thus (says)] ²Enlil-rêši: The city and [. . .] ³have released us. Surely you disturb me, you [. . .], ⁴and much silver you did not cause [me] to obt[ain]. ⁵And 6 Akkadian garments and [. . .] ⁶the whole of it for their price they gathered. ⁷The silver and its profit I can (pay). ⁸Buzazu answered Aššur-imitti. ⁹Thus (said) Buzazu: I have bowed myself ¹⁰to the tablet of the city ¹¹and of the commissioner of my lord. (For) 10 minas ¹²of silver which to Šu-Ištar you owe ¹³[I] am your guar-[ant]or ¹⁴[. . .] . . . the tablet ¹⁵[. . .] of silver [rev.] ¹⁶[. . .] . . . I ¹⁷[. . . which I re]leased I hold back. ¹⁸[. . .] . . . of his ¹⁹[. . .] Anitta . . . ²⁰[. . .] . . . before the judges ²¹[. . .] . . . Akkadian garments ²²[. . .] 50 of Aššur-admama ²³[. . .] . . . they ²⁴[. . .] . . . I gave them. ²⁵[. . .] I did not take, I did not . . . [. . .] ²⁶[. . .] . . . [. . .] ²⁷[. . .] . . . I did not take. [. . .] (rest destroyed).

NOTES

LINE 9.—With our expression *uškaḫin ana tuppim ša ālim u rábişim ša bêliḫa* cf. *uškaḫin ana tuppim ša dīn kārīm šaḫer rabī* (*BIN* IV 106:3–5), "I have bowed myself to the tablet of the judgment of the *kārum*, small (and) great."

LINE 12.—In Cappadocian the 2d fem. sing. permansive form is always used for the masc. also. Cf. *ša . . . ḫa-bu-lá-tî-ni* (*BIN* IV 111:5), *za-ku-a-tî* (*ibid.* 98:10), *qá-bi-a-tî* (*KTS* 4 a 9 and 13), *iş-tù . . . ḫa-dî-ḫa-tî-ni* (*TC* II 35:12). In Old Babylonian the fem. for masc. in *şa-ab-ta-ti* (L. W. King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi* I [London, 1898] 4:6) was noted by Ungnad (*OLZ* IX [1906] 585, n. 1). In a later publication (*VAB* VI p. 40, n. k) he incorrectly considers the sign *tî* as

¹ The latter word occurs also in SMN 128:11; 3194:5; and 3202:14: *a-na na-a-ru*.

"verschrieben für *ta*." The form *ša-aṭ-ra-ti* (*ibid.* 126:6) also expresses the 2d masc. rather than the 3d fem. as assumed by Ungnad (*ibid.* p. 105, n. b). Fem. forms clearly used for masc. in Old Babylonian are *ḥa-aš-ḥa-a-ti* (C. Frank, *Strassburger Keilschrifttexte* . . . [Berlin and Leipzig, 1928] 15 rev. 8) and *ḥa-aš-ḥa-at-ti* (H. Holma, *Zehn altbabylonische Tontafeln in Helsingfors* [Helsingfors, 1914] 7:16). Another fundamental difference between Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian in the treatment of the permansive suffixes is in the 1st person pl. Old Assyrian has *-ni*: *ni-nu wa-aš-ba-ni-ma* (*TC* II 41:33), *na-aḥ-da-ni* (*CCT* III 36 a 18), *ḥa-bu-lá-ni-ni* (*TC* I 46:6); Old Babylonian, *-nu*: *wa-aš-ba-a-nu* (Ungnad, *VAB* VI 233:6), *ma-aḥ-ra-nu* (*ibid.* 204:20 and 29), *ša-ab-ta-nu* (*RA* XXI [1924] 33:6).

61

Oriental Institute Museum No. A 94, bought at Kültepe; 72×59×16 mm.

One half of a case. On the outside are two complete impressions of a cylinder seal, with a blank space between them. On each end and along the left edge are fragmentary impressions of the same seal. On the inside are reflected illegible cuneiform signs from the lost tablet. The following description of the seal was written by Dr. von der Osten:

A deity wearing a *kaunakēs* and a conical headdress decorated with horns is enthroned on a low stool covered with fringed material. The stool stands on a reclining capricorn, on the neck of which rest the feet of the deity. The deity holds a vase from both sides of which streams emerge. Facing the seated deity is a god wearing a belted short-sleeved tunic or a knee-length kilt. He stands on the back of a bull which he holds by a halter. He also wears a pointed headdress decorated with horns, and in his left hand he holds a three-pronged thunderbolt. Between this god and the seated deity appears a disk with inscribed star and rays, set within a crescent. On each side of the disk is a smaller crescent, and below the disk is a scorpion. Between the thighs of the god on the bull and the halter appears a small disk.

Behind the seated deity appears a bearded man wearing a belted tunic or kilt and a round cap. He holds over his left shoulder a battle-ax and in his right hand a lance, point downward, and what may be a shield. He is stepping on a fallen man. One human head appears between his feet and another beneath his right foot. Behind the seated deity is an eight-pointed star; below it is a nude figure, upside down. Before the face of the bearded man are a disk and a small crescent. Below his right arm appears an unrecognizable design.

A second man, beardless and seemingly nude, holds a bull by one hind leg and stands with one foot on its neck while menacing it with a dagger or sword. Between this group and the figure carrying the battle-ax appear a disk, a square design, an animal upside down, a fish, two human heads, and three more disks. Before the face of the man holding the bull is an eight-pointed star.

The same design, apparently made with the same seal, has been published by Contenau (*La glyptique syro-hittite* [Paris, 1922] No. 39) from an impression in the collection of Allotte de la Fuÿe and by Weber (*AO* XVII-XVIII [1920] No. 30) from an impression supposedly found at Kültepe and now in the Berlin Museum.

62

Beloit College Art Hall No. 608, from Kültepe; 79×58×23 mm.

TRANSLITERATION

¹*a-na Im-dī-ilim Pu-šu-ki-in* ²*I-ku-nim I-dī-a-bi-im* ³*ù Ḥa-[d]a-a qī-bi-ma um-ma* ⁴*A-mur-Ištar-ma*
5 MA.NA kaspi^{pt} ⁵*I-ku-num a-šī-ib-tim ú-kà-il* ⁶9 2/3 MA.NA qā-dum šī-ib-ti-šu ⁷*I-ku-num a-na Ḥa-da-a*
*ú-bi-a-ik*¹ ⁸*libba*^{ba} ⁴ MA.NA *Ḥa-da-a i-dī-nam* ⁹*ù 2 MA.NA a-šī-ir I-ku-nim* ¹⁰*ù Gār-wa-a a-na ku-ta-ú-nim*
¹¹*na-dī šī-ti kaspi*^{pt}-a ¹²3 2/3 MA.NA *Ḥa-da-a ú-kà-al* ¹³*a-na-ku a-na 3 2/3 MA.NA kaspim* ¹⁴*ù šī-ba-ti-šu*
ša iš-tù ¹⁵10 *ša-na-at a-šī-e-šu* ¹⁶*umam*^{ma-am} ¹ MA.NA 10 GÍN kaspam ¹⁷*a-na-pd-al-šum a-wa-tim* ¹⁸*ma-lá*
Im-dī-ilum i-dī-ú-šu-ni ¹⁹*a-dī ni-na-mu-ru li-im-ta-šar* ²⁰*ṭuppam*^{pd-am} *ḥa-ar-ma-am* ²¹*ša ku-nu-ki-šu li-*
qī-a ⁷ *ki-ma* ²²*a-wa-tù-a lá kà-dā-sà-ni* ²³*a*¹-na ² MA.NA kasap *Gār-wa-a* [rev.] ²⁴*I-ku-nim ù Ḥa-da-a ku-*
lu-šu-nu-ma ²⁵*pu-ùḥ-ru I-ku-num* ²⁶*ù Gār-wa-a* [[x]] *lu-uk-ta-i-nu-ma* ²⁷2 MA.NA kaspam *ša-ru-pā-am ù šī-*

ba-sú²⁸ša iš-tù 10 ša-na-at a-šar²⁹i¹-bu-ra-ni iš-ti-in i-ba-ri-šu-nu³⁰li-di-nam 7 a-ḥu-ú-a a-tù-nu³¹be-lu-a
 7 a-tù-nu 7 la i-tù-ru-ma³²la i-na-pu-šu 7 a-na-ku³³la sà-aḥ-ra-ku 7 10 MA.NA šu-qú-ul-tám³⁴ma-az-li-gi₆
 ù šu-ga-ri-a-e³⁵libba³⁶8 MA.NA a-na Im-di-ilim³⁶i-di-in šit-tu[m] 2 MA.NA³⁷20 MA.NA ḥu-ša-[ú] 1 ša-ša-
 num³⁸[x+]⁷pá-šu [x+]⁵na-qú-[bu] 6 MA.NA³⁹šu-qul-tám 1 ta-as/z-g/k/qa-ri-num⁴⁰3 i-na a-mi-tim ú-ru-
 uk-šu⁴¹kà-ab-sà-at 1 ru-b/pu-šu⁴²3 MA.NA ša ša-du-i-šu⁴³20 e-pá-da-tum Tal-ḥa-dí-a-tum⁴⁴libba³⁶10 e-
 pá-da-tim A-šur-be-el-a-wa-tim⁴⁵8 GÍN kaspam [left edge]⁴⁶mu-sú-kà-e ša-du-a-tám i-Ku-bu-ur-na-at
⁴⁷i-di-i-ma šu-ru (erasure?) A-mur-Ištar lu-kà-in⁴⁸a-na kà-ri-im ú-kà-i-ma mu-sú-kà-e-šu⁴⁹ar-ki mu-ul-
 wa-ri-zu ú-ta-e-ir-šum⁵⁰mi-ma a-nim Ḥa-da-a ša-dí-na

TRANSLATION

¹To Imdi-ilum, Pášu-kén, ²Ikunum, Iddi(n)-abum, ³and Ḥa[d]aa speak: Thus (says) ⁴Amur-Ištar: Five minas of my silver ⁵Ikunum at interest has retained. ⁶Nine and two-thirds minas, including its interest, ⁷Ikunum turned over to Ḥadaa. ⁸Of them 4 minas Ḥadaa gave to me, ⁹and 2 minas debited to Ikunum ¹⁰and Garwaa for confirmation ¹¹were deposited. The rest of my silver, ¹²2/3 minas, Ḥadaa is (still) retaining. ¹³For 3 2/3 minas of silver ¹⁴and its interest for ¹⁵10 years I am looking to him. ¹⁶Today 1 mina 10 shekels of silver ¹⁷I will furnish to him in addition. The things ¹⁸which Imdi-ilum has deposited, ¹⁹until we shall see each other may he leave. ²⁰The tablet sealed ²¹with his seal take. In order that ²²my words may not be transgressed, ²³as for the 2 minas of silver (owed by) Garwaa, [rev.] ²⁴Ikunum, and Ḥadaa jointly, ²⁵may Ikunum ²⁶and Garwaa confirm (the amount). ²⁷Two minas of refined silver and its interest ²⁸for 10 years, wherever ²⁹it may be found, may one of them ³⁰give me. My brothers you are, ³¹my lords you are. May they not retract, and ³²may they not rest (fail to pay). I ³³am not going around. ³⁴(As to) tridents and šugarium-emblems ³⁵cont. weighing 10 minas, ³⁶of them 8 minas to Imdi-ilum ³⁷he (Ḥadaa?) has given; the rest is 2 minas. ³⁸Twenty minas of plate[s], 1 sun ornament, ³⁹[x+] 7 axes, [x+] 5 hammers, ⁴⁰1 stela weighing 6 minas, ⁴¹3 cubits long (and) ⁴²1 (cubit), damaged, wide, ⁴³minas . . . , ⁴⁴20 Talḥadian ephods, ⁴⁵of them 10 ephods of Aššur-bêl-awâtîm, ⁴⁶(and) 8 shekels of silver [left edge] ⁴⁷of poor quality as šadduwutum in Kuburnat ⁴⁸he has deposited. . . . may Amur-Ištar confirm. ⁴⁹To the kârum he has confirmed (it). His (silver) of poor quality ⁵⁰after . . . I have returned to him. ⁵¹All this cause Ḥadaa to give!

NOTES

LINE 7.—Evidently ú-bi₄-i₁k¹ is II 1 from abâkum, “to produce,” “to bring.”

LINE 29.—On the root buârum cf. KTHahn pp. 27 f. and a-ša-ar i-bu-ur-ru in-na-di-in (TCL I 132:23). The roots buârum and kuânum occur side by side very often in the Middle Assyrian law code with the meaning “to prove,” “to demonstrate.” In many Cappadocian texts buârum evidently goes beyond this to the meaning “to prove to be,” “to be found,” or simply “to be.”

LINE 33.—Some less literal meaning (“dun” or similar?) of sahrâku is presumably intended.

LINE 34.—The word ma-az-li-gi₆ evidently corresponds to Hebrew mazlēg or mizlāg, Arabic mizlāġ, with the meaning of “fork,” “trident.”¹ According to I Sam. 2:13 the mazlēg used in the temple in connection with the ritual had three prongs.

LINE 37.—On ḥušâum, “Platte,” cf. KTHahn pp. 31 f. The šaššânum (<šamšânum) was probably a disk representing the sun. With m changed to n this word occurs in 3 ša-an-ša-nu ša⁴Bêlit Sip-par (J. N. Strassmaier, *Inscriben von Nabonidus* . . . [Leipzig, 1889]) 591:4; cf. also 21 ša-an-šu ša⁴Bêlit ša rêši (R. P. Dougherty, *Records from Erech* . . . [New Haven, 1920] 216:15).

LINE 38.—On naqqupum, “hammer,” cf. EL p. 238, n. a.

LINE 39.—The word tas/zg/k/qarinum occurs also in TC II 59:3 and in CCT IV 35 b 16 ff., where we read ta-az-kà-ri-n'am ar-kà-am ša i-ḥu-ur-ši-im i-ba-ši-ú.² If derived from the root zakârum, “to remember,” it could mean “a memorial (monument),” “a stela.” Cf. the equation of Sumerian⁴ZA.KÀR (borrowed from Semitic) with Akkadian dimtu, “stela.”

LINES 40-41.—The usual way of expressing the size of an object in Nuzi texts is as follows: x ina ammati mârakšu y ina ammati rupussu (e.g. JEN 42:7 f., with var. mu-ru-uk-šu in JEN 19:6). In our

¹ Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch* . . . ¹⁷ p. 411.

² On ḥuršum, “inn,” cf. KTHahn p. 15 and AOB I 91, n. 3.

Cappadocian text the length is expressed by the word *urkum*,¹ the expression for "width" in Nuzi, *rupšum*, may correspond to our *ru-b/pu-šu*, though we should expect here the writing *ru-pu-sú*. Dr. S. I. Feigin suggests that the word *rābu* (from רָבָה), "width," may be intended here.

LINE 42.—The word *šaddu²um* here may be related to the fem. *šaddu²utum* found for example in line 46; *KTHahn* 24:3; 25:3; 26:3; etc. The latter at least is derived from the III 1 permansive of *nadā²um*, "to lay," "to throw." Its exact meaning escapes me.

LINE 43.—The words *epādātum Talhadiātum* occur also in *TC* II 54 rev. x+9 and *CCT* II 36 a 15 f. The correspondence of Assyrian *epādātum* to the Hebrew *ēphōd*, maintained by Lewy in a private communication, is very plausible.

LINE 46.—For our expression *musukkā²û* cf. *ši-ti kaspim 3 1/3 MA.NA 1 1/2 GÍN libba²a 1/3 MA.NA mu-sú-kā-sú* (*BIN* IV 30:26 f.) and *1/3 GÍN 7 1/2 še kaspam mu-šu-kā-e* (Contenau, *Trente tablettes cappadociennes*, 16:16 f.). If the root is *masākum*, *mašākum*, "to be in bad condition," the expression *musukkā²û* in pl. could mean "(things) in bad condition" or "(things) of poor quality," as *huluqqā²û* from the root *halāqum*, "to get lost," means "lost (things)."

CYLINDER SEALS

Among the many cylinder seals found at Alişar, only two are inscribed in cuneiform.

63

Alişar No. c 350, from what was surely a secondary position in V 25 in Byzantine refuse; 22×12 mm.

Hematite, perforated lengthwise, with slightly concave sides; a little worn at the edges.² The scene represents a standing figure wearing a long garment open in front and an elaborate horned crown. His right foot is raised, and in his right hand he holds a saw-shaped object ("key"). A figure facing him in an attitude of adoration wears a *kaunakēs* and a horned crown. Between them is a bird. Behind the first figure appear two symbols, the upper a comb-shaped object, the lower a libra-shaped object, perhaps a libation vessel. In a panel behind these two symbols is a cuneiform inscription which reads: ⁴*Šamaš*.

64

Alişar No. d 2235, from Q 28, Level 10 T; 28.5×16.5 mm.

Banded agate, perforated lengthwise, with slightly concave sides; scene completely effaced.³ The Sumerian inscription runs as follows:

¹ *dI n i m - m a - n i - z i*

² *s u k k a l - m a ḥ dN i n - u r t a*

³ *d u g a - g a - n i n u - k ú r - r u*

Inimmanizi,

the exalted vizier of Ninurta,

whose utterance shall not be changed.

In the AN: *Anum* list of gods we find similarly [^d*I n i m - m*] *a - n i - z i s u k k a l dN i n - u r t a - g e* (*CT* XXIV 7:21). Cf. also Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, Nos. 1582, 1632, and 1645.

INDEXES TO CUNEIFORM TEXTS⁴PERSONS⁵

A-al-tāb, f. of *En-na-zu².IN*, 56:58; f. of *Šu-Be-lim*, 56:54
A-ba-zu, 2:x+8

A-be-na-ra, f. of *Zi-za-a-a*, 18 A 24 and B x+12
A-bi-a, *kānikum*, 58:28; f.(?) of *Na*-. . .], 25:2

¹ The form *urukšu* for expected *urakšu* in Old Assyrian is paralleled by examples such as *šulum* (*CCT* IV 8 a 15 and 9 b 11); *lumun* (*KTHahn* 10:24; *KTS* 4 b 15); *šuḫuṭ* (*KTS* 4 b 26); *šulum* (*CCT* IV 15 b 14 and 15).

² "Of late Sumerio-Akkadian type," according to *OIP* XXIX.

³ "Of Kassite style," according to *OIP* XXIX.

⁴ References are to text and line.

⁵ Abbreviations are: f., "father"; s., "son"; br., "brother."

- A-bi-tāb*, 56:53
A-bu-ša-lim, 9:15; 14:15; f. of *A-lu-um-a-aḫ-šu*, 15:31; f. of *A-šur-na-da*, 16:3
A-bu-tāb, 2:x+5
^d*Adad-ba-ni*, 55:20, 23, 25, 32; *limmum*, 29:x+5; f. of *A-lá-ḫi-im*, 54:4
^d*Adad-na-šir*, 7:2, 5, 8, 12, 21; 31:12, 14
^d*Adad-šú-lu-li*, 58:19; ^d*Adad-šuláli*, f. of *A-nu-nu*, 20:17
A-da-aḫ-ši, 55:33
A-ḫu-wa-gar, *ḥamūštum* ša, s. of *Zur-zur*, 56:23
A-ki-ki-a, 51:7, 8, 11, 12
A-ku-ʾú-aʾ, 43:2; *A-ku-wa*, 1:2
A-ku-tum, *limmum*, 56:37; 59:27, 36, 46; *A-ku-tim*, *limmum* ša *gāti*, 59:5
A-lá-dí-ri-im, 55:15
A-lá-ḫi-im, s. of ^d*Adad-ba-ni*, 54:4
A-ʾlá-ḫi/bi-ʾim, 34:5
A-ʾlu-lu-úʾ, 10:15
A-lu-um-a-aḫ-šu, s. of *A-bu-ša-lim*, 15:31
Am-ma, 38:1; *A-ma*, *ašlakum*, 5:3; 6:4 (or common noun?)
A-m[ur- . . .], f. of *Ša[. . .]*, 51:1
A-mu-ra, f. of *A-šur-be-el-a-wa-tim*, 55:39; *A-mu-ra-a*, f. of *I-na-a*, 59:4
A-mur-A-šur, 2:x+6; s. of ^ʾ*Šu-Ištar*, 18 A 1, 5, 14, and B x+2; *A-mur-A-šur*, f. of *U-sá-nim*, 56:2
Amur-í-lí, f. of *A-ta-lí*, note to 7:18
A-mur-Ištar, 62:4, 47; f. of *zU.IN-rē-im*, 56:35
A-mur-Šamšī, f. of *I-ri-ši-im*, 56:18
A-na-aḫ-A-šur, s. of *A-šur-na-da*, 56:51
A-na-lí, 56:48
A-ni-na, s. of *Ar-ʾziʾ-a-mur*, 12:4, 11, 17; s. of *A-šur-be-el-a-wa-tim*, 56:42
A-ni-ta, 60:19; *rubāum*, 1:1, x+2; 49 A 24 and B 27
A-num, 23:x+9
A-nu-nu, s. of ^d*Adad-šuláli*, 20:16
A-nu-pi-ʾšaʾ, f. of *Ri-iš-ʾAdad*, 20:15
Ar-ʾziʾ-a-mur, f. of *A-ni-na*, 12:4
A-šu-a-a, 56:45
[A]-šur[. . .], 45:6 (or place-name?)
A-šur[x]-ma-ši-x, 30:3
A-šur-ad-ma-ma, 60:22
A-šur-ba-ni, s. of *Be-lim-na-da*, note to 7:18; s. of *Ti-lí-a*, 58:34; f. of *Lu-zi-na*, 56:9
A-šur-be-el-a-wa-tim, 62:44; *A-šur-be-el-a-wa-tim*, s. of *A-mu-ra*, 55:38; f. of *A-ni-na*, 56:43
A-šur-damiq, 23:2
A-šur-i-mi-ti, 60:8; *A-šur-i-mi-ti*, *mallāḫum*, *limmum*, 56:24; *ḥamūštum* ša, s. of *I-ku-pi-Ištar*, 56:12; f. of *Id-na-A-šur*, 59:43; f. of *U-šur-ša-Ištar*, 56:8; *A-šur-i-mi-ti*, s. of *A-šur-na-da*, 56:28
A-šur-í-šu, s. of *A-zu*, 56:56; f. of *A-šur-rabi*, 20:3
^d*Aʾ-šur-lá-ma-ši*, s. of *Puzur-A-na*, 8:3
A-šur-li-ti-ʾulʾ, 47:x+3
A-šur-ma-lik, 51:2, 3; s.(?) of *ʾx-ku-be-beʾ*, 45:4; f. of *I-dí-ku-bi*, 56:4
A-šur-na-da, s. of *A-bu-ša-lim*, 16:2; *A-šur-na-da*, f. of *A-na-aḫ-A-šur*, 56:52; f. of *A-šur-i-mi-ti*, 56:29; f. of *A-šur-tāb*, 56:20; f. of *Pi-lá-aḫ-A-šur*, 56:58; f. of *Pi-lá-aḫ-Ištar*, 56:59
[A-š]ur-ni-im-ri, 39:3
A-šur-rabi, s. of *A-šur-i-ʾšuʾ*, 20:2
A-šur-šú-lu-li, 55:40
A-šur-Šamšī, 57:26
A-šur-ʾta-a-a-arʾ, 21:3
A-šur-tāb, s. of *A-šur-na-da*, 56:20
A-ʾta-aʾ-a, 21:4
A-ta-lí, s. of *A-mur-í-lí*, note to 7:18
A-ta-ta, 8:4
A-zu, 21:10; 41:5(?); f. of *A-šur-í-šu*, 56:57
A-zu-ma-na, 57:35
Be-lá-ni, 7:16
Be-lá-zu-a, 13:17
Be-el-be-zi, f. of *Hi-ma-lí[a]*, 19 A 19
Be-lim-mu-ša-lim, 11:14; 23:4
Be-lim-na-da, f. of *A-šur-ba-ni*, note to 7:18
Be-ru-a, 59:10; *Be-ru-wa*, 21:5; 30:2; 31:4; 49 A 5 and B 9; *Be-ru-wa*, *rabi simmiltim*, 49 A 25 and B 27
Be-ša-aḫ-šu, 19 A 24
Bu-lá-na, 59:9
Bu-za-zu, 57:1, 2; 60:8
Da[. . .], 22:4
Da-a-a, 15:1, 2
Dan-A-šur, s. of *En-um-A-na*, note to 7:18; f. of *Ki-ba-al*, 56:21
Dar-ši-be-a-ti-ša, 53:4
Da-š[u- . . .], 41:14
Du-ʾduʾ, 10:3
Du-uq-li, 55:30
E-lá-lí, s. of *Zu-ú-a*, 58:23
^d*En-lil-ba-ni*, 55:48; 59:2, 13, 16, 24, 29, 32, 39, 44, 49
^d*En-lil-n[a-šir]*, 9:1
^[d]*En-lil-ri-ši*, 60:2
E-na-A-šur, 5:2; 6:2
E-nam, s. of *Ši-wi-na-lá*, 7:10
E-nam-A-šur, 36:x+9
En-na-nim, *ḥamūštum* ša *ga-ši-im* ša *gāti*, 59:26; s. of *Ku-ku-a*, 56:30
En-na-zU.IN, *ḥamūštum* ša, 59:49; *limmum*, 56:49; *En-na-zU*, *limmum*, 59:18; *En-na-zU.IN*, s. of *A-al-tāb*, 56:58
En-um-A-na, f. of *Dan-A-šur*, note to 7:18
En-um-A-šur, s. of ^ʾ*Šaʾ-lim-a-ḫi-im*, 56:18
Ga-ad-ga-lí, 5:20
Ga-nu-e, 55:16
Ga-ra-las, 42:4
Ga-ra-šu-nu-a, 3 A 1, 4; *Ga-ar-šu-nu-a*, 39:2
Ga-ri-a, 19 A 3, 5, 6; 19 B 6, x+4; 20:10
Ga-ar-ti-nu-w[a], 38:4
Ga-ru-nu-wa, 1:2
Gār-wa-a, 62:10, 23, 26
Ḫa[. . .], 22:7
Ḫa-bu-a-lá, *berulum rabiḫum*, 49 B 12; *Ḫa-bu-wa-lá*, *burulum rabiḫum*, 49 A 9, 15, 18; 49 B 15, 18, 25
Ḫa-da-a, 62:3, 7, 8, 12, 24, 50
Ḫa-na-na-ru-um, *limmum*, 8:9
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HITTITE HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS

INSCRIBED POTSDHERDS

Nos. 65–66 are the only known examples of this sort.

65

Alişar No. e 1154, from O 12, Level 4b M (lower Phrygian); 56×55 mm.

Part of bottom of a vessel of wet-smoothed buff ware. On the outside is an incised inscription in Hittite hieroglyphs, only partly preserved.

66

Alişar No. d 1807, from T 31, depth 3.30 m., between Levels 9 and 10 T; 55×85 mm.

Sherd of red-washed, slightly polished ware, found in refuse with Hittite and post-Hittite¹ sherds. The signs are incised; one is complete, another nearly complete.

SEALS

67

Alişar No. 2225, from Plot XII, depth 1.20–2.50 m.; diam. of impression, 17 mm.

Well preserved impression of a stamp seal with circular base on a sherd of crude brown ware. Previously published in *OIP* VII 50 and Fig. 44.

68

Alişar No. 3092, found on surface; 25×21×4 mm.

Fragment of a stamp seal of reddish serpentine (Pl. LII shows a modern impression), with remains of a perforation. Previously published in *OIP* VII 48 and Fig. 42.

69

Alişar No. 3095, from Plot XVIII, depth 1–2 m.; 18×10 mm.

Discoid seal of limestone with convex sides, discolored by heat. One side is inscribed; the other bears a cross-shaped design with angles filling its corners. Perforated. Previously published in *OIP* VII 47 and Fig. 38.

70

Alişar No. 3099, from Plot 58, depth 1.70 m.; 19×13 mm.

Discoid seal of limestone with convex sides, discolored by heat. One side is inscribed; the other is plain. Perforated. Previously published in *OIP* VII 47 and Fig. 38.

71

Alişar No. 3100, from Plot 60, depth 3.30–3.60 m.; diam., 20 mm.

Discoid seal of black serpentine. Both convex sides are inscribed, but badly worn (Pl. LIII shows modern impressions). Perforated. Previously published in *OIP* VII 47 and Fig. 38.

72

Alişar No. a 385, from a black refuse deposit in M 14, Level 4a M; 24×9.5 mm.

Discoid seal of serpentine with slightly convex sides, both inscribed, and a perforation 7 mm. in diameter. Previously published in *OIP* XIX 261 and Fig. 342.

¹ The term "Hittite" is used here for the wheelmade monochrome ware of the period of the Hittite Empires; the term "post-Hittite" is applied to succeeding wares down to about 600 B.C., including Phrygian (cf. *OIP* XXIX).

73

Alişar No. b 571, from AA 16, depth 1.00–1.30 m., associated with post-Hittite sherds; 20×9.5 mm.

Discoid seal of dark brown serpentine with reddish shades; perforated. The slightly convex sides are both inscribed; two faint grooves encircle the edge. Previously published in *OIP* XIX 261 and Fig. 343.

74

Alişar No. b 2225, from DD–EE 10, found in refuse with Hittite and post-Hittite sherds, but attributed to the post-Hittite period because of its shape; 19×11.5 mm.

Discoid seal of grayish black serpentine; perforated. The convex sides are both inscribed; two faint grooves encircle the edge. Previously published in *OIP* XIX 261 and Fig. 345.

75

Alişar No. c 700, from I 26, depth 0–0.90 m.; 21×10 mm.

Discoid seal of yellowish limestone with convex sides, both engraved; perforated.

76

Alişar No. c 857, from I 28, depth 0–1.10 m. (post-Hittite); 20×12 mm.

Discoid seal of brownish limestone with convex sides, both engraved; perforated.

77

Alişar No. c 1456, from beneath the southern gateway in K 35; diam. of seal impression, 27 mm.

Fragment of a pottery "label." On one side are marks of strings, on the other an impression of a circular stamp seal. The border (omitted in drawing) seems to show a roughly engraved interlacing design; then comes an inner border of wedges between concentric lines, surrounding three hieroglyphic signs.

78

Alişar No. c 2168, from R 29, depth 1.80–2.60 m.; 23×13 mm.

Discoid seal of yellowish limestone with convex sides, both engraved; perforated.

79

Alişar No. d 821, found at base of citadel wall in O 11, depth 7.30–7.60 m. (post-Hittite); 24×12.5 mm.

Discoid seal of yellowish limestone with convex sides, both engraved; perforated.

80

Alişar No. d 1361, from U 30, depth 4.20–4.25 m. (post-Hittite); 23×11.5 mm.

Discoid seal of serpentine with both sides engraved (Pl. LV shows modern impressions), discolored by heat; perforated.

81

Alişar No. d 1526, from R 30, depth 4.25–4.35 m. (Hittite); 25×16×10 mm.

Pottery stopper or "label" with string mark and impression of part of a stamp seal with circular base.

82

Alişar No. d 1840, from Q 31, depth 2.20–2.50 m. (post-Hittite); 25×14 mm.

Discoid seal of serpentine with convex sides, both engraved; perforated.

83

Alişar No. d 1881, from O 10, depth 8.30 m. (post-Hittite); 25×15 mm.

Fragment of a discoid seal of jasper with convex sides; perforated.

84

Alişar No. d 2128, from S 28, depth 3.65–3.70 m. (post-Hittite); 20×12 mm.

Discoid seal of limestone with convex sides, engraved but badly worn (Pl. LVI shows modern impressions); perforated.

HITTITE HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS

75

85

Alışar No. d 2587, found at base of citadel wall (post-Hittite); 23×11 mm.

Discoid seal of serpentine with convex sides, both engraved; perforated.

86

Alışar No. e 270, from S 21, post-Hittite; 22×11 mm.

Discoid seal of serpentine with convex sides, both engraved; perforated.

87

Alışar No. e 1591, from N 13, post-Hittite; 19×10 mm.

Discoid seal of serpentine with convex sides, both engraved but worn; perforated.

88

Alışar No. e 1651, from L 13, lower Phrygian level; diam., 128 mm.

Part of a pottery "label" with fragmentary impression of a stamp seal with convex circular base.

89

Alışar No. e 1993, from P 14, Level 4c M (post-Hittite); 18×10 mm.

Discoid seal of serpentine with convex sides, both engraved; perforated.

UNIDENTIFIABLE INSCRIPTIONS(?)

The markings on the four objects of this group have one common characteristic: they are certainly not Hittite hieroglyphs. To what system or systems of writing they are to be assigned, or even whether some of them constitute writing at all, is doubtful.

90

Alişar No. a 430, from Level 5 M; length, 23 mm.

Stamp seal or amulet of ivory in form of a shoe with upturned toe and a perforation through the ankle. On the upper part are incised angles and curved lines. There is a rosette on the top. The design on the sole is abraded, but rows of straight marks and wedges can be recognized. Previously published in *OIP* XIX 148 and Fig. 186.

91

Alişar No. b 2675, from YY 26 at very base of post-Hittite refuse superimposed on a Hittite deposit; diam., 21 mm.

Discoid seal of serpentine, dark brown with a slightly reddish shade, engraved on both sides; perforated. Previously published in *OIP* XIX 261 and Fig. 344.

92

Alişar No. d 871, from refuse in O 11; 32.5×24.5×16 mm.

Stamp seal or amulet of pottery in form of a shoe, perforated through the ankle. Rosette on top, possible inscription on sole.

93

Alişar No. e 2221, from M 11, Level 5 M (Hittite?); 34×33×17 mm.

Pottery stamp, handle broken away. Base within incised border is divided into quadrants containing punctate and incised designs.

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

94

Alişar No. b 2198, from a pit in DD-EE 10, depth 1.80 m.

Fragment of a three-legged bowl of rather soft greenish gray stone. The inscription incised on the outside reads: [. . .]ΠΙΠΟΞ. Previously published in *OIP* XX 109 f. and Fig. 172.

95

Alişar, found in a Byzantine deposit; 57×58 mm.

Sherd from bottom of a bowl(?) of red-varnished ware. On the inside is a stamp impression: ΧΑΡΑ.

96

Alişar c 2222, from U 29, depth 0.45 m. (Byzantine); greatest dimension, 91 mm.

Fragment of a pottery handle of wet-smoothed coarse ware with a stamp impression on the outside showing part of a two-line Greek inscription and a galloping horse. The inscription reads: ¹[. . .].ΤΙΟΥ ΑΞΤΥΝΟ ²[. . . ΠΟΙ]ΟΥΝΤΟΞ.¹

97

Alişar, found in a Byzantine deposit; 50×85 mm.

Fragment of a flat bowl of imitation *terra sigillata*. It bears on the inside a Greek inscription, of which only ✕ΑΚ is preserved.

98

Alişar, found behind the apse of a Byzantine church;² 1.76×.80×.30 m.

Tombstone of Pliocene limestone bearing an incised cross and traces of a short inscription, of which only the word ΤΑΦΟΞ is clearly visible.

¹ Cf. the personal name 'Αστίνοος in F. Bechtel and A. Fick, *Die griechischen Personennamen* (2d ed.; Göttingen, 1894) p. 127.

² See *OIC* No. 14, p. 29.

ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS

99

Fragments of a bowl with yellowish green glaze and *sgraffito* ornamentation were found directly beneath the surface in the trench of 1927 on the northeastern part of the Alişar terrace. On the short Arabic inscription Dr. Nabia Abbott of the Oriental Institute staff has written the following statement:

"The only possibility I am able to see in this is that it represents the work of an illiterate and inexperienced workman who was attempting (perhaps from memory) to put into the border the common phrase انشا الله, repeated in each motive symmetrically, a practice known in Arabic decorative script¹ and giving in this case انشا الله. The four arc strokes on the انشا are probably a variation of the Kufic ///² for diacritical marks (now replaced by dots), one for the *n* and three for the *š*. The semicircle on the final *alif* of انشا is probably a *hamzah*, a sign appearing in the Kufic in various positions: ٠, ١, ٢.³ The three heavy vertical strokes would then stand for الل of the word الله. The absence of the final *h* throws a question on this reading, which can be accepted only on the supposition made above. Samples of poor and inaccurate script produced by workmen unacquainted with Arabic are not wanting."

100

Another Alişar potsherd is of buff ware, with a few Arabic signs painted in creamy white. Only *bn*, "son," is clearly recognizable.

¹ See the introductory pages to the various divisions of al-Nasafi's *Kitāb al-Sunan* (Cairo, 1924).

² Oriental Institute Nos. A 6960, A 6992; B. Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography* (Cairo, 1905) Nos. 31-36; *Encyclopaedia of Islam* I (1913) 383 f.

³ Oriental Institute Nos. A 6962:8-9 and A 7001:5 etc.

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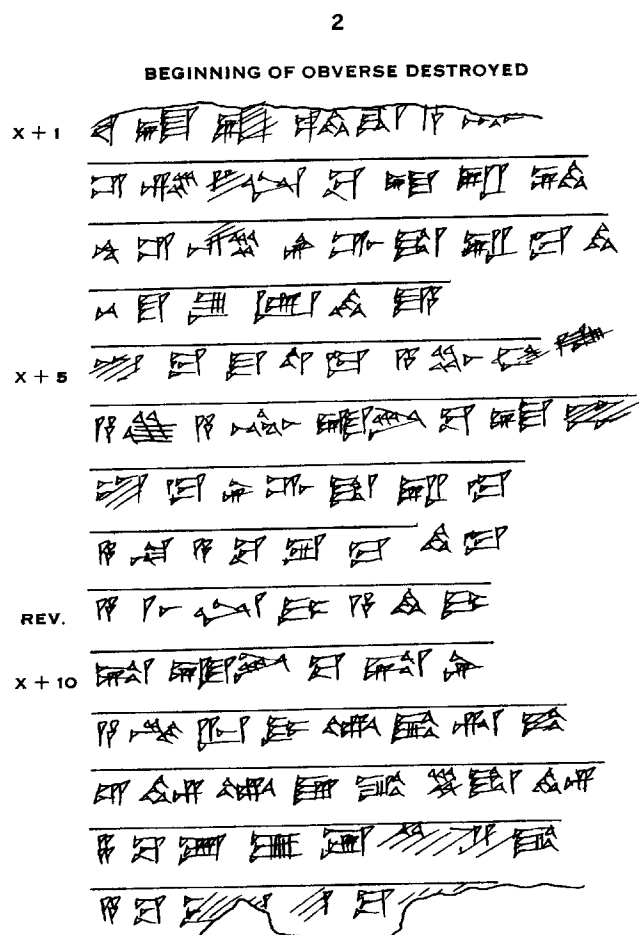
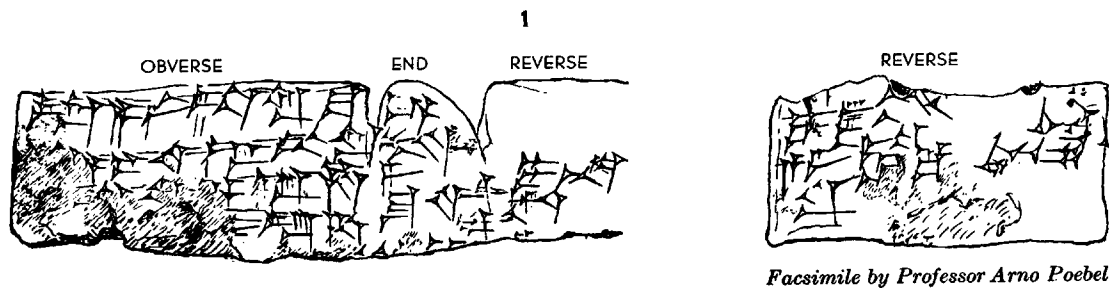
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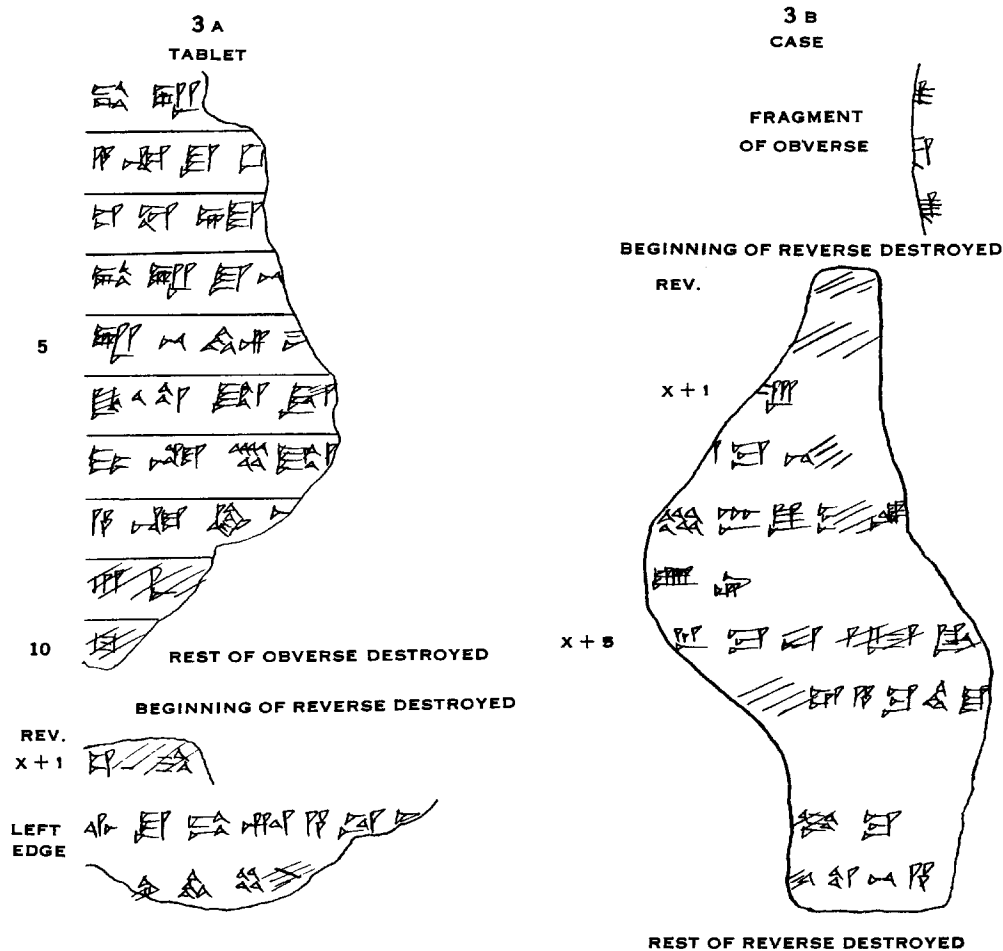
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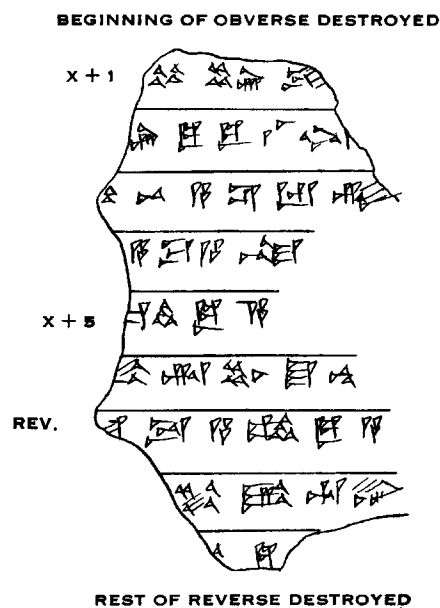
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SICI

CAPPADOCIAN TABLET FROM ALIŞAR

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CAAPPADOCIAN TABLETS FROM ALUSAR

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EDGE

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15

REV. 10

5

Tablet 6 (Left Side): A series of 20 lines of cuneiform text, mostly illegible due to damage. The text is written in a cuneiform script, likely from the Cappadocian region. The lines are numbered 5, 10, 15, and 20 on the left margin.

REV.

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Tablet 8 (Right Side): A series of 10 lines of cuneiform text, mostly illegible due to damage. The text is written in a cuneiform script, likely from the Cappadocian region. The lines are numbered 5 and 10 on the right margin.

10

°SICI

Line 1:
 Line 2:
 Line 3:
 Line 4:

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Line 5:
 Line 6:
 Line 7:
 Line 8:

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Line 9:
 Line 10:
 Line 11:
 Line 12:

REV.

NOT INSCRIBED

15

Line 1:
 Line 2:
 Line 3:
 Line 4:

20

Line 5:
 Line 6:
 Line 7:
 Line 8:

25

Line 9:
 Line 10:

11

Line 1:

5

Line 2:
 Line 3:
 Line 4:

REV.

Line 1:
 Line 2:
 Line 3:
 Line 4:

10

Line 5:
 Line 6:
 Line 7:
 Line 8:

15

Line 9:

LEFT
EDGE

Line 1:
 Line 2:
 Line 3:

10

CONTINUED

LEFT
EDGE

Line 10:

12

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 REV.
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13

BEGINNING OF OBVERSE DESTROYED

x + 1
 x + 5
 x + 10
 REV.
 x + 15

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REST OF REVERSE DESTROYED

LEFT
 EDGE
 y + 1

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 99
 100

5
 10
 REV. 15
 20
 25

REST DESTROYED

5
 10
 15
 REV.
 20
 25

CONTINUED

CAPPADOCIAN TABLET FROM ALIŞAR

CAPPADOCIAN TABLETS FROM ALIŞAR

REST DESTROYED

5
[Cappadocian cuneiform text, lines 1-5]

16

30
35
[Cappadocian cuneiform text, lines 16-35]

CONTINUED

15

5

3-5 LINES DESTROYED

REV. X + 1

Handwritten musical notation on three staves.

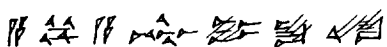
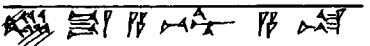
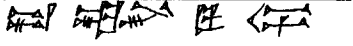


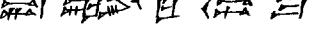
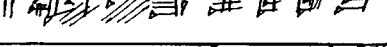
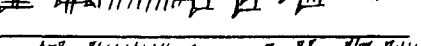
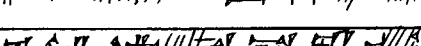
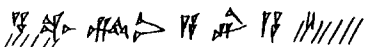
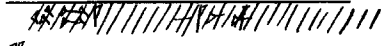
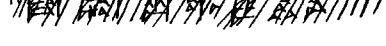
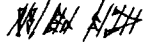
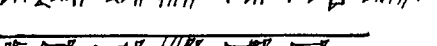
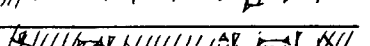
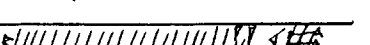
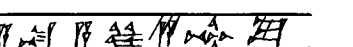
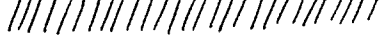
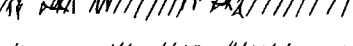
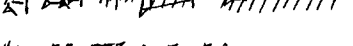
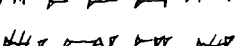
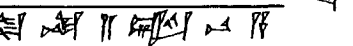
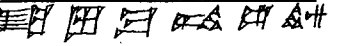

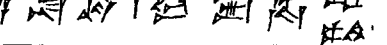
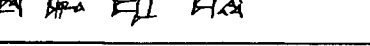
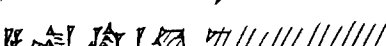
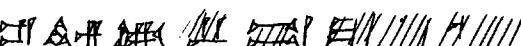
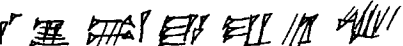
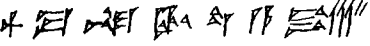
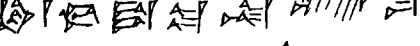
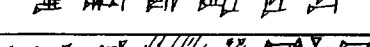
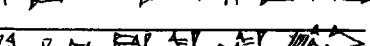
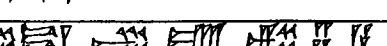
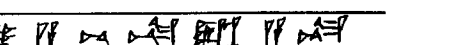

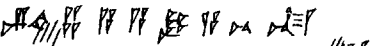
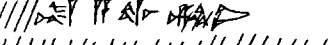

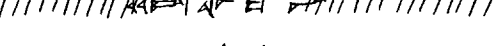
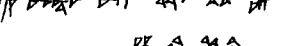








 $x + 5$

Handwritten musical notation on five-line staves, featuring various note values and rests.

 $x + 10$ [illegible]

**LEFT
EDGE**

Handwritten musical notation on two staves, featuring various notes, rests, and bar lines.

18 A			
TABLET			
	<p>     </p>		
5	<p>      </p>	LEFT EDGE	<p>    </p>
			30 
		BEGINNING DESTROYED	18 B CASE
	<p>     </p>	REV. X + 1	<p>     </p>
10	<p>      </p>		<p>      </p>
REV.	<p>      </p>	LEFT EDGE	<p>      </p>
15	<p>     </p>		<p>   </p>
20	<p>   </p>		

19A
TABLET

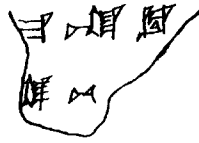
[illegible]

**LEFT
EDGE**

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**FRAGMENT
OF SAME TABLET**

19B
CASE



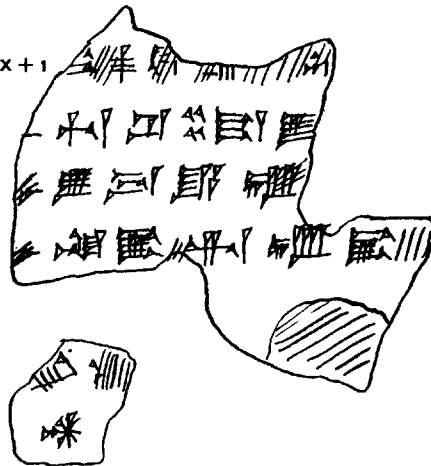
NOT INSCRIBED

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 8. 日 月 星 辰
 9. 日 月 星 辰
 10. 日 月 星 辰











REST OF OBVERSE DESTROYED

REV. X + 1



Handwriting practice lines showing various stroke patterns and characters, including the character '5' (五) on the right side.

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丁巳年
丁巳年

李維新

REV. /

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11/11/11

十月廿三日

(Handwritten scribbles)

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[illegible]

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五、四、三、二、一

小 巧 巧 巧 巧 巧

蘇聯科學院

一 日 一 月 一 年

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张 敬 文 著

州 府 縣 署 官 署

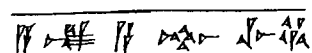
ERASURE
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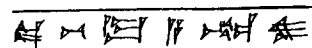
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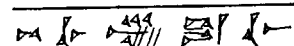
23

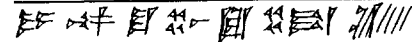
24

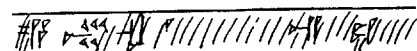

 BEGINNING OF OBVERSE DESTROYED



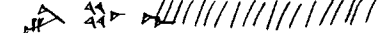


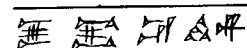


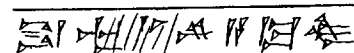
5 

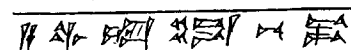


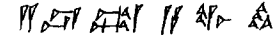
REST OF OBVERSE DESTROYED
 BEGINNING OF REVERSE DESTROYED

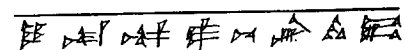
REV. x + 1 

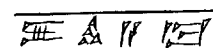


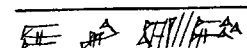


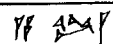


x + 5 

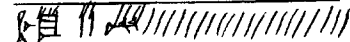


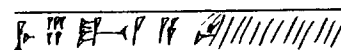


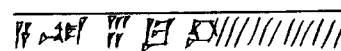


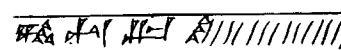


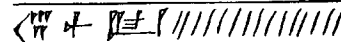
LEFT x + 10 
 EDGE

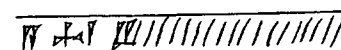
x + 1 

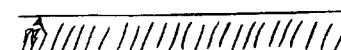







x + 5 

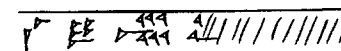


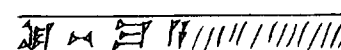


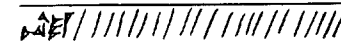
REST OF OBVERSE DESTROYED
 BEGINNING OF REVERSE DESTROYED

REV. y + 1 



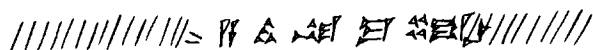


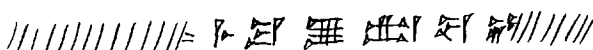


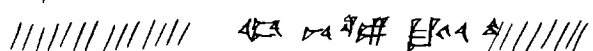
y + 5 

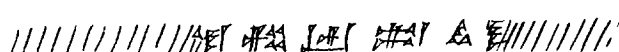
REST OF REVERSE DESTROYED

LEFT
EDGE









25

5 

















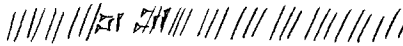
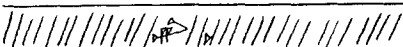
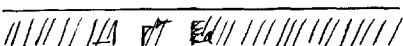




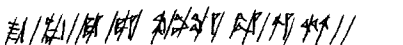
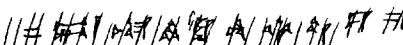
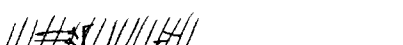




25

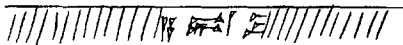
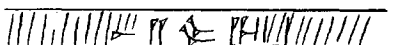
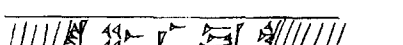
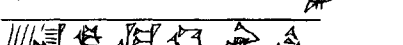
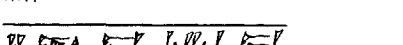
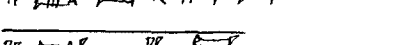
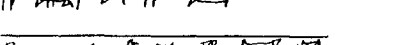
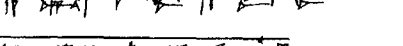
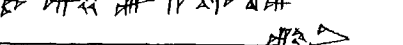

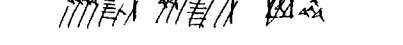
LEFT
EDGE

26

OBVERSE DESTROYED

REV.

10

[illegible]



REV. X + 1

1. 1980年1月，中共中央、国务院作出《关于进一步加强和完善农村政策的通知》，提出“包产到户”、“包干到户”。
 2. 1982年1月，中共中央发布《关于实行家庭联产承包责任制若干问题的决定》，明确“包产到户”、“包干到户”是社会主义集体经济的生产责任制。

OBV.

REVERSE NOT INSCRIBED


BEGINNING OF OBVERSE DESTROYED

$x + 1$  

此乃一

[illegible]

REV.



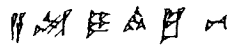
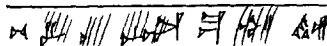
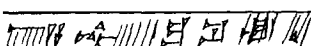
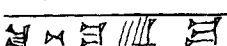
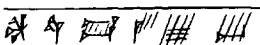
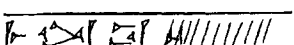
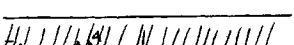
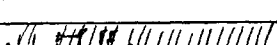
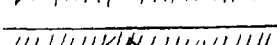
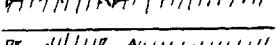
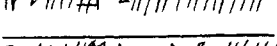

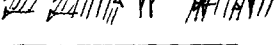
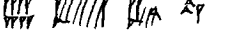

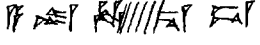
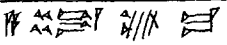
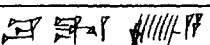
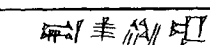
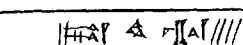
 $x + 5$

✱ 4444 ✱

REST OF REVERSE DESTROYED

CAPPADOCIAN TABLETS FROM ALIŞAR

30

5 




















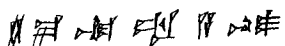
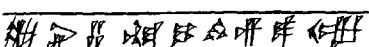
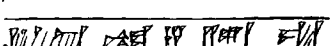
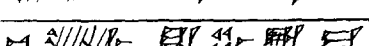
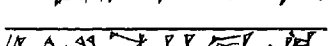
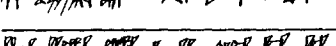
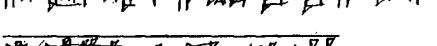
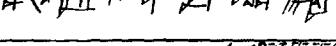
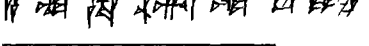

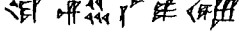

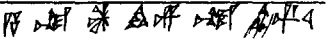
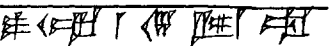
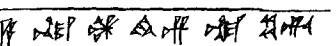
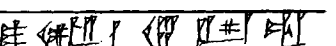
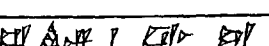
REV. 10

15

LEFT
EDGE

2 LINES DESTROYED

31

5

10

REV.

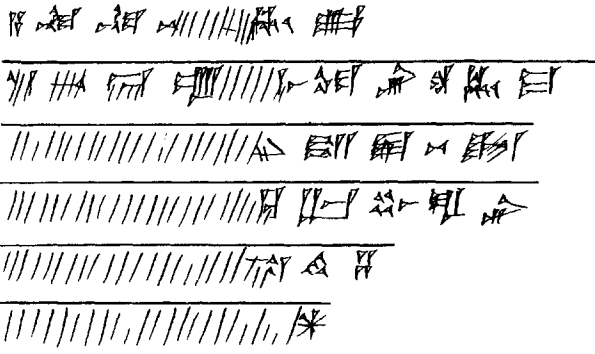
15

0- - - - 0
 WRITTEN OVER
 ERASURE

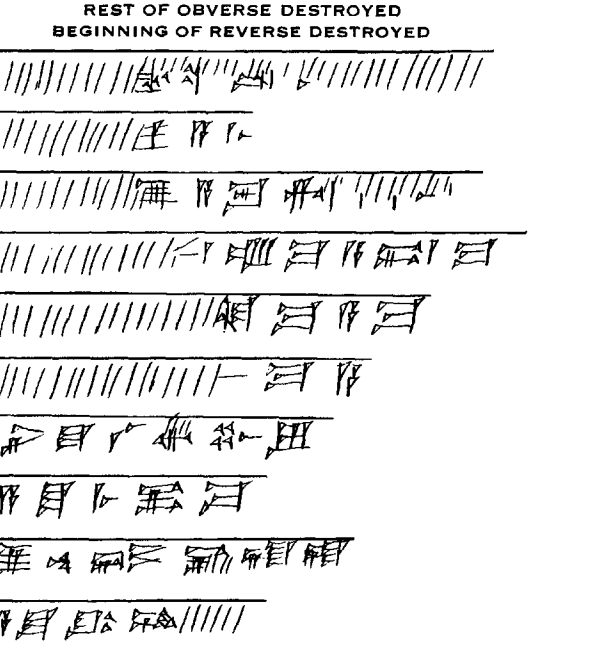
REST OF REVERSE DESTROYED

XX

35



5



REST OF OBVERSE DESTROYED
BEGINNING OF REVERSE DESTROYED

REV. x + 1

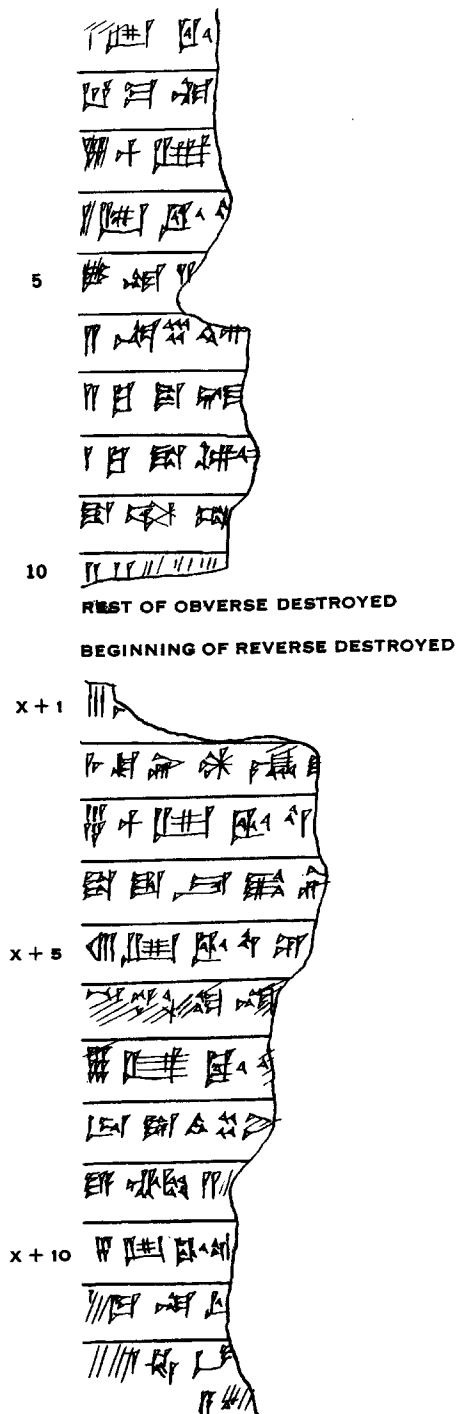
x + 5

x + 10

LEFT
EDGE

CAPPADOCIAN TABLET FROM ALIŞAR

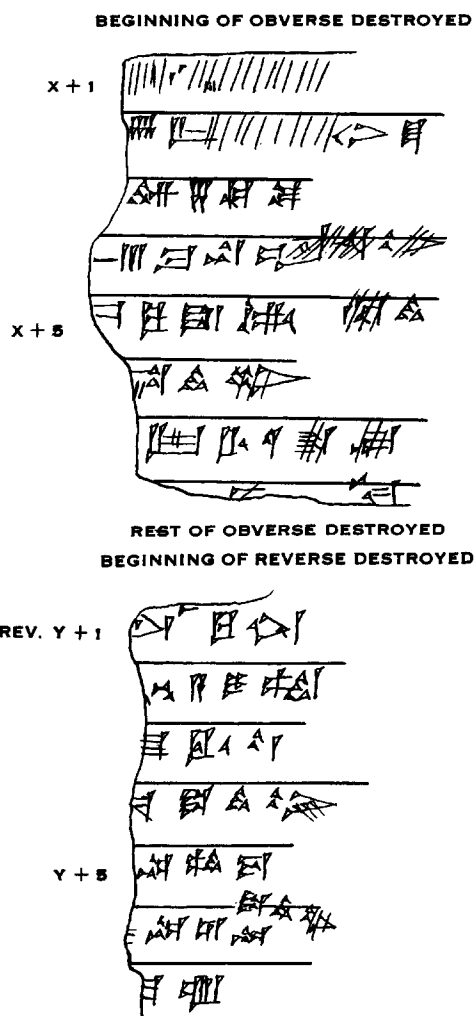
36



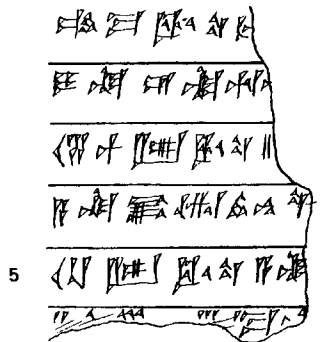
LEFT
EDGE

x + 15

37



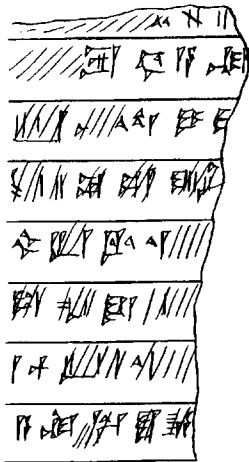
38



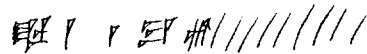
REST OF OBVERSE DESTROYED

BEGINNING OF REVERSE DESTROYED

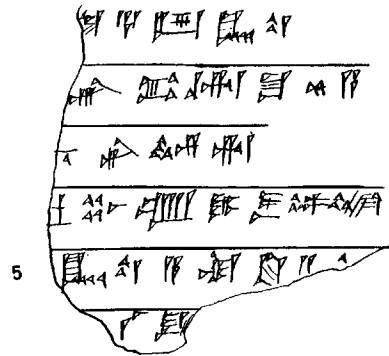
REV. X + 1



X + 5

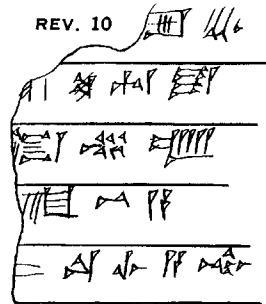
LEFT
EDGE

39



3 LINES DESTROYED

REV. 10

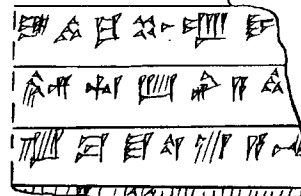


40

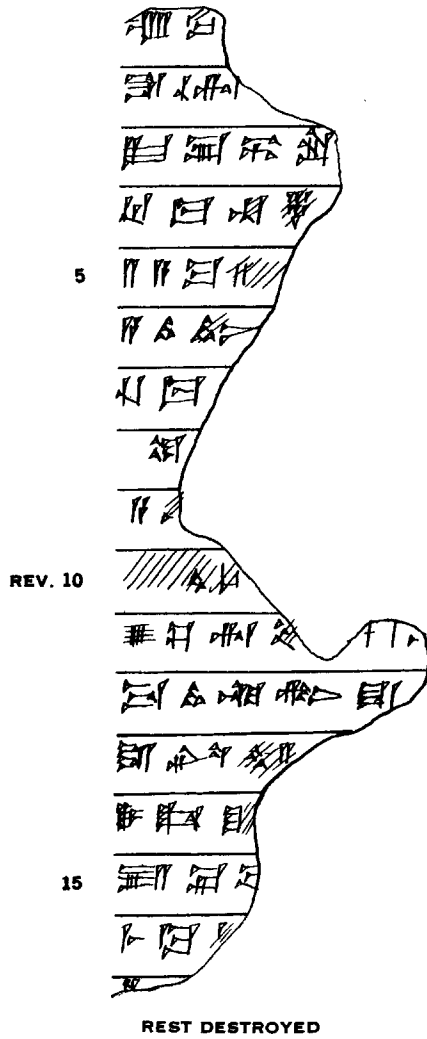
X + 1



X + 5



41



LEFT
EDGE x + 1

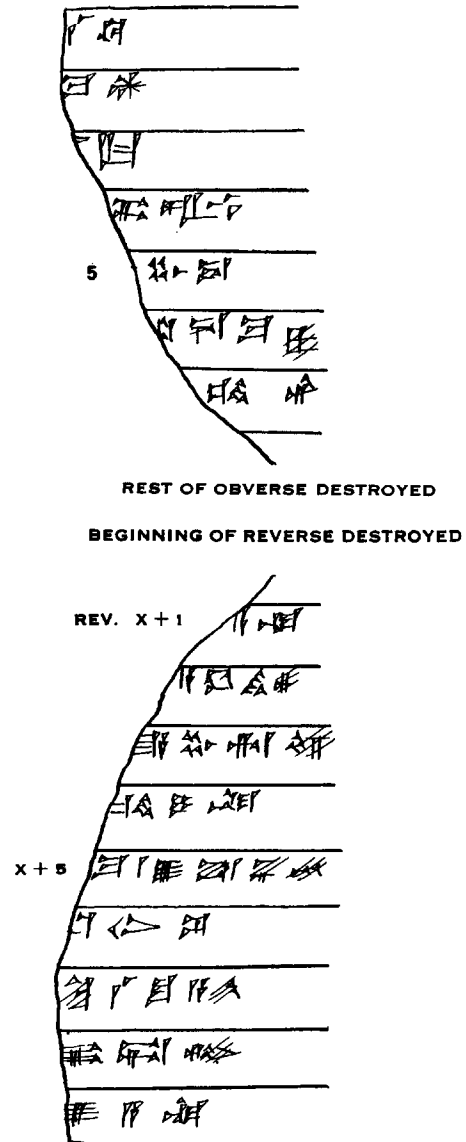
|||||

|||||

|||||

|||||

42



LEFT
EDGE DESTROYED

43

5
REV. 10
15
LEFT
EDGE
20

Handwritten cuneiform script on tablet 43, showing lines 5 through 20. The script is arranged in horizontal rows, with some lines containing multiple columns of characters. The left edge of the tablet is visible, and the text is written in a cuneiform script.

44

5
REVERSE DESTROYED
LEFT
EDGE
DESTROYED

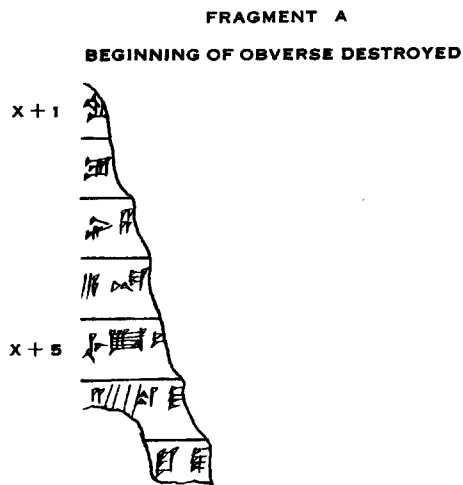
Handwritten cuneiform script on tablet 44, showing lines 5 through 10. The script is arranged in horizontal rows, with some lines containing multiple columns of characters. The right edge of the tablet is visible, and the text is written in a cuneiform script.

45

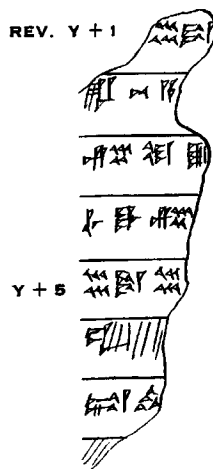
5
10
REST DESTROYED

Handwritten cuneiform script on tablet 45, showing lines 5 through 10. The script is arranged in horizontal rows, with some lines containing multiple columns of characters. The right edge of the tablet is visible, and the text is written in a cuneiform script.

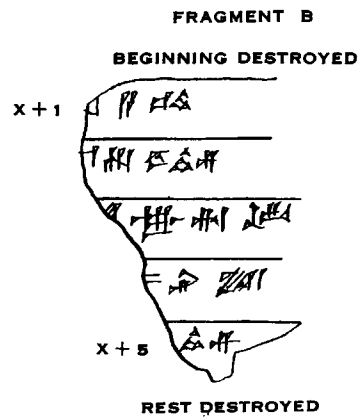
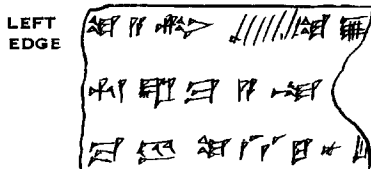
46



REST OF OBLVERSE DESTROYED
BEGINNING OF REVERSE DESTROYED

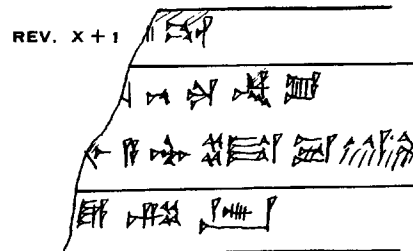


REST OF REVERSE DESTROYED

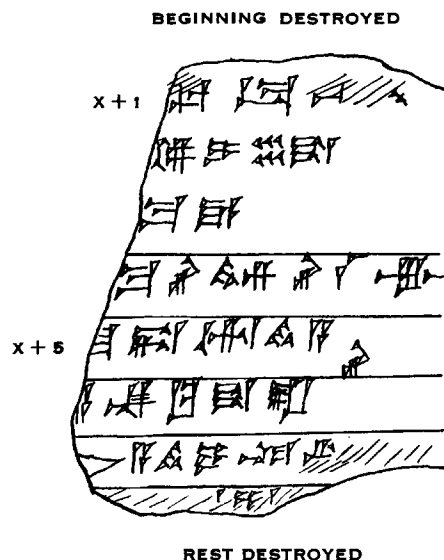


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OBLVERSE DESTROYED
BEGINNING OF REVERSE DESTROYED



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TABLET

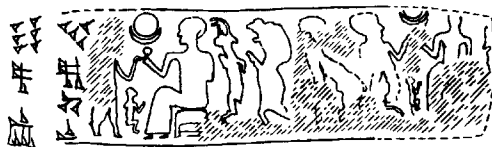
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CAPPADOCIAN TABLET FROM ALIŞAR

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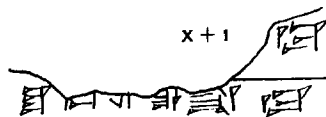
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BEGINNING OF OBVERSE DESTROYED

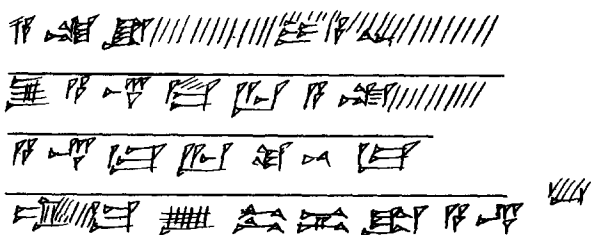
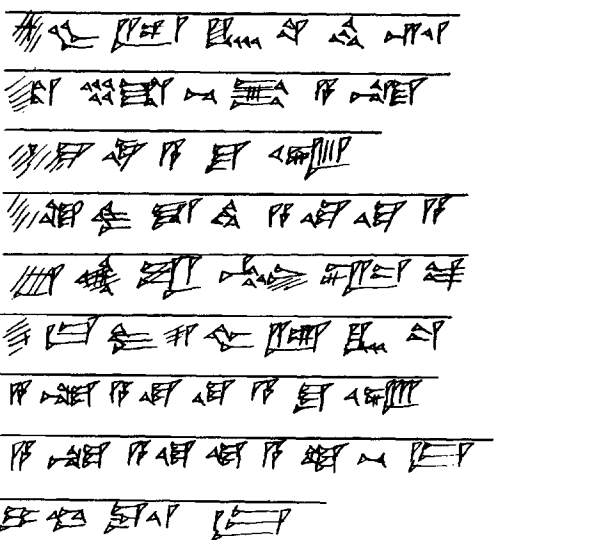



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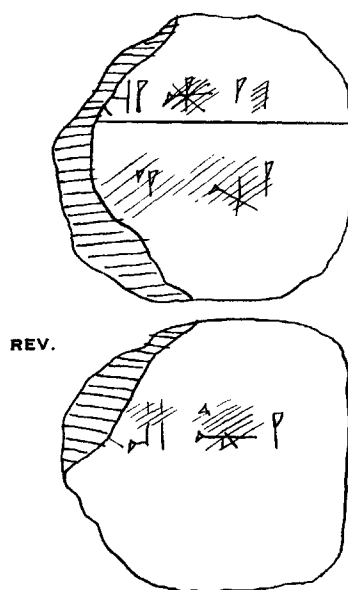
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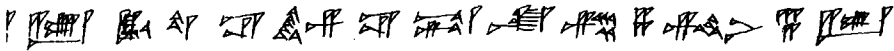
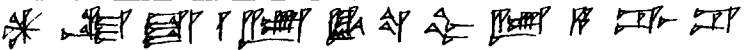
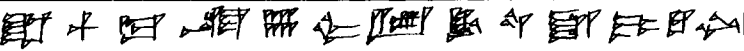
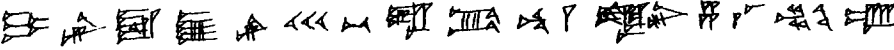

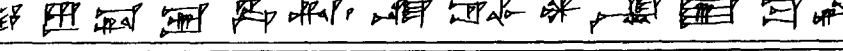
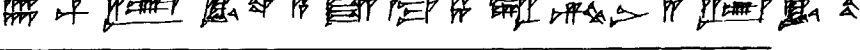
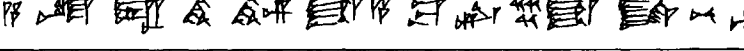
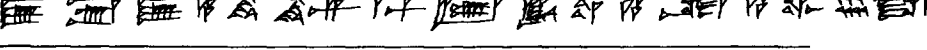
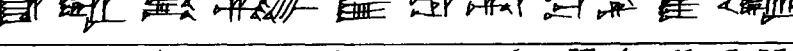

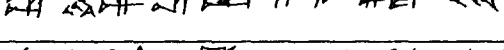
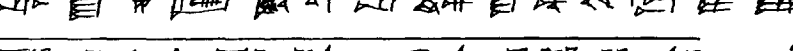
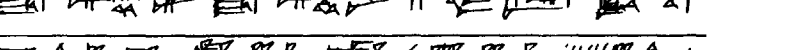
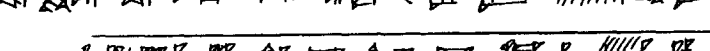
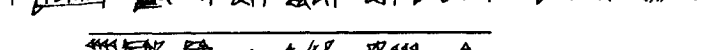
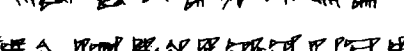
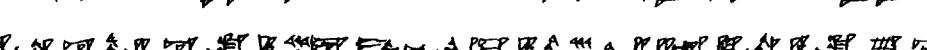
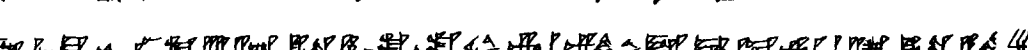
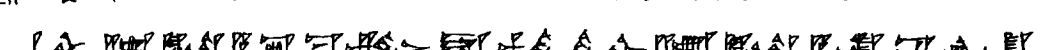


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- 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌

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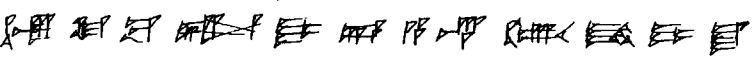
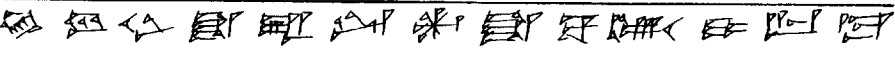
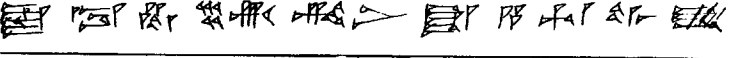
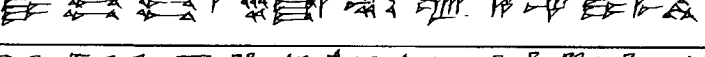
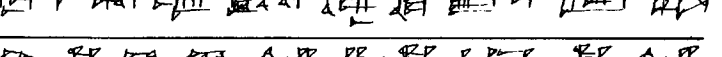
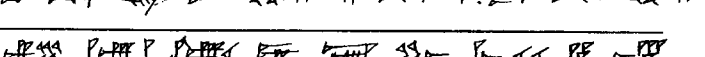
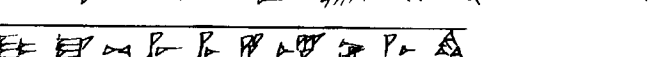
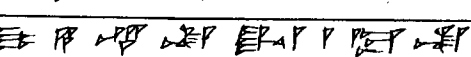
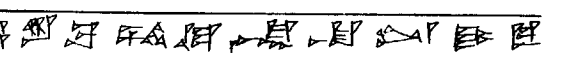
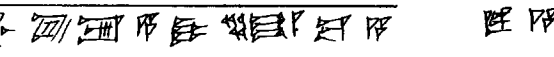
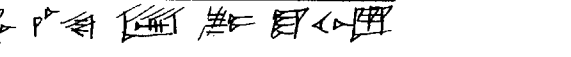
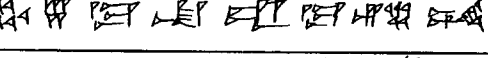
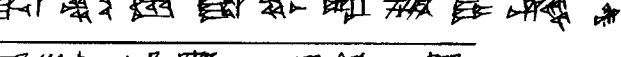
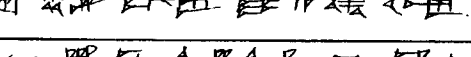
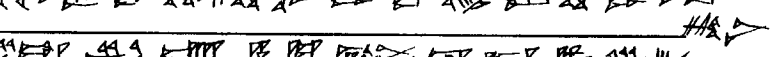
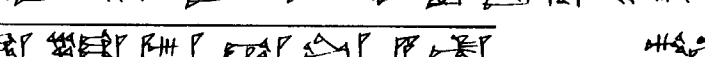
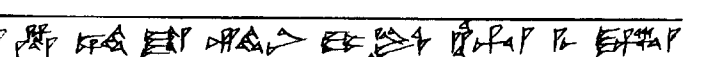
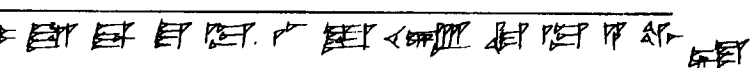
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CAPPADOCIAN TABLET BOUGHT AT KÜLTEPE

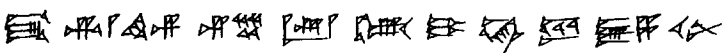
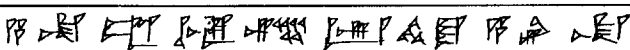
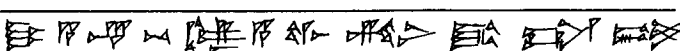
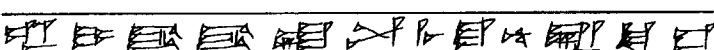
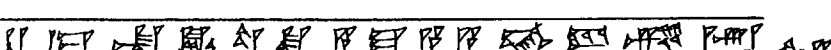
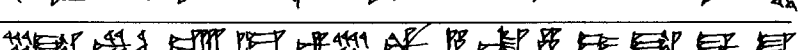
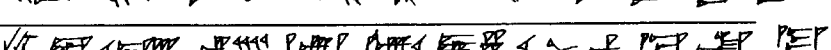
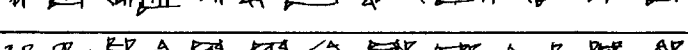
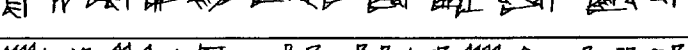
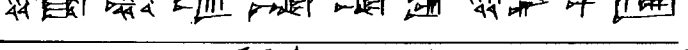
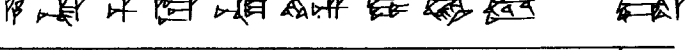
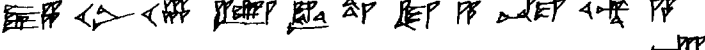
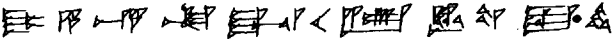
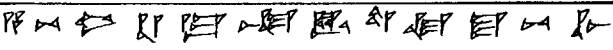
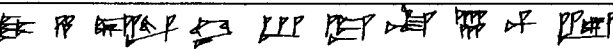
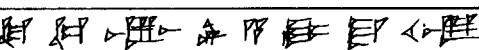
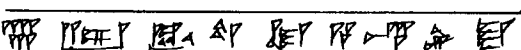
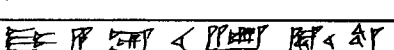
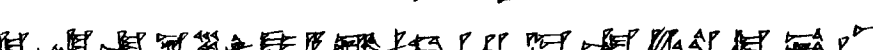
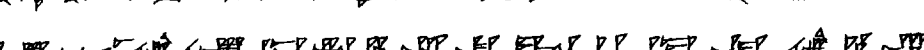
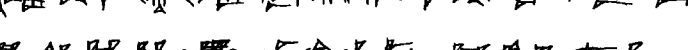

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CAPPADOCIAN TABLET BOUGHT AT KÜLTEPE

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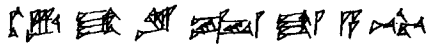
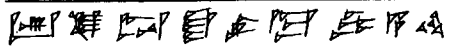
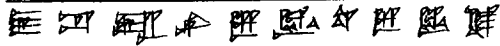
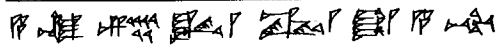

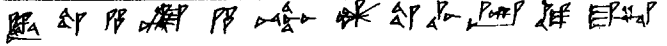
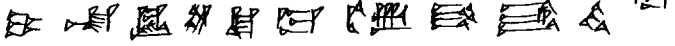
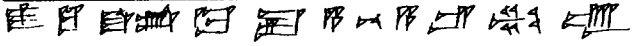
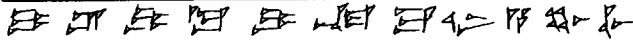
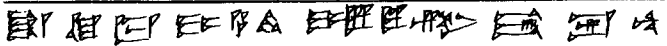
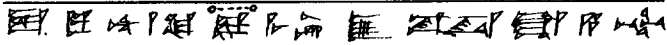
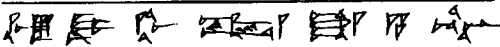
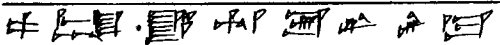

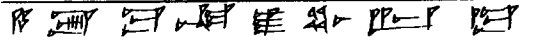
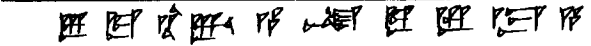


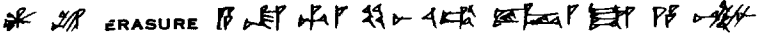
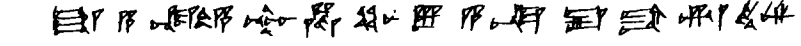
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CAPPADOCIAN TABLET BOUGHT AT KÜLTEPE

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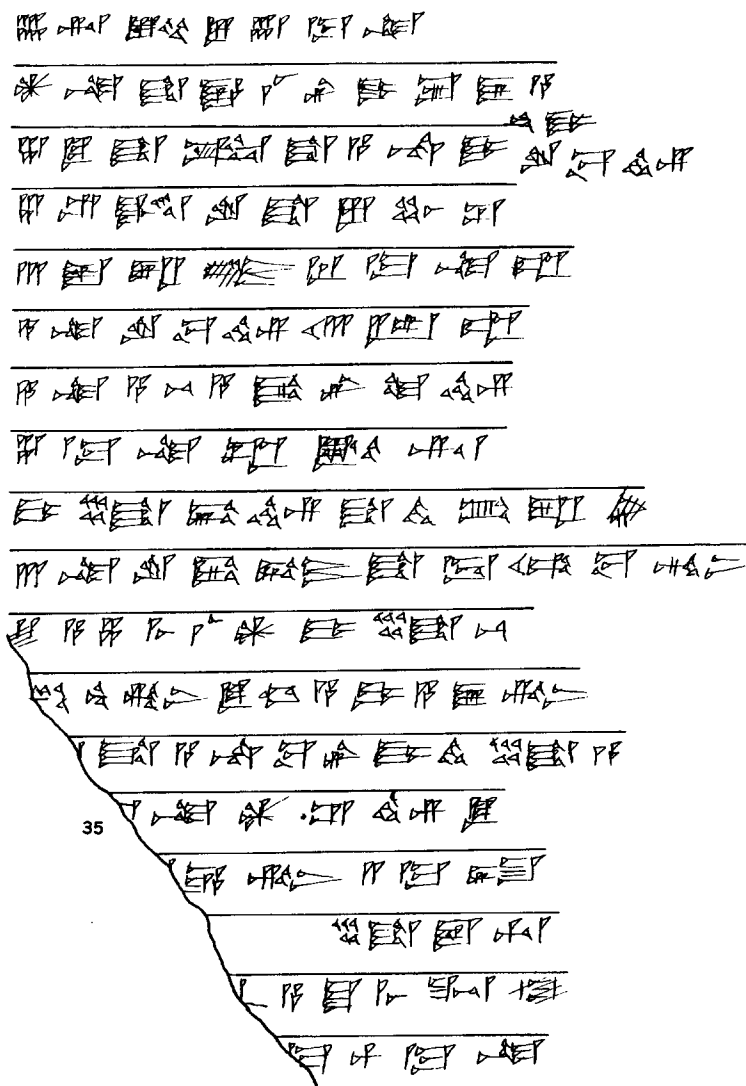
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CAPPADOCIAN TABLET BOUGHT AT KÜLTEPE

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CAPPADOCIAN TABLET BOUGHT AT KÜLTEPE

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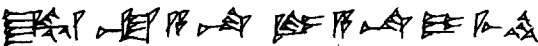
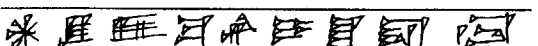
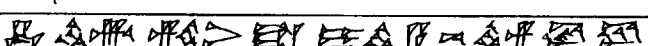
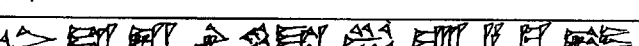
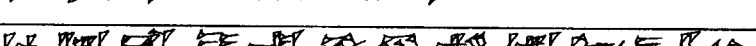
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CAPPADOCIAN TABLET SAID TO HAVE COME FROM KAYSERI


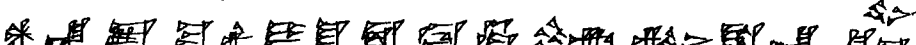

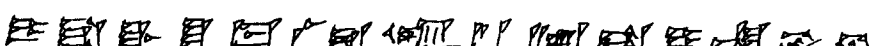
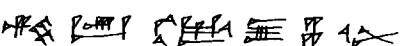
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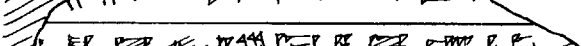
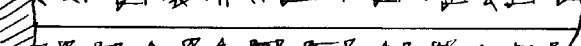
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CAPPADOCIAN TABLET BOUGHT AT KÜLTEPE



CAPPADOCIAN TABLET BOUGHT AT KÜLTEPE. PHOTOGRAPHS, 1:1; DRAWING, 2:1

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CAPPADOCIAN TABLET SAID TO HAVE COME FROM KÜLTEPE

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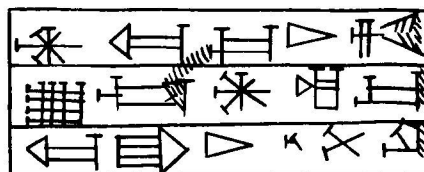
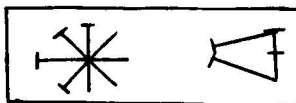
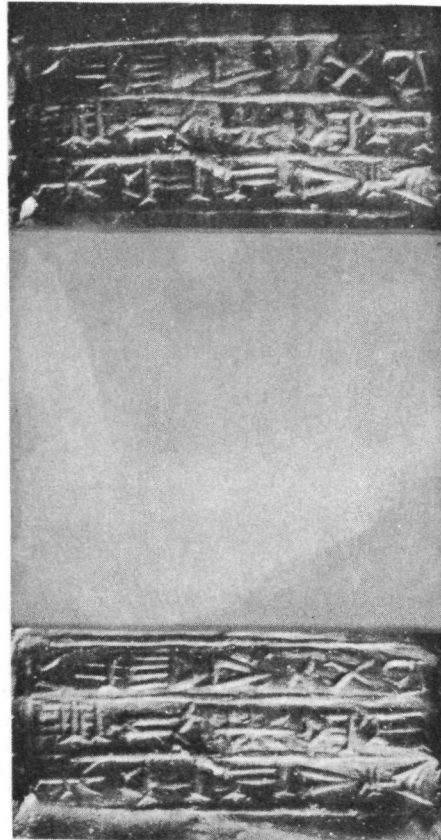
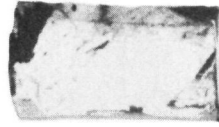
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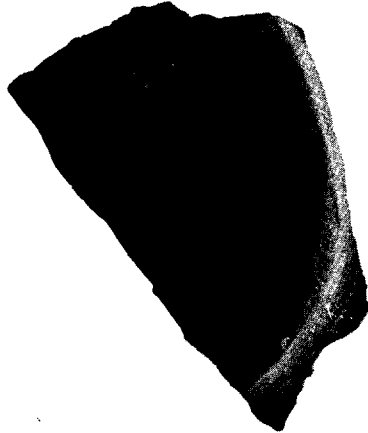


64

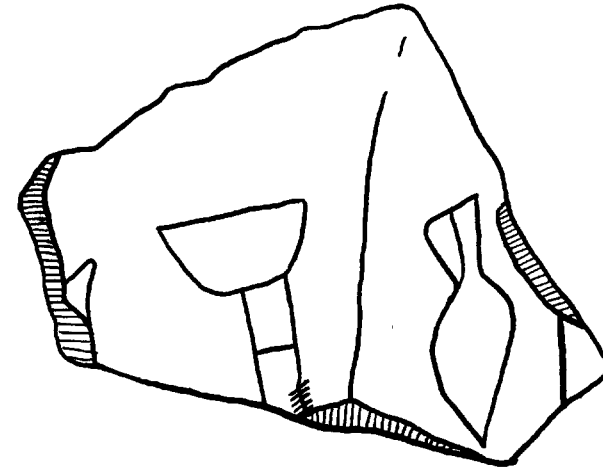
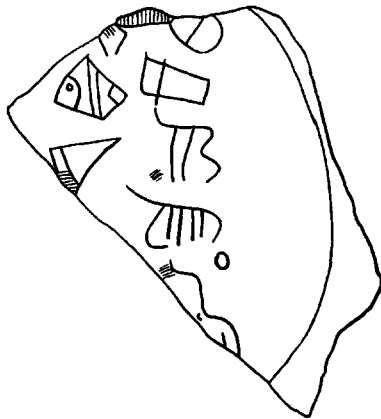


CYLINDER SEALS. SEALS, 1:1; IMPRESSIONS AND DRAWINGS, 2:1

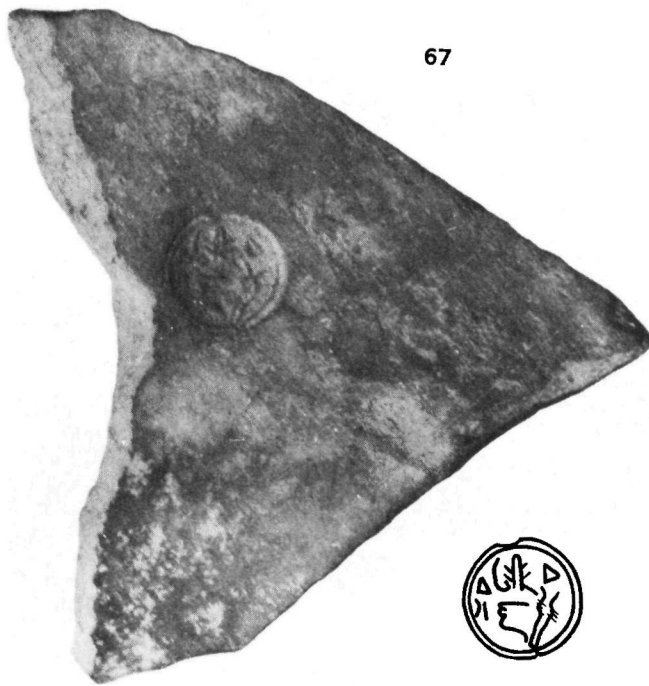
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HITTITE HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS ON POTSDHERDS. SCALE, 1:1



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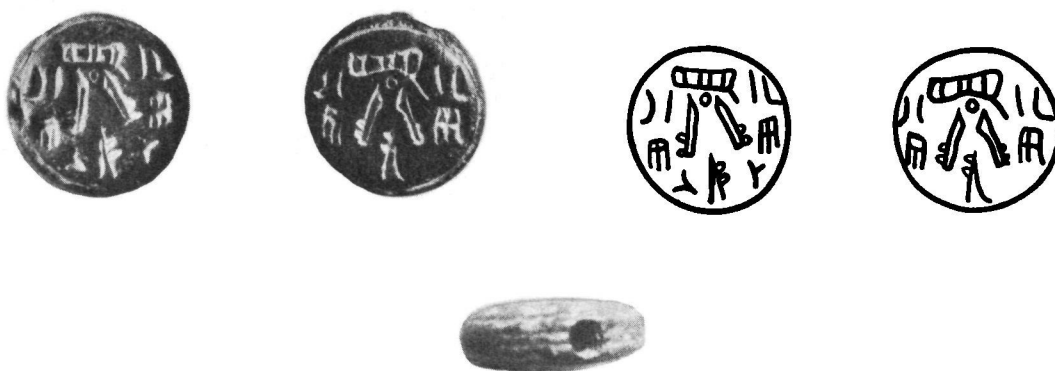
HITTITE HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS ON SEALS. SCALE, 1:1 (EXCEPT No. 67, ALMOST 1:1)

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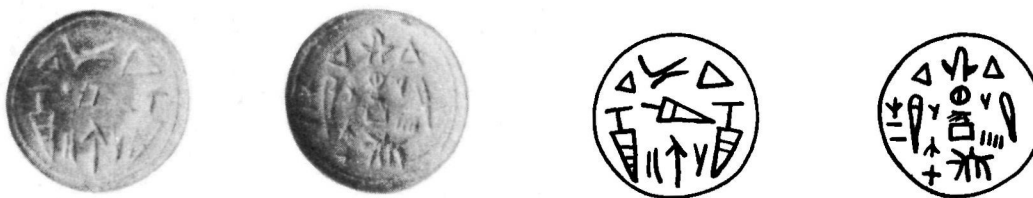
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HITTITE HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS ON SEALS. SCALE, 1:1

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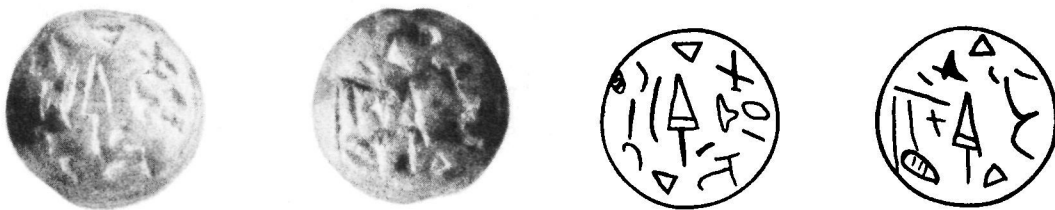
80



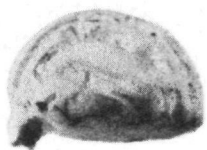
81



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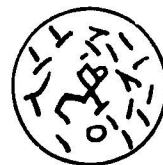
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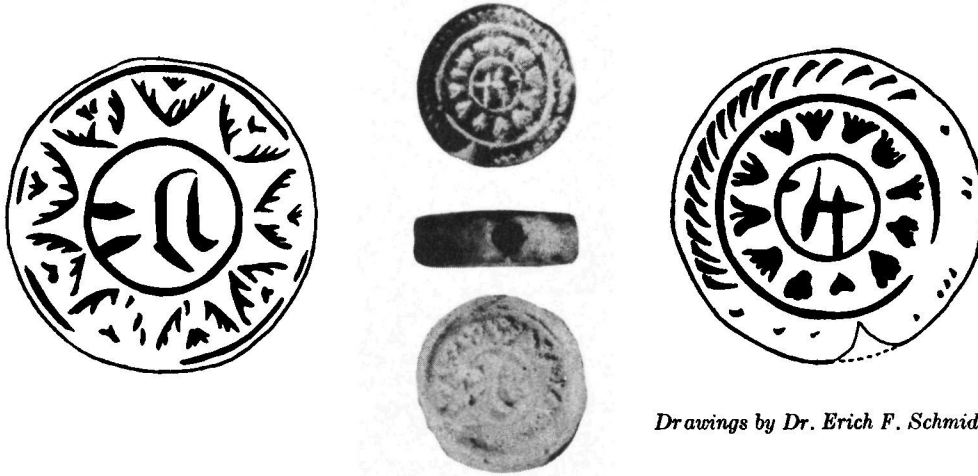


90



HITTITE HIEROGLYPHIC INSCRIPTIONS ON SEALS AND AN UNIDENTIFIABLE INSCRIPTION(?)
ON A SEAL OR AMULET. SCALE, 1:1

91



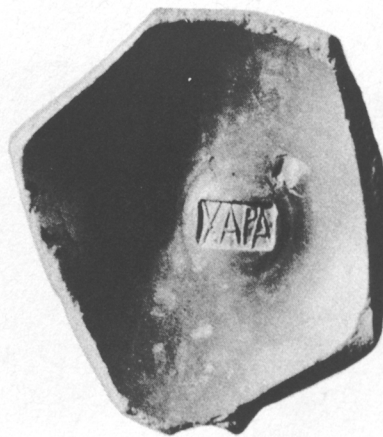
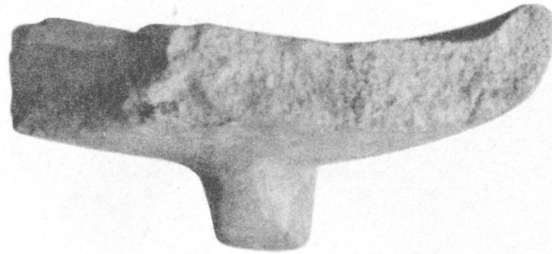
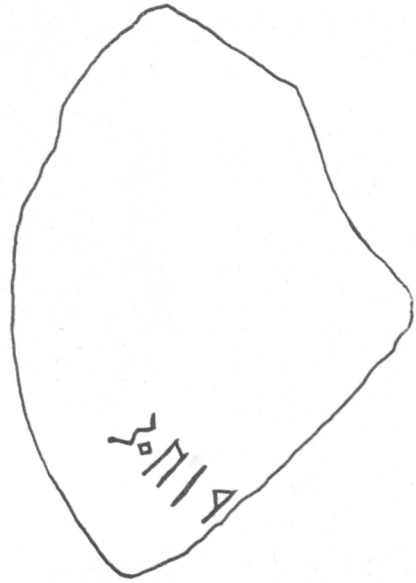
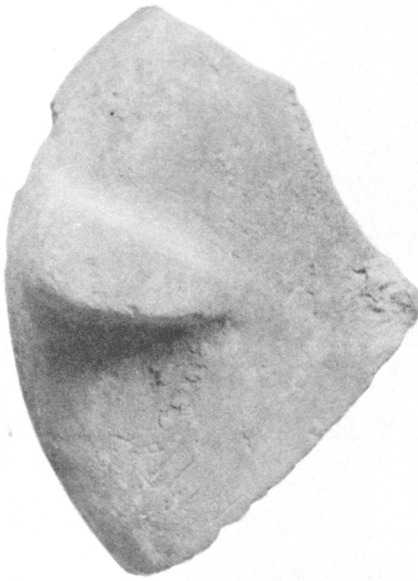
92



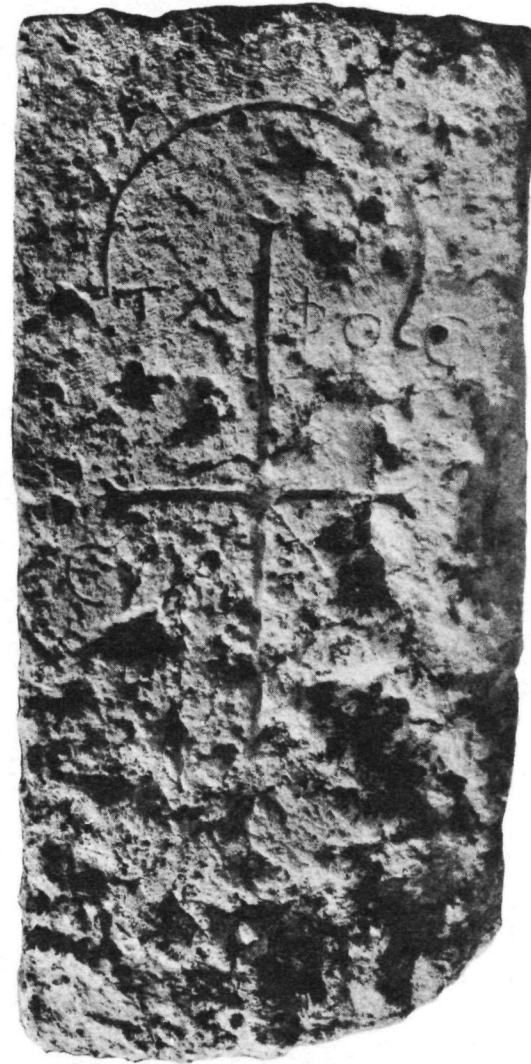
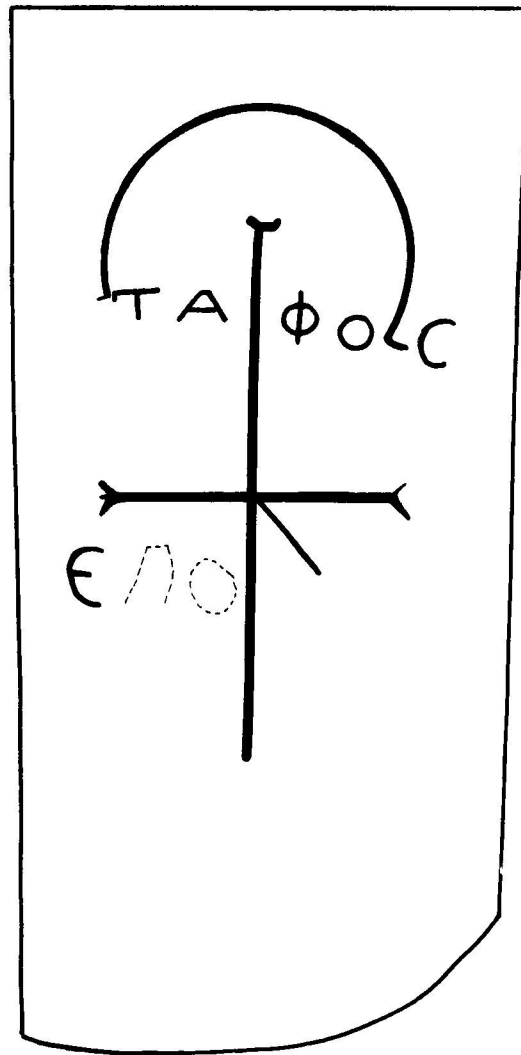
93



UNIDENTIFIABLE INSCRIPTIONS(?) ON SEALS AND/OR AMULETS. PHOTOGRAPHS, 1:1; DRAWINGS, 2:1







GREEK INSCRIPTION ON A TOMBSTONE. SCALE, BETWEEN 1:11 AND 1:12

99



100



ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS. No. 99, 1:2; No. 100, 1:1

