

# ラーファイダーン

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- テル・タバンの発掘調査, シリア 2005 (英文) 沼本宏俊
- ハブール土器第 3 期の開始年代について  
——テル・レイラン遺跡カルニ・リム宮殿からの証拠—— (英文) 小口裕通
- プルシュハンタ市の所在地 (英文) 川上直彦
- 偽りの軌跡を辿る: ヒッタイト探索 (英文) ロビンソン M スペンサー
- タル・タバンの出土碑文 (1997—1999 年度発掘調査)  
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# ラーフィダーン AL-RĀFIDĀN

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## EXCAVATION AT TELL TABAN, HASSAKE, SYRIA (4): PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE 2005 WINTER SEASON OF WORK

Hirotooshi NUMOTO\*

### 1. Introduction

The Kokushikan University Archaeological Mission to Tell Taban carried out the 4th excavation season from January 30 to February 14 2005. Tell Taban is located in the Hassake Dam Salvage area and has been excavated by the Kokushikan University Archaeological Mission since 1997 [Ohnuma et al. 1999; Ohnuma et al. 2000; Ohnuma and Numoto 2001].

The mission members of the 2005 season were Hirotooshi Numoto, Ken Matsumoto (joined from 6 to 12 February), and Mr Salem Isa, who was our representative from the Directorate General for Antiquities and Museums (hereafter DGAM) of the Syrian Arab Republic.

When the mission arrived at Tell Taban in the end of January 2005, the water level of the Hassake Dam had risen to an unusual height (ca. 288 m above sea level) due to the heavy winter rain (Fig. 3; Pl.5). Before our arrival at the site, we planned to continue our excavations in Trenches I, II and III which were excavated from the 1997 to the 1999 seasons (Fig. 2). However, we found that these Trenches were completely sunk under the water and were not possible to excavate. Thus we were forced to select another area for the excavation.

We have chosen the west side of the foot of the tell which revealed a large eroded area caused by the Dam water. The area is part of a large area where several large mud-brick walls, which are presumably dated to the Middle Assyrian period, were exposed. The elected area is also important in connection with the huge mud-brick wall found in Trench III during the 1999 season. In the selected area, we have chosen to excavate the area with the best preserved mud-brick wall, which measured ca. 10 m long and 2 m high (Pls. 6, 7a). In addition, a grave with baked bricks wall (Pls. 6a, 7b), which was exposed in the area by the erosion was excavated.

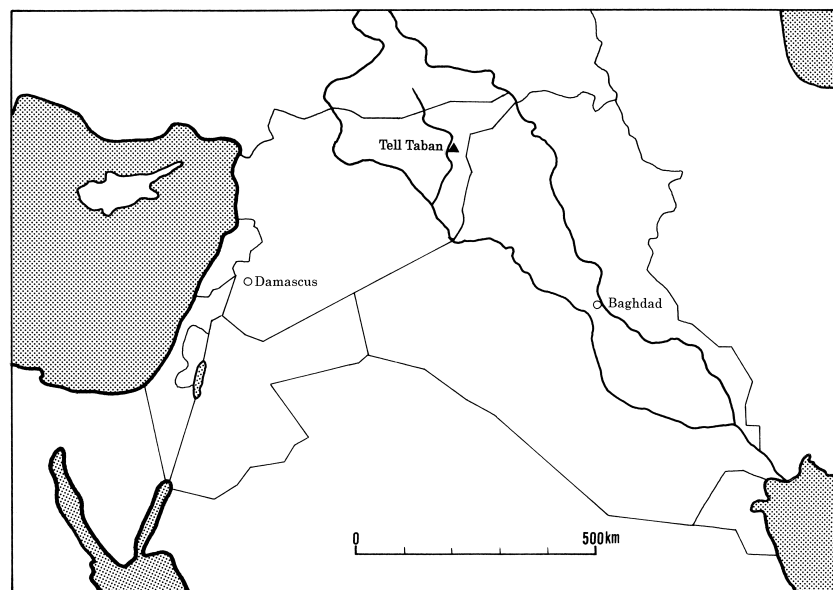


Fig. 1 Location of Tell Taban

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\* Faculty of Physical Education, Kokushikan University



Fig. 2 Contour map of Tell Taban, 1997

## 2. Excavations

The 2005 excavations were carried out in Trenches 4 and 5. Trench 4 was set at the western edge of the cliff formed by erosion. The trench measured 4 m wide and 6 m long in the north-south direction. Trench 5, which measured 2.5 m wide and 4 m long, was set up to the north of Trench 4 (Figs. 3 and 4). Here are the brief results of each Trenches.

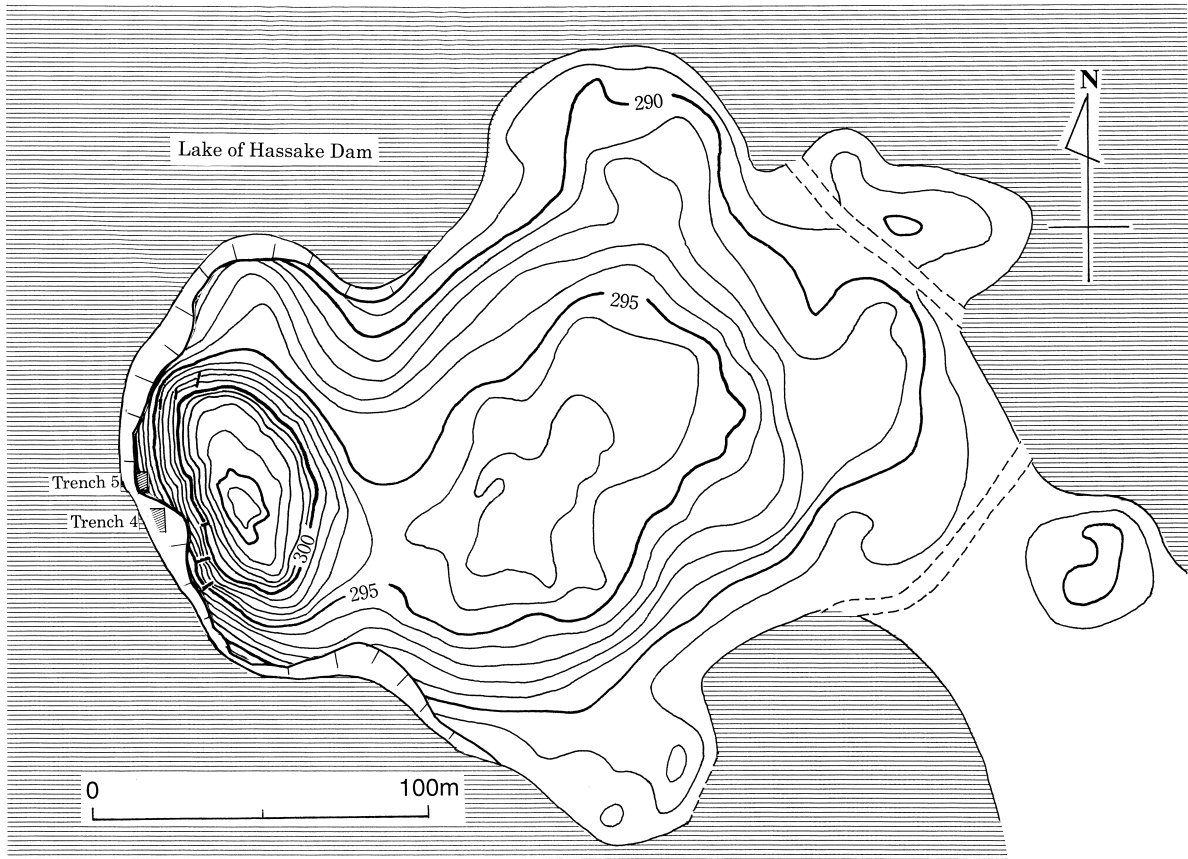


Fig. 3 Contour map of Tell Taban, 2005 Jan. 30

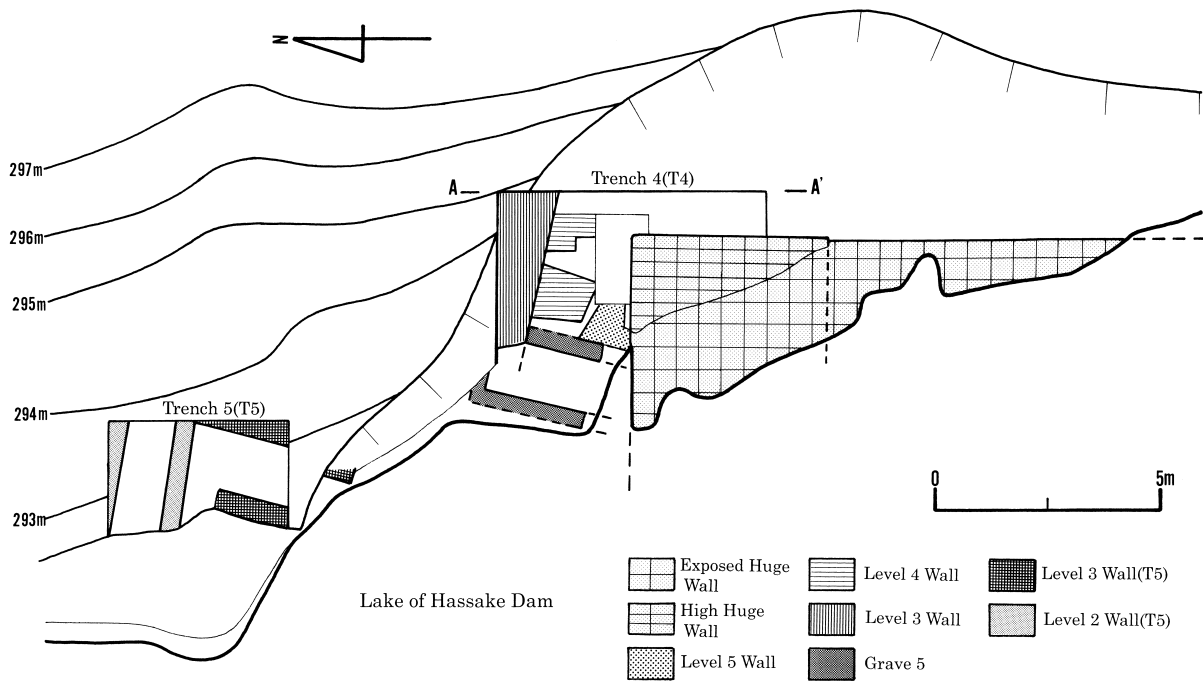


Fig. 4 Plan of excavated area 2005 (Trenches 4 and 5)

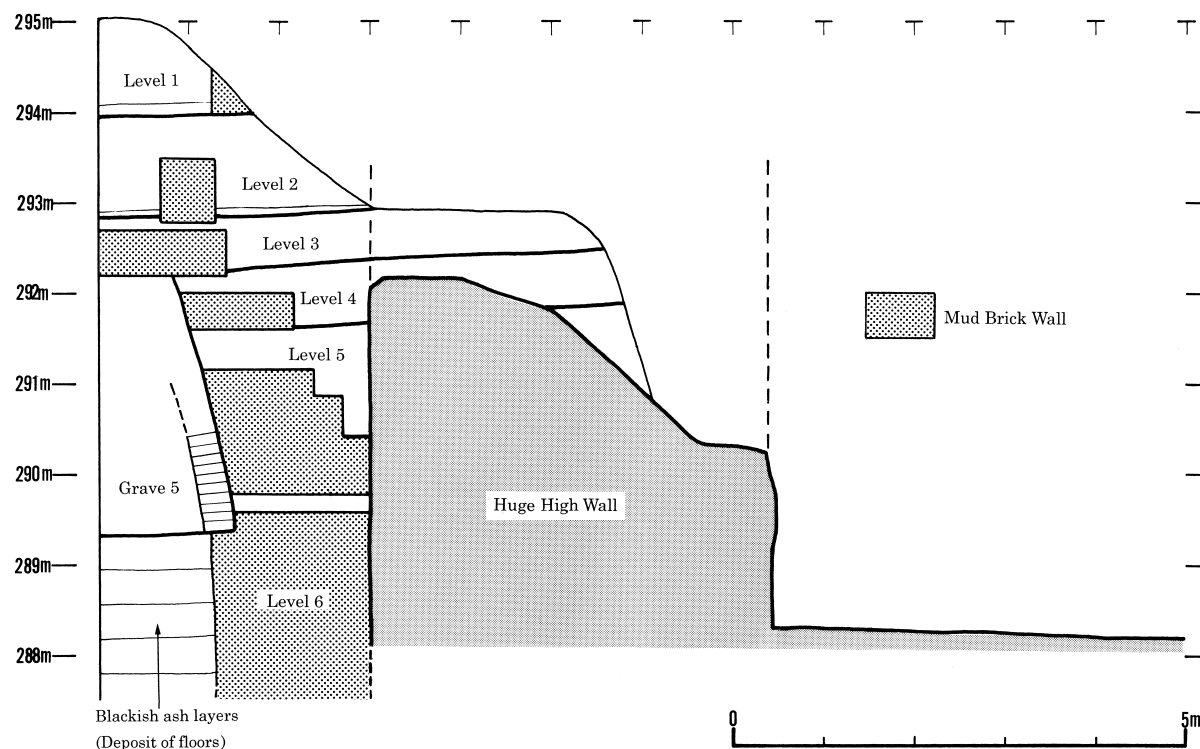


Fig. 5 North-south section of Trench 4 (A-A')

## 2-1. Trench 4

This Trench aimed to clarify the characteristics and stratigraphy of a huge wall that was exposed by erosion. A total of seven building levels were identified. The following is a brief description of each level from the upper to the lower levels (Figs. 4 and 5).

### Level 1: Neo-Assyrian period

Part of mud-brick wall was found at the north-east corner of the Trench. Typical Neo-Assyrian pottery, which resembles to those from Nimrud [Oates 1959], was unearthed from the floor level that associates the wall (Fig. 9).

### Level 2: Neo-Assyrian period

Part of mud-brick walls were identified in the north and the east sections of the Trench. The detail context of these walls is unknown. Two jar urns for infants (Graves 1 and 2) dated to the Neo-Assyrian period (Pl. 27) were unearthed. Grave 2 is a small jar urn of 30 cm long and was found right below Grave 1.

### Level 3: Middle Assyrian period

A mud-brick wall, which runs in the east-west direction and measured ca. 1.4 m in thickness and 0.5 m in remaining height, was found (Pl. 8). The size of the mud-brick for the wall measured  $38 \times 38 \times 10$  cm. The mud-bricks had creamy white colour. Some Middle Assyrian potsherds were unearthed from the floor levels associated with the wall.

### Level 4: Middle Assyrian period

A mud-brick wall was found, but due to a small size of exposed area, the plan of the wall was unknown (Pl. 8). The wall was built from hard mud-bricks with reddish brown colour.

**Level 5:** Middle Assyrian period

Below this Level, excavation was carried out only in the cliff section. Part of a mud-brick wall was identified, but because of a narrow excavated space, its detail is unclear. It seems that the feature of mud-bricks closely resembles to those of Level 8 in Trenches I, II and III. Therefore, we believed that this level corresponds to Level 8 of the above trenches.

**Level 6:** Middle Assyrian period

A mud-brick wall was identified in the cliff section. This wall is connected with the northern face of a huge high wall. This may imply that the huge high wall was continuously used when the wall found in the cliff section was in use. The mud-bricks used in this wall were the same type of those used in the wall of Level 5. This suggests that there was little time lag between Levels 5 and 6.

**Level 7:** Middle Assyrian period

A huge high wall, which measured ca. 4.2 m wide and 4 m in remaining height and running in the south-north direction, was uncovered in this Trench (Pls. 2b, 9). The most remarkable discovery in this level was that the north-east corner of this huge high wall was confirmed (Pl. 10). This discovery suggests that the east-west width of this wall measured over 4 m. The size of mud-bricks used for the huge high wall was  $35 \times 35 \times 10$  cm. The mud-bricks had very fine and densely packed texture with light brown colour. Since similar mud-bricks can be observed at the huge wall 1 in Level 9a of Trench III, it seems that the huge high wall of Level 7 corresponds to the above wall in Trench III.

The function of the huge high wall is not certain. Although floor levels which associated with the huge high wall were not reached during the excavation, a thick black ash layer of over 1 m in thickness was identified. This ash layer was located directly below the baked-brick walls of Grave 5 (see below). This ash layer is probably formed by an accumulation of floors which corresponds to the huge high wall. The ash layer extends more than 3 m to the north and it is most probable that the layer was caused by the accumulation of floors at a gate structure. If this is confirmed, then the huge high wall might have been functioned as a gate of the Middle Assyrian settlement at Tell Taban.

**Grave 5:** Middle Assyrian period.

This grave was found exposed at the edge of the cliff. It is constructed from baked -bricks and its entrance, which is now disappeared by erosion, was probably located to the south (Pl.11a). It probably had a vaulted ceiling which is now completely collapsed. The burial chamber measured 140 cm in width with a remaining length of 260 cm (Pl.11b). The remaining depth of the chamber was ca. 70 cm. The size of bricks was  $36 \times 36 \times 6$  cm (Pl. 12). Structure of the grave was neatly constructed by bricks which resembles to those found in Assur. The structure suggested that the owner to be a noble person with luxurious burial goods. However, no finds were unearthed apart from a few fragments of bones, suggesting that the grave may have plundered sometime in the past. We have confirmed that the grave was dug into a level below the mud-brick wall in Level 3, and some Middle Assyrian pottery were unearthed from the pit for construction of the grave.

**2-2. Trench 5**

Trench 5 was set up in the area where a part of baked-brick pavement was exposed at the edge of the cliff. Three building levels were identified. Following is a brief description of each level from the upper to the lower levels.



### Level 1: Neo-Assyrian period

Several floor levels and two jar urns for infants (Graves 3 and 4) were unearthed (Pls. 28a,b, 29a). Grave 3 contained some remarkable finds including various beads and a fragment of cylinder seal (Pl. 30a,b).

### Level 2: Middle Assyrian period

After the abandonment of the room and the brick pavement of Level 3 (see below), an entrance or a passage-like mud-brick structure with a vaulted ceiling was constructed in this level (Figs. 6 and 8; Pls. 13, 14, 15a). This mud-brick structure runs in the east-west direction, and measured ca. 120 cm wide and 170 cm in remaining height. The floor of this mud-brick structure was confirmed on the debris of a collapsed wall of Room 1 of Level 3. The greenish grey soil which contained with a number of potsherds was accumulated on the floor. Semi-circular mud-bricks were piled up at the west end of the mud-brick structure. It is apparent that this part was a entrance of the structure. At the southern side of the structure, a reinforcement of the wall was identified (Pls. 15a, 18a). This mud-brick structure is supposed to has constructed as a gateway of public building, such as a palace. The size of the mud-bricks measured  $38 \times 38 \times 10$  cm, and the mud-bricks mostly had black brown colour. These mud-bricks resemble to those from Level 5 in Trenches I, II and III. It is thus probable that this level corresponds to the above Level 5 and Level 3 in Trench 4.

### Level 3: Middle Assyrian period

In this level, a room (Room 1) constructed from baked and sun-dried mud-bricks was partly unearthed. The room measured ca. 1.2 m in width and ca. 2 m in length. The entrance of the room, which was revealed in the section of the cliff, had a width of ca. 60 cm (Fig. 7, Pl. 26b). The size of a mud-brick was  $36 \times 36 \times 10$  cm. It had light brown colour with high moisture content. The west wall of Room 1 had a height of 1.6 m, though its original height was unknown (Pl. 15a). The outer surface of the wall has been eroded by water. The southern part of the west wall had an entrance with a vaulted ceiling. The entrance probably measured ca. 1 m in height and ca. 75 cm in width (Pl. 15). One baked tile ( $38 \times 48 \times 5$  cm) was preserved on the floor near the entrance (Pls. 15b,

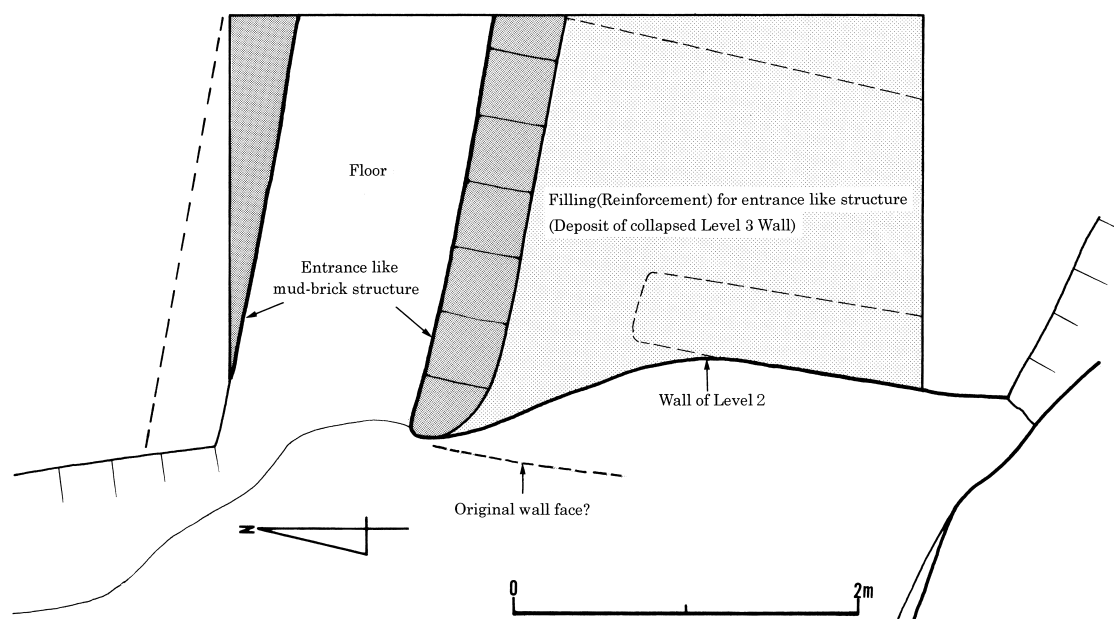


Fig. 6 Plan of Level 2 in Trench 5

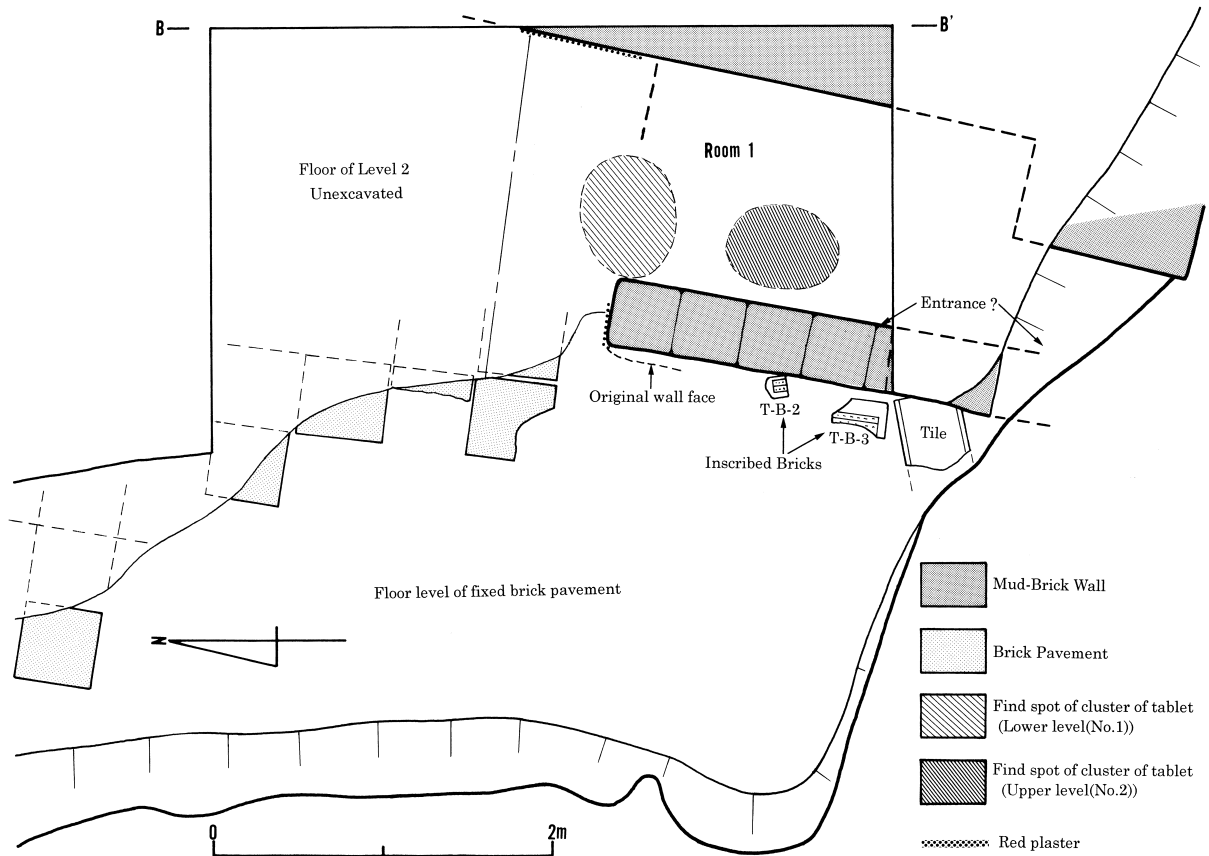


Fig. 7 Plan of Level 3 in Trench 5

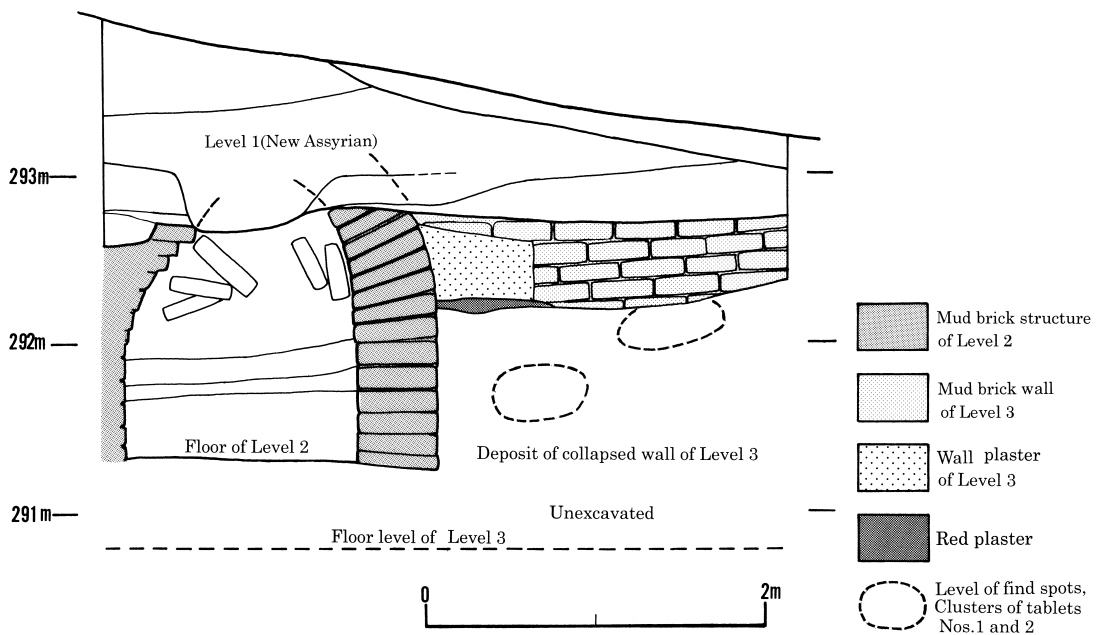


Fig. 8 North-south section of Trench 5 (B-B')

16b). Interestingly, remains of red paint were identified on the outer surface of the north and east walls which were covered by plaster (Pl. 4). This may be the remnants of the mural paintings.

The most notable discovery of this season derived from Room 1. Two clusters of *Middle Assyrian clay tablets* were unearthed from the upper and lower layers, respectively (Figs. 7, 8). The size of each cluster measured ca.  $60 \times 40 \times 30$  cm. Each cluster consists of tightly packed clay tablets (Pls. 3a, 21, 22, 24a).

The clay tablet cluster from the lower layer was discovered after removing the reinforcement wall near the entrance in Level 2 (Pl. 18a). The cluster was located near the north wall of Room 1 and was probably stored in a niche-like structure of ca. 1 m in width and ca. 60–70 cm in height (Pls. 18b, 19a). Remain of vaulted ceiling was found over the cluster. This may suggest that either the niche-like structure or Room 1 itself had a vaulted ceiling. Since the cluster of clay tablets was found as a block, we assumed that it was stored in a sack which is now decayed. Remains of carbonized reeds were found near the cluster of clay tablets accompanied by one clay tablet and a bronze pin (Pl. 20a). The clay tablets were encrusted with hard soil derived from the debris of mud-brick walls. The majority of tablets had hard fabric with blackish colour (Pl. 3a). The preservation status of clay tablets was relatively good.

The clay tablet cluster from the upper layer was discovered ca. 1.3 m above the floor level of Room 1 and was laying at a horizontal condition (Fig. 8, Pls. 23, 24). This may suggest that the tablets were stored in a sack or a basket and placed on a shelf. The tablets from the upper layer had soft fabric probably due to rainwater during the winter.

The precise number of clay tablets from the above two clusters are still unknown, but most of them are small in size (less than ca.  $7 \times 7$  cm) and probably contained more than 100 pieces. Since the large part of Room 1 is still unexcavated (Pl. 25), the storage method of tablets and the structure of the room are unknown. Among the tablets we have identified correspondences that were placed in envelopes. This may imply that Room 1 was probably an archive for storing administrative documents of the royal palace.

The floor outside Room 1 was paved with backed bricks (Pl. 16a). The brick pavement often associate with a courtyard-like space. The size of the bricks measured  $49\sim 50 \times 49\sim 50 \times 5.5\sim 6$  cm. The features of these bricks are resemble to those of Level 9b in Trenches I, II and III. It is apparent that the brick pavement extended to an area between the western wall of Room 1 and edge of the cliff.

In addition, two inscribed baked bricks were found on the floor level of the brick pavement outside the west wall of Room 1 (Fig. 7, Pl. 17). The inscriptions mentioned that the palace of *Etel-pî-Adad*, king of *Tabetu* in the middle of 12<sup>th</sup> century BC [Maul 2005: 49, 50]. These inscribed backed bricks may have corresponded with the courtyard or been embedded inside the west wall of Room 1. This may be additional evidence that Room 1 and the courtyard were part of the palace (or public) complex.

We assume that the structures uncovered in Level 3 of Trench 5 are part of the Middle Assyrian palace at Tell Taban.

### 3. Concluding remarks

The 2005 season at Tell Taban was a very short field season. However, it was the most fruitful season to date, due to the discovery of the cache of Middle Assyrian clay tablets and revealing part of the palace structure (see above). The inscribed baked-bricks found in Level 3 of Trench 5 suggest a possibility that the palace complex may belong to the reign of King *Etel-pî-Adad*. The clay tablets most certainly include historically important political correspondences that throw light on the “Dark Age” of the second millennium BCE in the Syrian Jazirah and North Mesopotamia.

Since the floor level of Room 1 is not reached, the overall picture of the archive is not certain. We are planning to continue our excavations in Trench 5 in the next field season, expecting to find

a large number of clay tablets as well as mural paintings.

### Acknowledgements

The 2005 season at Tell Taban was possible by the generous support and encouragement from the DGAM, Damascus. I would like to thank especially Dr. Bassam Jammous, Director General, DGAM and Dr. Michel al-Maqdisi, Director of Excavation, DGAM for their unfailing support. I would also like to thank Mr. Abdul Masih Bagdoo, Director of the Department of Antiquities and Museums in Hassake, who provide us with necessary needs to our excavations.

Shin Nishiyama (National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo) helped in proofreading the draft of this report. I thank them both for their cooperation.

### Addendum

The two clusters of clay tablets were transported to the Conservation Lab of the Damascus National Museum where the conservation treatment of tablets is now underway. It was revealed that the two clusters contained approximately 150 clay tablets. At the moment, around 70 pieces are already cleaned and conserved. In the summer season of 2005, our epigraphic team carried out the decipherment of the clay tablets. The result will be published in the forthcoming volume of *Al-Rāfidān*.

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### Catalogue of Pottery Specimens (Figs.9 and 10)

#### (in Fig.9)

1. Rim to body of beaker(from Level 1 in Trench 5): creamy(2.5YR9/3) outer and inner surfaces and pinkish buff(2.5YR6/6) core; sparse chalky particles inclusions; very fine fabric; fine grooves on the shoulder; supposed rim diam. 10.8cm; 1/3 of the rim and 1/10 of the body extant.
2. Nipple base sherd(from Level 2 in Trench 4): creamy(slip)(2.5YR9/2) outer and inner surfaces; pinkish buff(2.5YR7/6) core; very fine sand inclusions; fine fabric; wet-smoothed on the outer surface after scraping; nipple part made by scraping; extant height 2.3cm; bottom complete.
3. Rim to body of bowl(from Level 2 in Trench 5): greenish white(7.5Y8/2) outer and inner surfaces and core; sparse very fine sand and a little vegetable(1-5mm long) inclusions; fine fabric; wet-smoothed on the lower part of body of the outer surface after scraping; supposed rim diam. 16cm; 1/6 extant.
4. Rim to body of bowl(from Level 2 in Trench 4): creamy(slip)(2.5Y8/2) outer and inner surfaces; pinkish buff(2.5YR7/4) core; sparse very fine sand and a little vegetable(1-3mm long) inclusions; fine fabric; wet-smoothed on the lower part of body of the outer surface after scraping; supposed rim diam. 16cm; 1/5 extant.
5. Rim to body of tripod bowl(from Level 2 in Trench 4): creamy(slip)(2.5Y9/2) outer and inner surfaces; pinkish buff(2.5YR6/6) core; sparse very fine sand and vegetable(1-2mm long) inclusions; fine fabric; trace of burnishing remained on the outer and inner surfaces; supposed rim diam. 16cm; one foot remained; 1/4 extant.
6. Rim to base of ring-base bowl(from Level 2 in Trench 5): creamy(slip)(2.5Y9/2) outer and inner surfaces; pinkish or reddish buff(2.5YR6/6) core; sparse very fine sand and a little vegetable(1-3mm long) inclusions; fine fabric; wet-smoothed on the lower part of body of the outer surface after scraping; lack of the ring-base; supposed rim diam. 26cm; 1/4 extant.
7. Rim to base of bowl(from Level 2 in Trench 5): greenish white(5Y9/2) outer and inner surfaces and core; sparse chalky particles, coarse sand and a medium amount of vegetable(1-5mm long) inclusions; pallet-cut on the bottom; supposed rim diam.10cm; 1/8 of the rim and 1/4 of the body and 1/6 of the base extant.
8. Rim to base of bowl(from deposit of pit of Grave 5 in Trench 4): greenish creamy white(5Y9/2) outer and inner surfaces; reddish buff(5YR7/4) core; sparse fine sand and a medium amount of vegetable(1-3mm long) inclusions; pallet-cut on the bottom; supposed rim diam. 9.5cm; 1/3 of the rim and 1/2 of the body to base extant.
9. Rim to body of bowl(from deposit of pit of Grave 5 in Trench 4): greenish white(5Y9/2) outer and inner surfaces and core; sparse vegetable(1-3mm long) inclusions; supposed rim diam. 14cm; 1/5 extant.
10. Rim to base of bowl(from deposit of pit of Grave 5 in Trench 4): creamy white(slip)(5Y9/2) outer and inner surfaces; light pinkish buff(2.5YR6/6) core; medium amount of vegetable(1-3mm long) inclusions; pallet-cut on the bottom; rim diam. 16cm; 1/2 of rim to base extant.
11. Rim to body of bowl(from Level 5 in Trench 4): creamy white(2.5Y8/3) outer and inner surfaces; greenish(10Y8/2) core; sparse vegetable(1-3mm long) inclusions; supposed rim diam. 20cm; 1/5 extant.
12. Rim to body of bowl(from Level 3 in Trench 4): creamy white(10Y9/2) outer and inner surfaces; buff(5YR7/6) core; sparse fine sand and a medium amount of vegetable(1-5mm long) inclusions; scraped on the lower part of body of the outer surface; supposed rim diam. 20cm; 1/6 extant.
13. Rim to body of bowl(from Level 3 in Trench 4): creamy buff(7.5YR8/4) outer and inner surfaces and core; sparse fine sand and a medium amount of vegetable(1-3mm long) inclusions; wet-smoothed on the lower part of body of the outer surface after scraping; supposed rim diam. 30cm; 1/6 extant.

#### (in Fig.10)

14. Rim of beaker(from Level 2 in Trench 5): greenish white(5Y9/2) outer and inner surfaces and core; sparse very fine sand and vegetable(1-2mm long) inclusions; supposed rim diam. 6.3cm; 1/4 extant.
15. Nipple base sherd(from Level 2 in Trench 5): pinkish cream(5YR7/4) outer and inner surfaces; pinkish buff(2.5YR7/4) core; no visible inclusions; fine fabric; nipple part made by scraping; extant height 2.6cm; bottom complete.
16. Nipple base sherd(from Level 2 in Trench 5): creamy(slip)(2.5Y9/2) outer surface; reddish buff(7.5YR7/6) inner surface and core; sparse very fine sand inclusions; fine fabric; nipple part made by scraping; extant height 2.5cm; bottom complete.
17. Nipple base sherd(from Level 2 in Trench 5): creamy(slip)(2.5Y9/2) outer and inner surface; pinkish buff(5YR7/6) core; sparse fine sand inclusions; fine fabric; nipple part made by scraping; extant height 5cm; 1/3 of the base extant; bottom complete.
18. Nipple base sherd(from Level 3 in Trench 4): creamy(slip)(5Y9/2) outer and inner surface; reddish buff(7.5YR7/6)

- core; sparse fine sand and vegetable(1-3mm long) inclusions; nipple part made by scraping; extant height 2.5cm; 1/3 of the base and 1/2 of the bottom extant.
19. Nipple base sherd(from Level 2 in Trench 5): creamy(2.5Y9/2) outer surface; pinkish cream(7.5YR8/4) inner surface; pinkish buff(5YR8/2) core; sparse fine sand, coarse chalky particles and a medium amount of vegetable(1-5mm long) inclusions; scraped on the outer surface; nipple part made by scraping; extant height 2.5cm; 2/3 of the base and nipple part extant; bottom complete.
  20. Rim of beaker(from Level 4 in Trench 4): greenish cream(10Y9/2) outer and inner surfaces and core; sparse fine sand and vegetable(1-2mm long) inclusions; supposed rim diam. 7.5cm; 1/5 extant.
  21. Body to base of beaker(from Level 5 in Trench 4): greenish white(7.5Y8/2) outer and inner surfaces and core; sparse very fine sand inclusions; lack of the nipple base; extant height 7.8cm; 1/2 of the body extant; bottom complete.
  22. Nipple base sherd(from Level 5 in Trench 4): creamy(5Y9/2) outer and inner surfaces; pinkish buff(5YR7/4) core; sparse very fine sand and chalky particles inclusions; nipple part made by sticking; extant height 4.5cm; 2/3 of the body extant; bottom complete.
  23. Nipple base sherd(from Level 2 in Trench 5): creamy white(10Y9/2) outer surface; buff(2.5Y8/4) inner surface; pinkish buff(7.5YR7/6) core; sparse very fine sand, chalky particles and vegetable(1mm long) inclusions; wet-smoothed on outer surface after scraping; nipple part made by sticking; extant height 4.5cm; 2/3 of the body extant; bottom complete.
  24. Footed base sherd of goblet(from Level 5 in Trench 4): dark cream(2.5Y8/2) outer and inner surfaces; pinkish buff(2.5YR7/4) core; large amount of very fine sand and chalky particles inclusions; foot made by sticking; extant height 3.2cm; bottom complete.
  25. Footed base sherd of goblet(from Level 3 in Trench 4): creamy(10Y9/2) outer and inner surfaces; buff(7.5YR7/4) core; sparse very fine sand and chalky particles inclusions; foot made by sticking; extant height 3.2cm; 1/2 of the body and 3/4 of the foot extant; bottom complete.
  26. Footed base sherd of goblet(from Level 5 in Trench 4): reddish buff(2.5YR7/4) outer and inner surfaces; pinkish buff(2.5YR7/4) core; large amount of very fine sand and chalky particles inclusions; extant height 4cm; bottom complete.
  27. Footed base sherd of goblet(from Level 3 in Trench 5): greenish white(7.5Y8/2) outer and inner surfaces; dark pinkish buff(2.5YR7/4) core; large amount of very fine sand and sparse vegetable(1-2mm long) inclusions; foot made by sticking; extant height 3.9cm; bottom complete.
  28. Button base sherd(from Level 4 in Trench 4): dark buff(7.5YR7/4) outer and inner surfaces and core; sparse fine sand, chalky particles and a medium amount of vegetable(1-3mm long) inclusions; wet-smoothed on the outer surface of body after scraping; button part made by scraping; extant height 6.5cm; 2/3 of the body extant; bottom complete.
  29. Button base sherd(from deposit of the pit of Grave 5 in Trench 4): reddish buff(2.5YR5/7) outer and inner surfaces; blackish grey(N3) core; sparse fine sand and a medium amount of vegetable(1-3mm long) inclusions; wet-smoothed on the outer surface of body after scraping; button part made by scraping; extant height 5.7cm; bottom complete.
  30. Rim to shoulder of jar(from Level 2 in Trench 5): greenish cream(5Y9/2) outer and inner surfaces; pinkish buff(2.5YR7/4) core; medium amount of fine sand and a large amount of vegetable(1-5mm long) inclusions; defaced outer surface; supposed rim diam. 14cm; 1/5 extant.
  31. Rim to shoulder of jar(from Level 3 in Trench 5): reddish buff(2.5YR4/8) outer and inner surfaces; dark reddish buff(2.5YR5/4) core; sparse fine sand and a large amount of vegetable(1-5mm long) inclusions; carbide sticking on the outer and inner surfaces; supposed rim diam. 14.6cm; 1/5 of the rim and 1/4 of the shoulder extant.
  32. Rim to shoulder of jar(from deposit of the pit of Grave 5 in Trench 4): creamy(2.5Y8/3) outer surface; light buff(7.5YR7/6) inner surface; reddish buff(2.5YR6/6) core; large amount of fine sand and vegetable(1-5mm long) inclusions; supposed rim diam. 14cm; 2/3 extant.

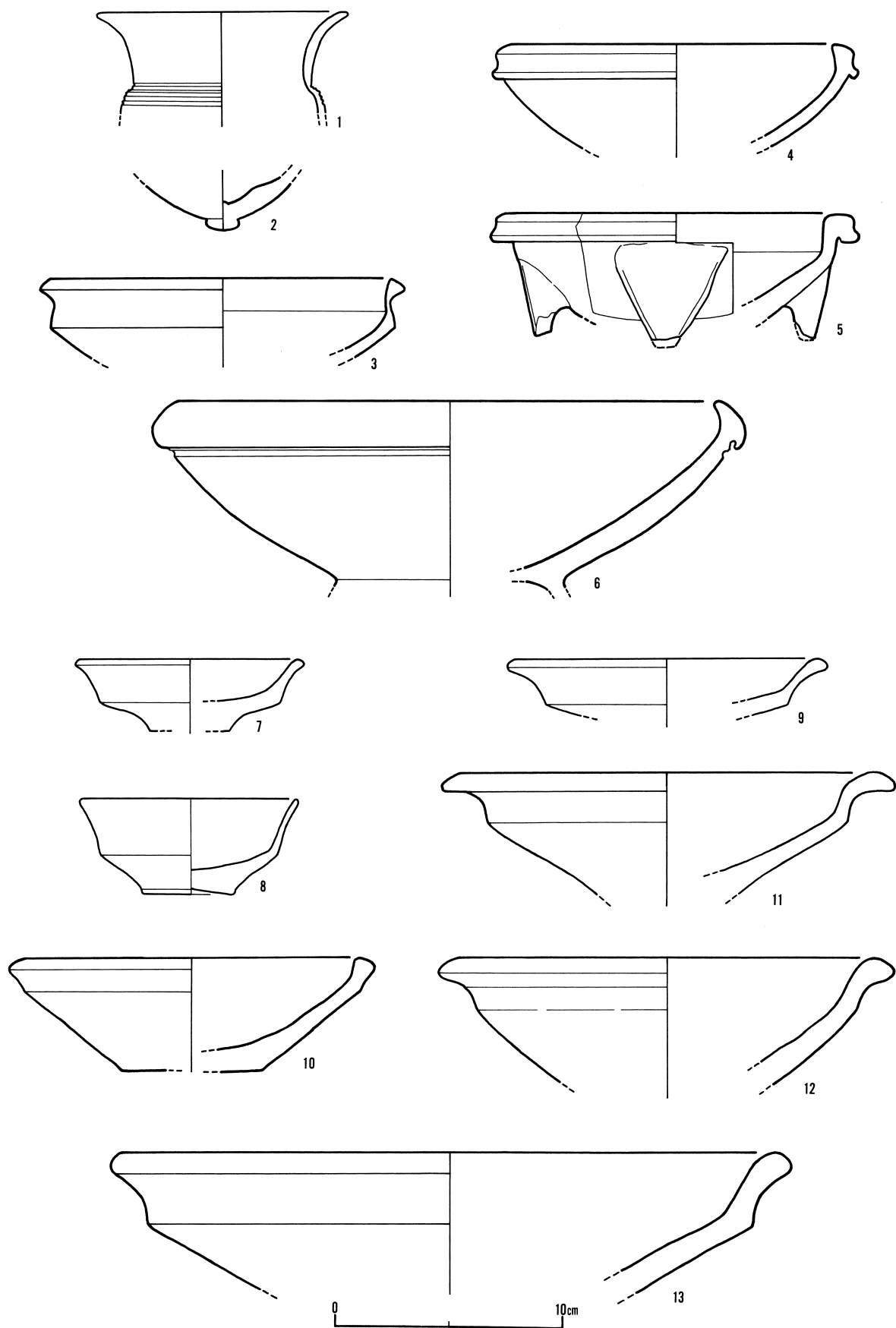


Fig. 9 Neo Assyrian pottery (nos. 1-6) and Middle Assyrian Pottery (Nos. 7-13) from Trenches 4 and 5

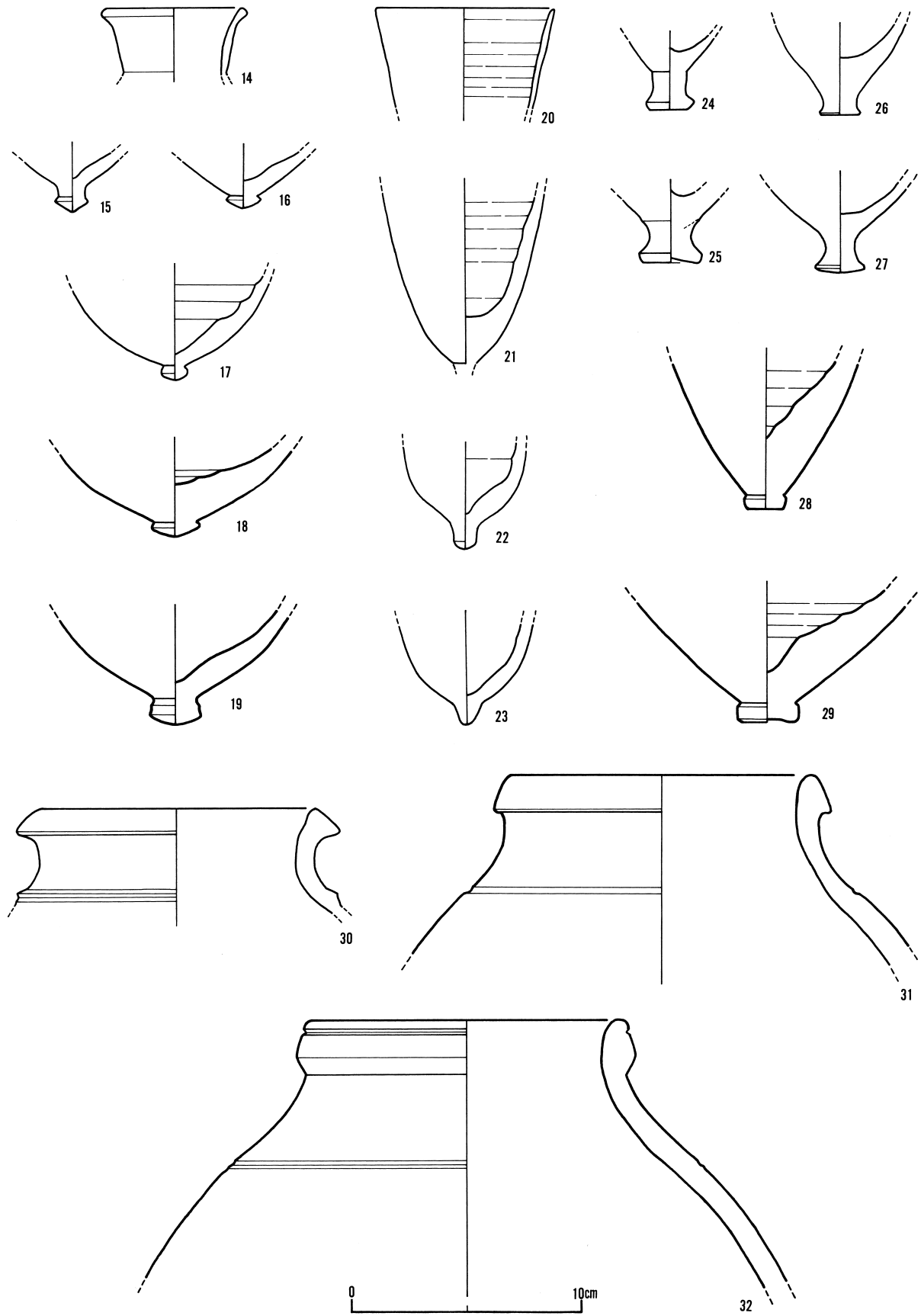


Fig. 10 Middle Assyrian Pottery from Trenches 4 and 5



**Pl. 1**



a. Tell Taban seen from the west, after the 2005 Feb. excavation



b. Tell Taban seen from the east, after the 2005 Feb. excavation



a. Trenches 4 and 5, after excavation, from west



b. Huge high wall in Trench 4

**Pl. 3**



a. Cluster of clay tablets (No.1) from Room 1 in Trench 5



b. Cluster of clay tablets (No.2) from Room 1 in Trench 5



a. Wall face of the Level 3 (north-south section) in Trench 5



b. Closer view of red paint on the wall face of the Level 3 in Trench 5

**Pl. 5**



a. Tell Taban seen from the north, before the 2005 excavation



b. Tell Taban seen from the south, before the 2005 excavation



c. Tell Taban seen from the west, before the 2005 excavation



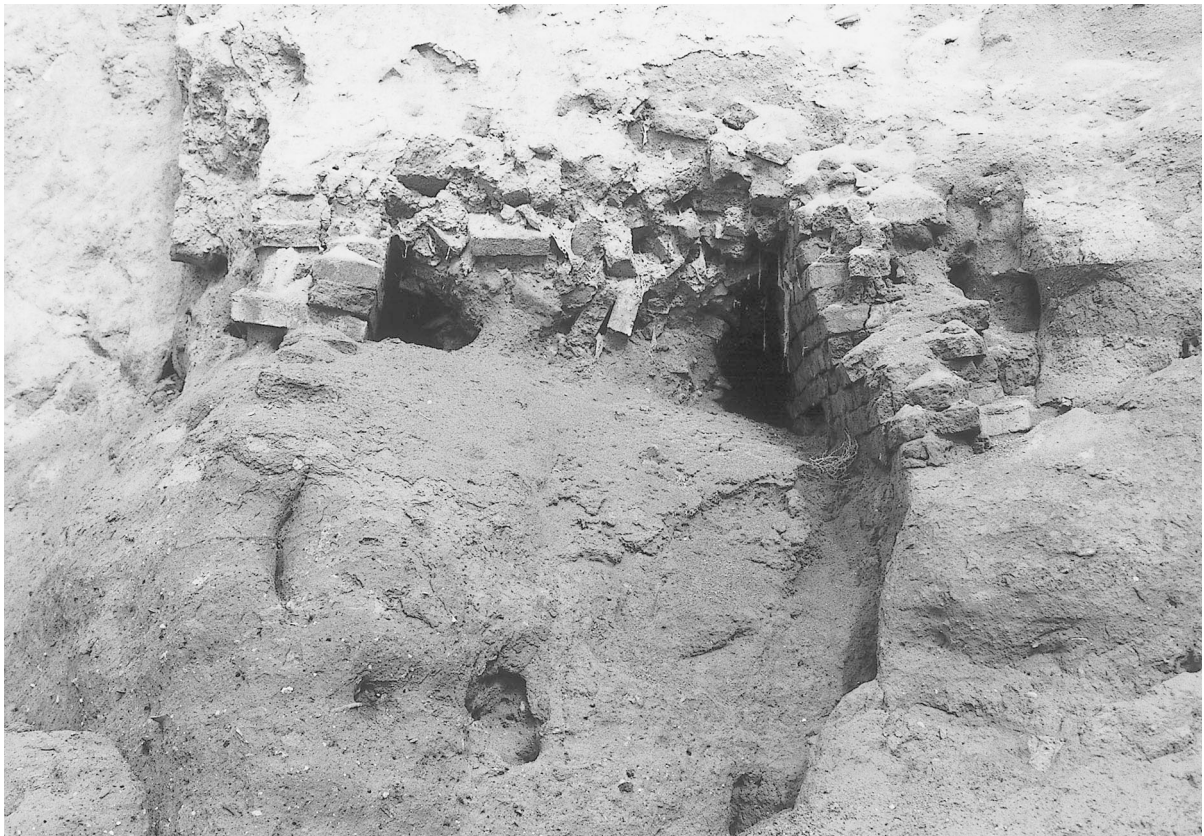
a. Trench 4 before excavation, huge wall and Grave 5 exposed



b. Trench 4 before excavation, and exposed huge wall



a. Huge wall before excavation



b. Grave 5 before excavation



a. Mud-brick walls of Levels 3 and 4 in Trench 4, from the south



b. Trench 4 after excavation, from the east





a. Huge wall in Trench 4 after excavation, from the west



b. Huge wall in Trench 4 after excavation, from the south



a. Huge wall in Trench 4 after excavation, from the north



b. Huge wall in Trench 4 after excavation, from the east



a. Grave 5 in Trench 4 before excavation



b. Grave 5 in Trench 4 after excavation



a. Wall face of the west wall in Grave 5



b. Wall face of the north wall in Grave 5



a. Entrance-like structure of Level 2 in Trench 5, from the east



b. Entrance-like structure of Level 2 in Trench 5, from the north



a. Entrance-like structure of Level 2 in Trench 5, from the west



b. Entrance-like structure of Level 2 in Trench 5, from the west



a. Entrance-like structure of Level 2 and wall of Level 3 in Trench 5, from the west



b. Wall of Room 1 of Level 3 in Trench 5

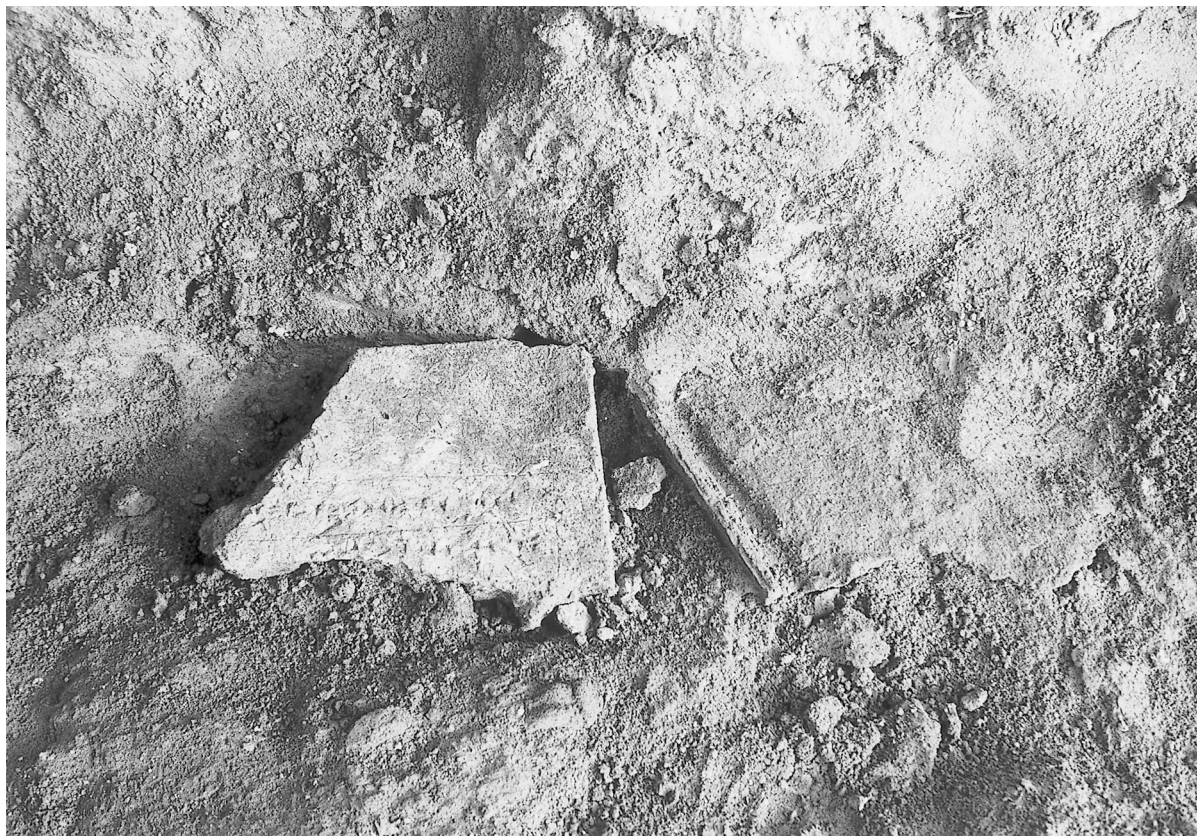


a. Backed brick pavement of Level 3 in Trench 5



b. Backed Tile from Level 3 in Trench 5





a. Inscribed brick from Level 3 in Trench 5



b. Inscribed brick from Level 3 in Trench 5



a. Wall face of entrance-like structure of Level 2 and wall of Level 3 in Trench 5



b. Cluster of clay tablets (lower level (No.1)) from Room 1 of Level 3 in Trench 5



a. Cluster of clay tablets (lower level (No.1)) from Room 1 of Level 3 in Trench 5



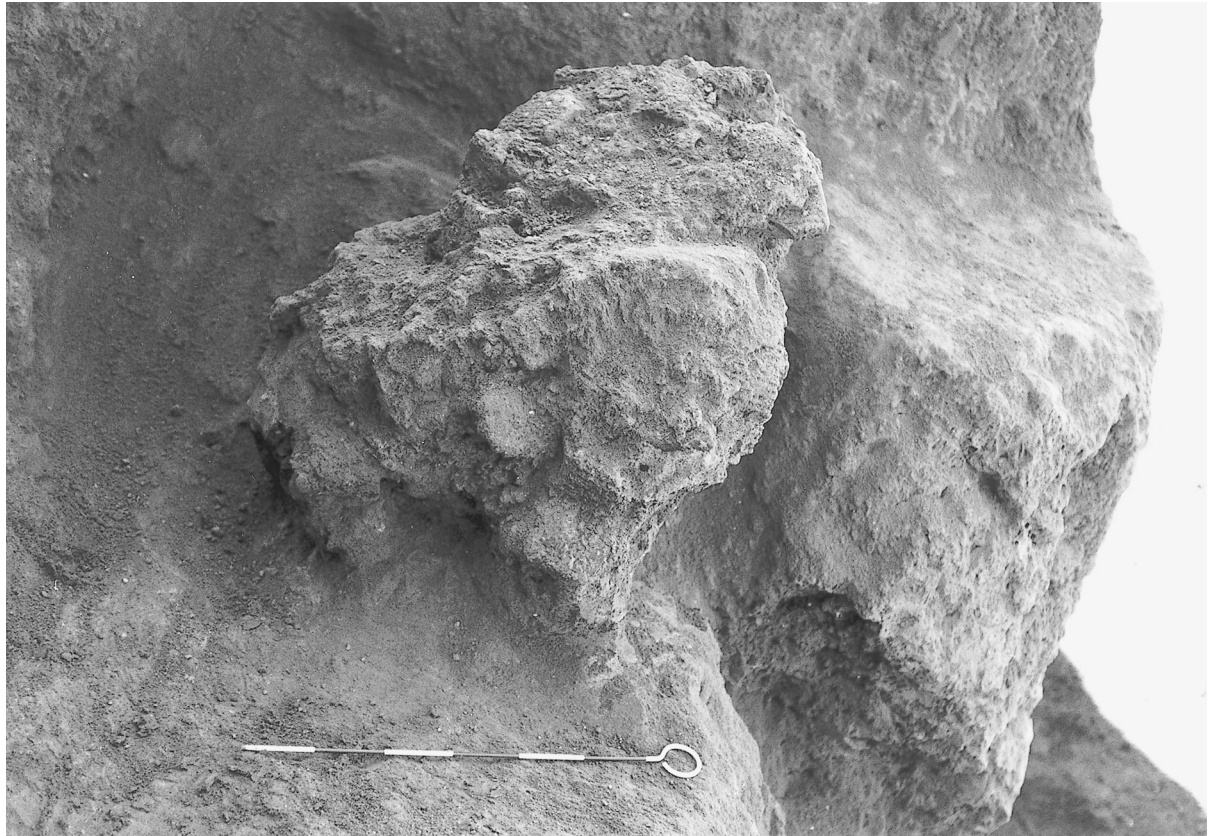
b. Closer view of clay tablet



a. Tablet and remains of carbonized reed, cluster of clay tablets (lower level (No.1))



b. Cluster of clay tablets (lower level (No.1)) from Room 1 of Level 3 in Trench 5, from the north



a. Cluster of clay tablets (lower level (No.1)) from Room 1 of Level 3



b. Cluster of clay tablets (lower level (No.1)) from Room 1 of Level 3



a. Closer view of cluster of clay tablets (lower level (No.1)) from Room 1 of Level 3



b. Closer view of cluster of clay tablets (lower level (No.1)) from Room 1 of Level 3



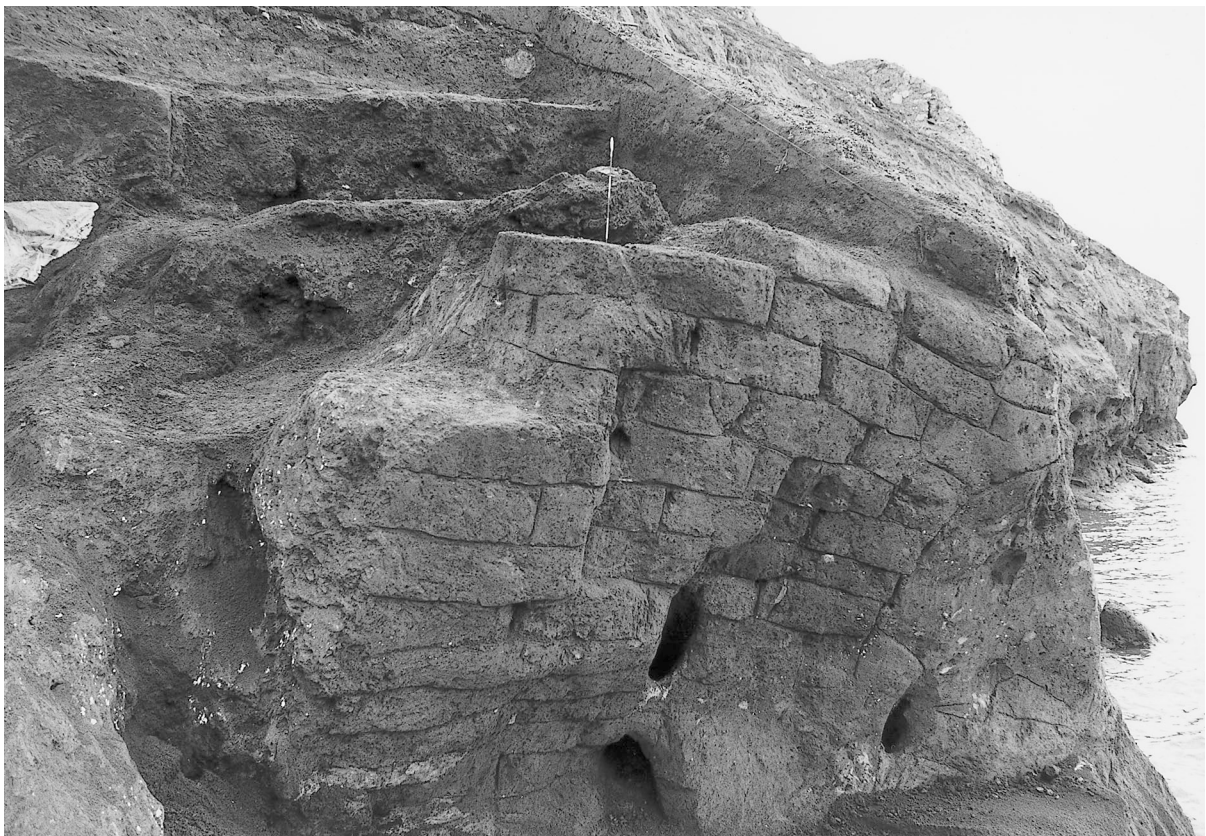
a. Cluster of clay tablets (upper level (No.2)) from Room 1 of Level 3 in Trench 5, from the east



b. Cluster of clay tablets (upper level (No.2)) from Room 1 of Level 3 in Trench 5, from the north



a. Closer view of cluster of clay tablets (upper level (No.2)) from Room 1 of Level 3



b. Cluster of clay tablets (upper level (No.2)) from Room 1 of Level 3 in Trench 5, from the west





a. Trench 5 after excavation (after took up clusters of clay tablets)



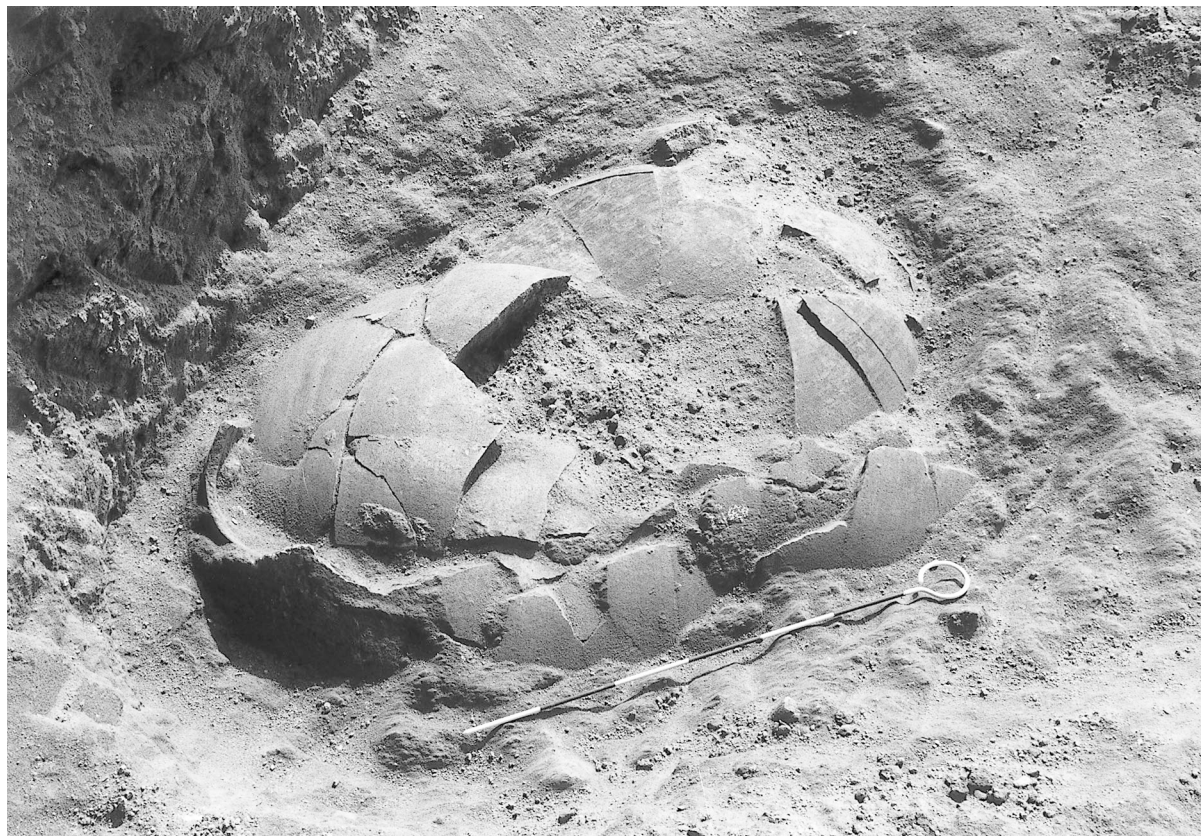
b. Trench 5 after excavation, from the east



a. Trench 5 after excavation, from the west



b. Entrance of the Room 1 in Trench 5, from the south



a. Grave 1 in Trench 4 (Neo Assyrian)



b. Infant burial in Grave 1



a. Grave 4 in Trench 5 (Neo Assyrian)



b. Infant burial in Grave 4



a. Grave 3 in Trench 5 (Neo Assyrian)



b. Grave 3 in Trench 5



a. Cylinder seal from Grave 3



b. Beads from Grave 3

## THE DATE OF THE BEGINNING OF Khabur WARE PERIOD 3: EVIDENCE FROM THE PALACE OF QARNI-LIM AT TELL LEILAN

Hiromichi OGUCHI\*

In 1997 the present writer proposed that the sequence of Khabur ware, spanning in time from *ca.* 1900 B.C. to *ca.* 1400 B.C. or possibly into the 14th century B.C. in particular within the upper Khabur basin of Syria<sup>1)</sup>, should be subdivided into four phases, *i.e.*, Khabur Ware Periods 1–4 in the present writer’s terms [Oguchi 1997: p.196ff.]. When proposing this, the present writer also suggested a date of *ca.* 1700 B.C. for the beginning of the third phase of the Khabur ware sequence (*i.e.* Khabur Ware Period 3) in consideration of circumstantial evidence from several sites producing Khabur ware [Oguchi 1997: p.205, for the date of the end of Khabur Ware Period 2]. The basis for the subdivision for Khabur Ware Period 3 lay in the view that one of the ceramic indicators of the third phase might be Khabur ware with distinctive bird decoration, differentiated from such earlier bird decoration as occurs on Khabur ware from stratum 4 at Tell Billa<sup>2)</sup> (Fig.1). The later decoration, in dark paint on a light ground, is composed of stylized birds, often arranged in a running frieze, each of which is drawn in a distinctive style with a round head, a dotted eye, a streamline back and a drooping tail; and they, often combined with dark-painted geometric patterns, occur often on straight/concave-sided beaker-type vessels (also called “grain measures”)<sup>3)</sup>, occasionally on jars, pots, bowls, plates and stands<sup>4)</sup>, and rarely on cylindrical-shaped goblets (“open-form goblets”)<sup>5)</sup>. It goes without saying that the occurrence of such distinctive bird motifs on these pottery vessels in dark paint characteristic of Khabur ware provides the basis for Helene J. Kantor’s conceptualizing them as “transitional Khabur-Mitannian” ware<sup>6)</sup> and for Joan Oates’s view on “late” Khabur ware [see Oguchi 2000: pp.107–109 and p.115].

However, when the present writer suggested the date for the beginning of Khabur Ware Period

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- 1) The results of the excavations at Tell Brak (ancient Nagar/Nawar) in area HH that were conducted by the late David Oates suggest that not only three types of so-called “*jūngere*” Khabur ware but also the so-called “grain measure” type of Khabur ware and some Khabur ware jar, pot and bowl types are likely to have continued in use till some time in the 14th century B.C., before the final stage of occupation of Mitanni in the upper Khabur basin, which is, needless to say, supported by the evidence of stratified pottery in area HH at the site itself, being able to be chronologically connected, if partly and not directly, with datable textural evidence from the Mitanni palace of the site [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: pp.1–37 and pp.61–79]. In addition to this, we must keep it in mind that the terminal date of Khabur ware naturally varies from site to site, and we should further bear it in mind that at sites except in the upper Khabur basin, Mitannian occupation was replaced by Middle Assyrian occupation at dates earlier than in the upper Khabur basin, *i.e.*, the core area of the Mitanni kingdom. Moreover, these lead us to the recognition that an approximate date of *ca.* 1400 B.C. for the lower date of Khabur ware may be applicable to sites except in the upper Khabur basin, while such a date is inapplicable to sites in the upper Khabur basin, where Khabur ware disappears before the final stage of occupation of Mitanni, *i.e.*, in the 14th century B.C. Thus the final phase of Khabur ware in the upper Khabur basin is now to be added to the present writer’s phasing of the sequence of Khabur ware as Khabur Ware Period 4b; and his former Khabur Ware Period 4 (*ca.* 1550–1400 B.C.) is now described as Khabur Ware Period 4a.
- 2) See and *cf.* Speiser 1933: Pl.LXXII, for the earlier bird decoration at Tell Billa. In addition, a Khabur ware jar decorated with birds drawn in earlier style between geometric motifs, comparable rather with Khabur ware examples from Dinkha Tepe, a site outside of the main distribution zone of Khabur ware, has been found at the northern extreme slope of Tell Jigan, a site in the Eski Mosul Dam Salvage Project area of Iraq [see Gesuato 1993: Pl.LXVIII:20].
- 3) For example, see Faivre 1992: Fig.24:13.
- 4) For example, see Speiser 1933: Pl.LXXIII, Mallowan 1946: Fig.11:6, and Faivre 1992: Fig.12:5 and Fig.14:8.
- 5) For example, see Mallowan 1946: Fig.11:10.
- 6) For her theory, see Kantor 1958: p.21ff.

Later distinctive bird (and animal) motifs



Earlier bird (and possibly animal) motifs

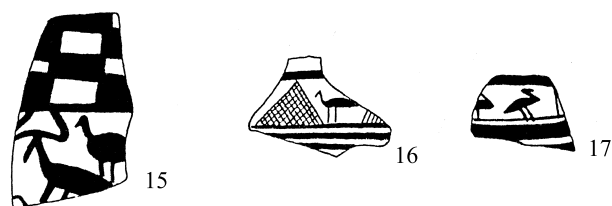


Fig. 1 Khabur ware decorated with bird motifs (scale 1:5).

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Mallowan 1947: Pl.LXXVIII:5. Tell Brak.     | 10. Mallowan 1947: Pl.LXXVII:1. Tell Brak.                         |
| 2. Mallowan 1947: Pl.LXXVIII:9. Tell Brak.     | 11. Weiss 1985a: Ill. on p.13. Tell Leilan.                        |
| 3. Mallowan 1947: Pl.LXXVIII:8. Tell Brak.     | 12. Weiss 1985a: Ill. on p.13. Tell Leilan.                        |
| 4. Mallowan 1947: Pl.LXXVIII:11. Tell Brak.    | 13. Faivre 1992: Fig.24:13. Tell Mohammed Diyab.                   |
| 5. Mallowan 1947: Pl.LXXVIII:6. Tell Brak.     | 14. Spanos 1990: Abb.12:1. Tell Hamad Agha as-Saghir.              |
| 6. Mallowan 1946: Fig.11:6. Tell Jidle.        | 15. Hrouda 1957: Taf.14:11. (=Speiser 1933: Pl.LXXII). Tell Billa. |
| 7. Mallowan 1946: Fig.11:10. Tell Jidle.       | 16. Hrouda 1957: Taf.14:11. (=Speiser 1933: Pl.LXXII). Tell Billa. |
| 8. Faivre 1992: Fig.12:5. Tell Mohammed Diyab. | 17. Hrouda 1957: Taf.14:11. (=Speiser 1933: Pl.LXXII). Tell Billa. |
| 9. Faivre 1992: Fig.14:8. Tell Mohammed Diyab. |  |



3 (= the end of Khabur Ware Period 2), some pieces of evidence from the acropolis-northeast excavations at Tell Leilan (ancient Šubat-Enlil/Šeḫna) still remained to be assessed, because the Leilan evidence alone was uninformative to an inference in dating, drawn on circumstantial evidence from several other sites.

By the time when the present writer had such a view, the Leilan acropolis-northeast excavations revealed three building levels (I–III) producing Khabur ware, cuneiform tablets and clay sealings with inscribed seal impressions, of which the second level (II) was marked by monumental temple architecture as a rebuilding of the original temple of the lowest level (III) [Weiss 1985a: pp.7–13; *idem* 1985b: pp.281–284]. Further, the Leilan level III temple was said to be directly comparable with the temple, probably constructed by Šamši-Adad I, of Tell al-Rimah (see note 41 below). At Leilan, epigraphic evidence from both of the II and III temples, on the other hand, enabled us to infer their approximate dates in construction and in use. In her Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Julia E. Frane well summarizes this point [1996]. In drawing an inference on epigraphic ground, she concludes that the construction of the Leilan level III temple is reasonably attributable to Šamši-Adad I, and may have been completed as early as a date of *ca.* 1810 B.C., and that with regard to the Leilan level II temple with later architectural modifications and presumably with a southern extension unfinished (which has so far been denoted as building level “X”), the construction can also be attributed to the same king, is likely to have begun late in the reign of the king, and may have been in use only for a short period of time in his reign [Frane 1996: pp.39–49 and p.58]. Furthermore, she points out that the ceramic material from the level II temple is later than the time of Šamši-Adad I on the ground of the epigraphic evidence, showing the final or later occupation phase of the level II temple, of inscribed seal impressions revealing the names of two later rulers at Šubat-Enlil, *i.e.*, Turum-natki and Ḫaya-abum<sup>7)</sup> [Frane 1996: p.58]. This is an important point which concerns the topic of this article, which will be again discussed below.

It was when the contents of a report on the Leilan acropolis-northeast excavations were taken into consideration that the present writer was confronted with a problem, with the result that evidence from Leilan, concerned with the topic of this article, remained to be assessed. The problem was that two examples small in size, with distinctive bird motifs, of the straight/concave-sided beaker (or “grain measure”) type as has been noted above were illustrated in Harvey Weiss’s 1985 report as those which had been recovered from the level III temple, considered contemporary with the period of *Karum* Ib at Kültepe (overlapping in the early part with the time of Šamši-Adad I) on epigraphic ground<sup>8)</sup>, or the level II temple, considered to have been “in use during the reign of Shamshi-Adad, and/or possibly shortly thereafter”<sup>9)</sup> [see 1985a: the illustration on p.13]. In this respect, the present writer, who hypothesized that such distinctive bird motifs as occurred on vessels could be regarded as characteristic of later Khabur ware ranging from Khabur Ware Period 3 (*ca.* 1700–1550 B.C.) to Khabur Ware Period 4<sup>10)</sup> (*ca.* 1550–1400 B.C.), wrote that their stratigraphic attribution to level II or III was questioned, and that if the beaker-type vessels with such bird motifs could be no doubt attributed to II or III, a different picture would emerge regarding the chronology for the sequence of Khabur ware [Oguchi 1997: p.203].

At Tell Leilan, however, an important discovery was made in 1991 in operation 7 in the northeastern quadrant of its lower town area, where the presence of a major mud-brick building, considered as a palace, was disclosed. The remains of the palace itself lay, marked as a single building level, below the modern surface of this area [see Pulhan 2000: Fig.6 on p.258]. The mud-brick building, called the “northern lower town palace” of Tell Leilan, revealed an archive of 643 cuneiform

7) See also Weiss 1985b: pp.283–284.

8) Weiss 1985b: the table on p.281; Whiting 1990: p.571 with n.97–100, for which see also Veenhof 1985: p.204.

9) Weiss 1985b: p.281 and p.283.

10) For Khabur Ware Period 4, see and *cf.* note 1 in the present article.

tablets written in Old Babylonian and consisting of administrative texts, most of which bore multiple seal impressions of which the majority were inscribed seal impressions showing the name of a certain seal owner described as “servant of Qarni-Lim” [Pulhan 2000: p.61 and p.187]. This discovery was made in room 12 of the building. In the room, the tablets were found clustered in and around four jars, which suggested that they had been kept in the ceramic containers [Pulhan 2000: p.61]. From the Mari texts, Qarni-Lim is known as king of Andariq, the capital city, located to the south of Jebel Sinjar, of the land of Iamtbalum<sup>11)</sup>, and as one of the rulers who occupied Šubat-Enlil after the death of Šamši-Adad I. Hence the building that yielded the tablets was considered the palace of this king, Qarni-Lim, at Šubat-Enlil, which was further regarded as having coexisted with another palace discovered at Leilan itself in operation 3. The latter palace, in which four building levels were confirmed, was called the “eastern lower town palace” of the site, the construction of which originated in the time of Šamši-Adad I (building level 4). The building level that was connected in time with the palace of Qarni-Lim was regarded as level 3, in the time of which Išme-Dagan (son of Šamši-Adad), Turum-natki (the ruler of an unknown country), Zuzu (son of Turum-natki), Ḫaya-abum (son of Turum-natki) and the *sukkalmah* of Elam were considered as having resided there; and from historical points of view<sup>12)</sup>, Qarni-Lim’s palace was regarded as contemporary with the time of Ḫaya-abum who, supported by Qarni-Lim of Andariq and Zimri-Lim of Mari, had become the ruler of Šubat-Enlil after his brother, Zuzu [Pulhan 2000: p.iii and pp.16–17]. Thus, in reference to Zimri-Lim’s date-formulae, the co-rule of Šubat-Enlil by Qarni-Lim and Ḫaya-abum was dated *ca.* 1775–1760 B.C. [Pulhan 2000: p.17]. Of significance is the fact that the Khabur ware vessels which this palace also yielded included those decorated with such distinctive bird motifs [Pulhan 2000: *e.g.* p.108 and p.147].

In his Ph.D. research on the materials from the Qarni-Lim palace at Leilan, Gül Pulhan, paying attention to the occurrence, associated with the palace, of the painted pottery with such distinctive bird decoration, and treating it as important evidence added to pieces of evidence from other areas excavated at the site, thus points out that at Leilan itself, its occurrence is dated to the first half of the 18th century B.C., and claims that in particular the date of the beginning of Khabur Ware Period 3 (*ca.* 1700–1550 B.C.) set in the present writer’s periodization for Khabur ware should be reconsidered [2000: pp.147–148]. This is also an answer for the present writer’s question regarding Weiss’s 1985 report on the acropolis-northeast excavations, as noted above. In addition to this, Pulhan further points out that “grain measure”-type Khabur ware should be dated *ca.* 1770–1760 B.C. on the ground of evidence from the Qarni-Lim palace [2000: pp.147–148]; but evidence recently adduced both at Tell al-Rimah and Tell Brak suggests that the occurrence of this type of Khabur ware ranges in time from the second quarter of the 18th century B.C. at the latest, certainly into the 14th century B.C. before the final stage of occupation of Mitanni in the upper Khabur basin [see Oguchi 2000: pp.120–121]: accordingly, this is no longer a problem which is to be discussed.

In fact this claim of Pulhan’s tempts the present writer to reconsider the date of the beginning of Khabur Ware Period 3. In reply to Pulhan’s claim put forward in his Ph.D. dissertation submitted to Yale University, the present writer thus attempts to give reconsideration to this particular problem through the present article.

### **Chronological reassessment of the Leilan evidence**

The occurrence at Leilan of Khabur ware decorated with distinctively stylized birds in dark paint is in the acropolis-northeast temple area, in the eastern lower town palace (in operation 3) and in the so-called Qarni-Lim palace (*i.e.* the northern lower town palace in operation 7).

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11) Pulhan 2000: pp.177–178, for the location of Andariq.

12) See Pulhan 2000: pp.199–205, for the reconstructed history of Šubat-Enlil after the death of Šamši-Adad I.

Most significant evidence for dating the distinctively decorated Khabur ware at Leilan itself comes from the Qarni-Lim palace, from the courtyard (also described as room 10) of which, sherds of Khabur ware vessels decorated with distinctive bird motifs were recovered together with other Khabur ware sherds and sherds of unpainted, associated pottery [Pulhan 2000: p.57, illustrated with Fig.5:1 (520) (a bird motif cup sherd) on p.399<sup>13</sup>]. The majority of the potsherds found are of cups and bowls, and the others, of pots and jars [Pulhan 2000: p.57]. As other finds in the courtyard, there are a tablet as a receipt for a delivery of peas, fragments of tablets recording barley issues, a fragment of an inscribed jar sealing, a stone axe, a fragment of a grinding stone, a bronze needle, animal terracotta figurines and a spoked wheel of a chariot model [Pulhan 2000: pp.55–56]. Animal bones are also among the finds in the courtyard, where four ovens, one of which can be associated with a “jar hearth”, were set. On the evidence of the presence of decorated cups of fine ware, bowls and ovens, Pulhan presumes that the courtyard would have functioned as a place for banquets and celebrations [2000: p.58]. Next to the courtyard to the east is room 12 in which the archive of cuneiform tablets mostly recording beer issues and deliveries was found [see Pulhan 2000: Fig.3 on p.255]. The datable tablets have been so far considered as suggesting the date of the potsherds recovered from the courtyard, as well as the date of those from other rooms of the Qarni-Lim Palace, as claimed by Pulhan himself<sup>14</sup>. What is problematical is, however, the fact that complete ceramic vessels showing that they lie *in situ* are almost absent from the Qarni-Lim palace<sup>15</sup>, which indicates that when the date of such material is determined, cogitation is required, but which conversely means that the palace itself did not suffer sudden, severe destruction, and was gradually abandoned<sup>16</sup>. With regard to potsherds in such an archaeological context, cogitation on the premise that datable tablets discovered do not necessarily reflect the date of potsherds found there, is always needed. Even if there is a case where intact pottery vessels are found in the same level where tablets are discovered, the date of pottery recovered does not necessarily correspond to the date of tablets found there: tablets themselves used to be kept for a certain period of time, which would be longer than the lifetime of pottery vessels breaking easily in daily life use<sup>17</sup>. In fact, rather than tablets, pottery remaining in an architectural feature can be regarded as an object representing its final occupation phase. There is thus no reason to deny a possibility that the palace itself may have been in use after Qarni-Lim’s possession dating to *ca.* 1775–1760 B.C. on the epigraphic evidence. If so, till when did the palace continue in use? In this respect, what we bear in mind is the fact that there were found three graves cut into the deposits of the palace (marked as a single building level below the modern surface of the area), one of which, a vaulted chamber grave, yielded as part of the associated grave goods a Khabur ware jar decorated with horizontal bands of paint [Pulhan 2000: pp.169–173, and see Figs. 1–2 on pp.487–488]. In sum, these graves become a *terminus ante quem* for the Qarni-Lim

13) In Pulhan’s dissertation, the illustrations of two other bird motif cup sherds have been adduced, which are likely to be from the same courtyard [Pulhan 2000: Fig.2:2 (454) on p.395 and Fig.6:1(458) on p.400, the provenance of which is 35L19 Lot x, next to 35L20 Lot 6 for Fig.5:1 (520), as shown in the plan of Fig.3 on p.255].

14) Pulhan 2000: *e.g.* p.149.

15) For this, see Pulhan 2000: p.220.

16) This is also pointed out by Pulhan himself [Pulhan 2000: p.220].

17) In a sense, this is well illustrated with archaeological and historical interpretation through the late D. Oates’s excavations at Tell Brak in the Mitanni palace: the destruction of the Mitanni palace, in which two tablets describing the names of two Mitannian kings, *i.e.*, Artasšumara and Tušratta (presumably dated to the early 14th century B.C.), were found, is ascribed to the Middle Assyrian kings Adad-nirari I (*ca.* 1305–1274 B.C.) and Shalmaneser I (*ca.* 1273–1244 B.C.) on the ground of historical probability [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.14 and p.23]. At Brak, the final destruction of the Mitanni palace is thus dated sometime in the second quarter of the 13th century B.C. [*ibid.*: p.14]. This dating of course differs from the presumable date assigned to the two tablets discovered there. Furthermore, there is a significant view added in this connection. The view is that such delicate objects as pottery *etc.* have only a restricted lifetime of no more than one generation, thus representing the last occupation phase of a building excavated [Stein 1989: p.54]. This view, reasonable and persuasive, is available for the reassessment of the Leilan evidence, now under discussion.

palace; and the Khabur ware jar found associated with the vaulted grave suggests that the final date of the use of the palace naturally falls within the period in which Khabur ware was in use. With this in mind, we now turn our eyes to other excavation areas yielding Khabur ware with distinctive bird decoration.

When claiming that the bird motif vessels of Khabur ware should be dated to the first half of the 18th century B.C., Pulhan states that bird motif Khabur ware was also found in another palace at the site, *i.e.*, the eastern lower town palace, which is the place in which Ḫaya-abum, a co-ruler of Šubat-Enlil, was present (level 3) [2000: p.147]. The eastern lower town palace has four building levels<sup>18)</sup>. As briefly noted above, the lowest palace (level 4) can be assigned to the time of Šamši-Adad I on epigraphic evidence from the level itself<sup>19)</sup>, and on the other hand, the succeeding level 3 palace<sup>20)</sup>, regarded as having been constructed also by Šamši-Adad I, is considered to have continued in use after the king's death<sup>21)</sup>, *i.e.*, during the times of Išme-Dagan, Turum-natki, Zuzu, Ḫaya-abum and the *sukkalmah* of Elam. In the next overlying level, 2, after the violent destruction, perhaps by Atamrum of Allaḫad, also a ruler of Andariq, of the level 3 palace, the palace itself, re-built with modifications, is recognizable on epigraphic ground as belonging to the times of Ḫimdiya (the successor of Atamrum), Mutiya (probably a brother of Dari-epuḫ), Till-abnu (perhaps a nephew of Mutiya) and Iakun-aššar (a brother of Till-abnu), from the second ruler of whom the site almost certainly enters the period when it was again called Šeḫna, the capital of the land of Apum<sup>22)</sup>. The level 2 palace is considered to have been destroyed by Samsuiluna of Babylon in *ca.* 1728 B.C. (the 22nd regnal year of the king) as known from the king's 23rd date-formula<sup>23)</sup>; the destruction itself is, needless to say, with the result that an archive of cuneiform tablets was left there. This situation, however, should be regarded as different from that of the Qarni-Lim palace, where another archive of tablets was also left not through destruction but in the course of gradual abandonment. In fact, a small mud-brick wall and several pits (level 1) have been found overlying the Iakun-aššar's palace destroyed, and immediately below the modern surface of this area<sup>24)</sup>. One of the level 1 pits is said to have contained a small Khabur ware jar decorated with birds [Akkermans 1990: p.547]. Otherwise, with regard to bird motif vessels from the eastern lower palace area, Frane's information is now available [Frane 1996]. Khabur ware with distinctive bird decoration occurs in the mud-brick collapse of the level 2 palace [Frane 1996: Fig.55:3 (described as a carinated cup) on p.344]. This example is very similar in type to one of the bird motif vessels recovered from the Qarni-Lim palace in the form of potsherds<sup>25)</sup>. However, Frane's information on such bird motif vessels is confined to her reporting solely the one example as one of the pottery vessels from the eastern lower town palace area; and now, to our regret, no other information is available. Frane merely mentions that with respect to painted decoration occurring on the pottery from the acropolis-northeast temple area and the eastern lower town palace area, "birds are uncommon but known" [1996: p.73]. These mentioned above, at least, indicate that the occurrence of Khabur ware with distinctive bird decoration is in the level 2 palace debris and the later level 1 pit of the eastern lower town area. What is of importance here is Frane's further mention. She mentions that "the ceramics from the level 2 palace probably date to the third quarter of the eighteenth century B.C." [Frane 1996: p.52].

18) See Akkermans & Weiss 1987–88: pp.91–92, and Akkermans 1990: pp.543–547.

19) See Akkermans & Weiss 1987–88: p.92.

20) See Akkermans & Weiss 1987–88: p.93, and Akkermans 1990: pp.545–546.

21) See Frane 1996: p.52.

22) Frane 1996: pp.52–54.

23) Eidem 1987–88: pp.110–111; Whiting 1990: p.575; Eidem 1991: p.112.

24) Akkermans 1990: p.547.

25) Compare Frane 1996: Fig.55:3 on p.344 with Pulhan 2000: Fig.5:1 (520) on p.399. The strong resemblance between them is also pointed out by Pulhan [Pulhan 2000: p.108].

On the other hand, Frane illustrates the occurrence, in the acropolis-northeast temple area, of such bird motif pottery by giving one example of Khabur ware, which is a rim sherd of a cup/chalice coming from on the floor of room 8 of the level II temple [1996: Fig.56:4 on p.346]. As briefly noted, the epigraphic evidence obtained from the level II temple, *i.e.*, the impressions of seals with inscriptions describing the names of rulers (Turum-natki and Ḫaya-abum) at Šubat-Enlil after the death of Šamši-Adad I, indicates that the use of the temple can be extended later than the reign of Šamši-Adad. On this evidence, Frane suggests that the date of the level II temple pottery is placed “in the twenty years or so following the death of Shamshi-Adad I”, and further that the level II temple pottery is roughly contemporary with the rise of the kings of Apum [1996: pp.58–59]. If the bird motif sherd is the only example from among the deposits of the temples underlying level I, represented by the remains of a mud-brick platform and of hearths, and immediately lying under the surface of the excavation area<sup>26)</sup>, or if no bird motif sherds occur below the level II temple, it can be concluded that in this area, the occurrence of bird motif Khabur ware lies in the level II temple of which the materials are dated later than the time of Šamši-Adad I, and possibly in later level I (*cf.* the addendum below).

To sum up, given that the occurrence of Khabur ware sherds with distinctive bird motifs is confined to the provenance which Frane reports, the evidence from the eastern lower town palace area and the acropolis-northeast temple area suggests a date of later than the time of Šamši-Adad I (*ca.* 1813–1781 B.C. on the middle chronology) for the occurrence of Khabur ware with distinctive bird decoration. In the case of the eastern lower town palace area, bird motif Khabur ware occurs in the mud-brick collapse of the level 2 palace, destroyed by Samsuiluna of Babylon in *ca.* 1728 B.C. This fact indicates that such objects as ceramics breaking easily fall within a life span of no more than one generation (nearly three decades) immediately before the 1728 B.C. destruction. On the other hand, in the case of the acropolis-northeast temple area, bird motif Khabur ware, though being a rim sherd, occurs on the floor of the level II temple. In this case, however, what matters is the date till which the level II temple were in existence in use. Had the level II temple already been abandoned at the time when Iakun-aššar resided in the level II palace? The view that the level II temple was in use also in the time of Iakun-aššar, king of Apum the capital of which was Šeḫna (formerly called Šubat-Enlil), seems more reasonable and plausible at the moment. If so, the bird motif Khabur ware sherd also falls within a reasonable life span of nearly 30 years immediately before the 1728 B.C. destruction. This assumption may be able to be applied to the case of the Qarni-Lim palace, in the courtyard of which three bird motif sherds occur, as noted above<sup>27)</sup>. This northern lower town palace itself would have been used after the death of Qarni-Lim of Andariq, *i.e.*, also by Atamrum who, on the one hand, conquered Andariq and who was, on the other hand, perhaps responsible for the destruction of the eastern lower town level III palace at the time when he conquered Šubat-Enlil. In this respect, Pulhan also presumes that “he resided in the Northern Lower Town Palace when he was in the city” after his conquest of Šubat-Enlil [2000: p.210]. After Atamrum came Ḫimdiya, son of Atamrum<sup>28)</sup>, who would have naturally resided in the same palace where his father was present<sup>29)</sup>. But Ḫimdiya himself seems to have also reconstructed the eastern lower town palace that had been destroyed by his father, Atamrum: the eastern lower town level II palace has yielded epigraphic sources relevant to Ḫimdiya, such as a legal document sealed by his servant, a fragmentary letter addressed to him and some sealings with seal impressions describing his name<sup>30)</sup>. Ḫimdiya is said to be dated to 1761 B.C. around<sup>31)</sup>, which is almost contemporary with the time when

26) Weiss 1985a: p.7; *idem* 1985b: p.281.

27) In addition to the text above, see also note 13 in this article.

28) Pulhan 2000: p.212; *cf.* Frane 1996: p.54, mentioning that Ḫimdiya was a lieutenant of Atamrum of Andariq.

29) See and *cf.* Pulhan 2000: pp.212–213.

30) Pulhan 2000: p.212 with n.141, citing Eidem 1991: pp.114–116.

Ḫammurabi of Babylon “smote Mari in battle” in his 32nd year (*ca.* 1761 B.C.), as recorded in his 33rd date-formula, and “destroyed the walls of Mari” in his 34th year (*ca.* 1759 B.C.), as recorded in his 35th date-formula. The eastern lower town level II palace thus continued to be the place where Mutiya, Till-abnu and Iakun-aššar resided after Ḫimdiya. There, the possibility arises that also during the period of the rule of Mutiya and Till-abnu, and till some time in the period of the rule of Iakun-aššar, the northern lower town palace (which was formerly of Qarni-Lim) may have been also used, and then may have been abandoned by the time when Šeḫna (=Šubat-Enlil) was destroyed by Samsuiluna of Babylon in *ca.* 1728 B.C. This may be the reason why the northern lower town palace has no signs of destruction or conflagration<sup>32)</sup>. If so, the northern lower town palace potsherds including the three bird motif sherds can also fall within a life span of nearly 30 years immediately before 1728 B.C.

The date 1728 B.C., needless to say, provides a *terminus ante quem* for “Leilan period I” at the site itself, which is in fact marked as part of the period in which Khabur ware was in use in north Mesopotamia. At Leilan, there has been hitherto no evidence for particular occupation after Samsuiluna’s destruction. There were only found burials placed in time after the destruction on stratigraphic evidence, which are labelled “Leilan period 0”, defined as post-Leilan period I of which ceramics are said to be close in time to “Nuzi ware assemblages”<sup>33)</sup>.

### Contemplating the problem in perspective

The foregoing indicates that the Leilan evidence suggests that the chronological boundaries, at the site itself, of Khabur ware decorated with distinctively stylized birds can be defined within one generation, *i.e.*, nearly 30 years, immediately before Samsuiluna’s 1728 B.C. attack upon Šeḫna. Possible dates are thus suggested for the occurrence of bird motif Khabur ware at Leilan itself, which are of *ca.* 1760/1750–1728 B.C. in reason. At any rate, this upper date is no doubt earlier than we have so far thought. However, the problem is whether or not such an earlier upper date for the appearance of distinctively bird-ornamented Khabur ware can now be attested at other sites. By good fortune, we can now examine the authenticity of the upper date provided at Leilan through the latest report on the pottery from Tell al-Rimah<sup>34)</sup> (ancient Karana/Qaṭara<sup>35)</sup>).

At Rimah, distinctively bird-ornamented Khabur ware occurs most certainly in the “late Old Babylonian” period<sup>36)</sup>, a period and a term defined at the site itself<sup>37)</sup>, which is reasonably considered as dating from *ca.* 1700 B.C.<sup>38)</sup> [J. Oates 1997: p.53]. The “late Old Babylonian period” of Rimah is chiefly represented by the level 6a “kitchen” of site C, three vaulted chambers of domestic character, which overlay some rooms of the palace abandoned of Aqba-ḫammu (the final building phase 3b of the palace, *i.e.*, the final stage of occupation of site C level 6 consisting of phases 2 and 3a-b) that yielded the archive of Iltani, the wife of Aqba-ḫammu [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.30]. Together with this archive occurs a sherd decorated with a bird motif<sup>39)</sup>, the style of which, however, appears earlier, as illustrated with the earlier bird ornament of Khabur ware from stratum 4 at Tell

31) Frane 1996 p.54, citing Eidem 1987–88: p.111.

32) See and *cf.* Pulhan 2000: p.210.

33) For this, see Weiss 1994: p.126.

34) Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997.

35) For the most recent argument about the ancient name of Tell al-Rimah, see Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: pp.18–20.

36) For example, see Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: Pl.76:826,833 and Pl.78:865.

37) The discovery at Rimah of tablets written in Old Babylonian enables the use of the term “Old Babylonian” [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.17]. In this respect, J. Oates further comments as follows: “we have deliberately chosen to avoid at least some of the problems of stylistic chronology by using ‘historical’ terminology, a solution well-justified by the number and historical content of cuneiform texts found at the site” [J. Oates 1997: p.54].

38) For this date, see Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.36.

39) J. Oates 1997: p.53.

Billa [compare Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: the upper right of Pl.19e with Speiser 1993: Pl.LXXII]. No matter whether this sherd said to be from site C level 6 phase 3b is suspected of being intrusive in connection with “late Old Babylonian” pits dug into the palace deposits<sup>40)</sup>, it can be regarded as decorated in earlier bird style, and should be differentiated from later Khabur ware decorated with distinctively stylized birds. In this case, however, it may be rather appropriate to take a view that the sherd said to be from site C level 6 phase 3b is associated with the Iltani archive, because of the ornamentation of birds earlier in style. Another bird motif sherd also occurs on the level 3 destruction floor of later date of a monumental temple complex<sup>41)</sup> in site A [J. Oates 1997: p.53, illustrated with Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: Pl.91:1059]; and the temple level 3 destruction has been considered dated some time in the middle of the 18th century B.C.<sup>42)</sup>, and has been further considered perhaps contemporary with the destruction of the phase 3 palace<sup>43)</sup>. The bird ornament of this site A sherd, though appearing somewhat different from usual stylized birds in respect to the form of legs and feet drawn, lies in the category of later distinctive bird style relevant to the subject of this article. Those which have been further reported at Rimah are some sherd examples similar in decorative bird style to the site A sherd, which are recorded as coming from “site A level 3”<sup>44)</sup>, a provenance description leading us to the assumption that in reference to the site A sherd noted here, they would perhaps come from the same destruction level and/or later floors in the temple. These mentioned above indicate that assuming that the destruction of the phase 3 palace coincided with that of the level 3 temple, the appearance of distinctive bird motifs on Khabur ware vessels may be towards the end of the site C level 6 palace, or that a chronological boundary of stylistic change with respect to bird motifs may lie between the end of the site C level 6 palace and the beginning of the site C level 6a “kitchen” of “late Old Babylonian” date.

According to the inscription of one of his two seals seen on seal impressions from the palace and some texts of the Iltani archive (room VI of the palace), Aqba-ḥammu, also connected with Karana in the Mari texts, is known to have been subject to Ḥammurabi of Babylon [Dalley 1976: pp.31–32 and p.35; *idem* 1984: pp.39–44]. This is the palace phase that is perhaps concerned with the occurrence of the Khabur ware sherd decorated in earlier bird style. Of importance is the fact that on the ground of the epigraphic evidence, it has been suggested that the phase, 3b, described as the latest phase of the level 6 palace differentiated from “late Old Babylonian” level 6a (a later building yielding distinctively bird-ornamented Khabur ware), lies within the final decade of the rule of Ḥammurabi (*ca.* 1792–1750 B.C. on the middle chronology) of Babylon [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.30]. At the moment, this chronological view seems to be able to be accepted as a *terminus post quem* for the occurrence of Khabur ware decorated with distinctively stylized birds of later date. Cogitating on such information from Rimah, we can now thus consider, at least, that the appearance of such distinctive bird motifs on Khabur ware vessels is not earlier than 1750 B.C., which in fact corresponds to one of the alternative upper dates, reassessed here, of bird motif Khabur ware occurring at Leilan.

What should not be overlooked here is, however, the fact that the use of distinctive bird motifs on Khabur ware vessels continues into the period of Mitannian occupation<sup>45)</sup>. This is now well corroborated by evidence from Tell Brak, where bird-ornamented Khabur ware occurs in Mitanni house levels 7–3 in area HH<sup>46)</sup>. The sequence of Mitanni houses (area HH levels 6–2) runs parallel

40) See J. Oates 1997: p.53.

41) It is noted additionally that it is said that the façade decoration of the Rimah temple at the earliest stage closely parallels that of the earliest version of the Leilan temple [Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.23].

42) Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.23.

43) Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: p.36.

44) For example, see Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: Pl.76:818,827,828.

45) Cf. Pulhan 2000: pp.147–148.

to the phases (1–2) of the Mitanni palace that was found adjacent to the houses, together with the Mitanni temple that lay on the southwest side of the palace [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: pp.1–37, *inter alia* Table 1 on p.35]. Two complete cuneiform tablets were found in the phase 2 destruction debris of room 11 of the Mitanni palace, which, though each bearing the impression of Saustatar’s seal, mention the names of two other Mitanni kings, *i.e.*, Tušratta and Artaššumara respectively [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.23]. This unequivocally corroborates the presence of Mitannian occupation at the site. Most important at this site in connection with this article is the fact that Khabur ware is absent only from area HH level 2 which, however, yields white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: pp.67–71, *inter alia* p.71]. Area HH level 2 corresponds in time to the latest occupation in the Mitanni palace (phase 2) and temple, initially destroyed by the Middle Assyrian king Adad-nirari I and finally by his successor Shalmaneser I<sup>47)</sup>. Further, what deserves to be noted here is the fact that at Brak, white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware occurs in parallel with Khabur ware including bird-ornamented pottery. Indeed, white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware is a ceramic indicator for Khabur Ware Periods 4a-b (see note 1 in this article), in particular in the case where Khabur ware and Nuzi ware co-occur. At Brak, white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware occurs unequivocally in area HH levels 6–2, with exception of level 7 from which only one small sherd of Nuzi ware was recovered and level 8 in which were four Nuzi ware sherds strongly suspected of intrusion [Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: pp.67–68 with Fig.92]. At any rate, the Brak evidence gives us indications that bird-ornamented Khabur ware occurs in parallel with white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware in the Mitannian period, and that white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware continues after the disappearance of Khabur ware including bird-ornamented pottery. Distinctive bird motifs occurring on Khabur ware vessels are in fact reproduced on Nuzi ware vessels in white paint on dark-painted broad bands, as pointed out in the latest Brak report that concerns Khabur ware and Nuzi ware<sup>48)</sup>. In many cases, the reproduction of bird motifs on Nuzi ware becomes more elaborate in design than those on Khabur ware<sup>49)</sup>. In short, Nuzi ware is the white-on-dark painted pottery that retains shapes of Khabur ware preceding, and paralleling, Nuzi ware in time.

If bird motif Khabur ware is found unassociated with Nuzi ware in a level, it may therefore be most appropriate that the level is assigned to Khabur Ware Period 3. For example, at Tell Der Hall<sup>50)</sup>, a site excavated by the Japanese Expedition of Kokushikan University in the Eski Mosul Dam Salvage Project area of Iraq, level 2, marked by a stone-built wall foundation, an associated floor and a destruction layer containing debris of mud-bricks, yielded white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware sherds as well as a dark-painted sherd decorated with a bird drawn in distinctive style and a triangle filled with dots (a design unusual as Khabur ware)<sup>51)</sup>, and on the other hand, the underlying level, 3, in which a stone-built wall foundation was retrieved, yielded a Khabur ware sherd with distinctive bird decoration and one type of so-called “*jüngere*” Khabur ware, but did not yield white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware or even its sherds. Accordingly, Der Hall level 2 is assigned to Khabur Ware Period 4a, and Der Hall level 3, to Khabur Ware Period 3. Needless to say, Der Hall level 3 is thus dated some time in Khabur Ware Period 3, or in this case, it may be dated late in Khabur Ware Period 3. To take another example, at Tell Hamad Agha as-Saghir, a site in the North Jazira Project area of Iraq, trench I yielded a rim sherd of a “grain measure”-type Khabur ware vessel with distinctive

46) See Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: Fig.200: 455,457,458 on p.201 and Fig.201: 461–478 on p.203, from area HH levels 7–3 respectively.

47) See note 17 in the present article.

48) Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: p.68, illustrating it with Pl.199:454 on p.199.

49) See Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997: *e.g.* Pl.199:449 on p.199.

50) For this site, see Matsumoto & Yagi 1987: p.54 and pp.56–61, or see Ohnuma & Matsumoto 1988: p.73ff.

51) Of interest in addition to these finds is the fact that a “face goblet” sherd was also found there, which is comparable to part of such a “face goblet” as occurs at Brak and is seen on Mallowan 1947: Pl.XL:2. The “face goblets” may be able to be treated as a ceramic indicator for Khabur Ware Period 4a.



Date (B.C.)	Oguchi 1997	Oates & Oates 1997		Pulhan 2000	Oguchi 2005 <sup>6)</sup>
1900  1800  1700  1600  1500  1400  1300  1200	Kh Periods	Rimah <sup>1)</sup>	Brak <sup>2)</sup> HH	Leilan <sup>4)</sup>	Kh Periods
	1	Early Khabur Ware			1
	(ŠA) 2	(ŠA) “Old Babylonian” Khabur ware		L.B. Kh <sup>5)</sup>	(ŠA) 2 E.B. Kh
	3	“Late Old Babylonian” Khabur ware	8 “LOB” Kh		L.B. Kh 3
	4	“Mitanni” Khabur ware + Nuzi ware	7 3) 6 “Mitanni” Khabur ware including “jüngere” Kh Nuzi ware		4a
			4		4b <sup>7)</sup> ↓
			3		
		Middle Assyrian pottery	2		
			1 MA pottery		

**Fig. 2** Khabur ware periodization and chronology.

⟨Abbreviations⟩

- Kh Periods ..... Khabur Ware Periods.  
 ŠA ..... Šamši-Adad I (ca. 1813-1781 B.C. on the middle chronology).  
 “LOB” Kh ..... “Late Old Babylonian” Khabur ware.  
 “jüngere” Kh ..... “jüngere” Khabur ware.  
 MA ..... Middle Assyrian.  
 E.B. Kh ..... Khabur ware vessels decorated with earlier bird motifs.  
 L.B. Kh ..... Khabur ware vessels decorated with later distinctive bird motifs.

Notes on Fig.2

- 1) Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997.
- 2) Oates, Oates & McDonald 1997.
- 3) The construction of the Mitanni palace and temple, which is marked as contemporary with level 6 in area HH.
- 4) Pulan 2000.
- 5) Pulhan’s suggestion that distinctively bird-ornamented Khabur ware (L.B. Kh) is dated to the first half of the 18th century B.C. at Tell Leilan itself.
- 6) Khabur ware periodization and chronology revised here.
- 7) See note 1 in the present article.

bird decoration as well as many sherds of other types of Khabur ware [Spanos 1990: pp.91–92, Abb.12:1 on p.111]. Since no white-on-dark painted Nuzi ware and no “*jüngere*” Khabur ware occur at the site itself, we can reach a deduction that a level dated some time in Khabur Ware Period 3 or most reasonably early in Khabur Ware Period 3 would lie in the mound. Although bird motif Khabur ware occurs at several sites<sup>52)</sup>, it goes without saying that careful consideration is needed for such phase assignment.

A conclusion in the present article is now thus reached that the date of the beginning of Khabur Ware Period 3 certainly requires revision (Fig.2). It must be raised to *ca.* 1750 B.C. Khabur Ware Period 3 is therefore newly dated *ca.* 1750–1550 BC. However, this brings a result that the time span of Khabur Ware Period 2 is compressed between *ca.* 1813 B.C. and *ca.* 1750 B.C. Although this fact tempts the present writer to raise the date of the beginning of Khabur Period 2 and to define Khabur Ware Period 1 as the phase that is exclusively concerned with the occurrence of the earliest versions of Khabur ware that are characterized by the application of irregular bands, or much broader bands, of paint<sup>53)</sup>, or by the combination of comb-incised horizontal and/or wavy bands and horizontal bands of paint<sup>54)</sup>: the occurrence of these earliest versions of Khabur ware seems to be virtually confined to the early part of the 19th century B.C. At the moment, however, there are no measures other than seeing Khabur Ware Period 1 from the point of view of pre-Šamši-Adad I<sup>55)</sup>, epigraphically and stratigraphically supported at Tell al-Rimah and Tell Taya [Oguchi 1997: p.202 and p.205]. The resolution of this problem depends entirely on whether new reliable evidence will be obtained through future excavations at some sites.

### Addendum

There is another problem as what should be taken into consideration in addition to the content of this article. The problem is that not all the materials that were recovered through excavations at a site are reported. At Leilan, there thus remains a possibility that distinctively bird-ornamented Khabur ware, if being of sherds, may have been either in the level III temple of the acropolis-northeast excavation area or in the levels 3–4 palaces of the eastern lower town excavation area (operation 3). It is therefore noted that if such bird motif Khabur ware vessels or sherds have been found in these places, reconsideration will be needed again.

52) Other sites at which distinctively bird-ornamented Khabur ware occurs are, for example, Nineveh (ancient Ninuwa/Ninua), Tell Mohammed Diyab [phase 6] and possibly Tell Barri (ancient Kaḥat), to which added is Alalah (modern Tell Atchana) [level V] as a site outside the main distribution zone of Khabur ware. Further added to the content of this article as sites at which distinctively bird-ornamented Khabur ware occurs, associated with Nuzi ware, are, for example, possibly Tell Billa (ancient Šibaniba) [stratum 3, said to divide into substrata the presence of which remains a problem in archaeological interpretation] and certainly Tell Jidle [level 2] (a site outside the main distribution zone of Khabur ware). As for their references, see Thompson & Hamilton 1932: Pl.LIX:11, a sherd illustrated together with painted Ninevite 5 sherds (from Nineveh, at which also occurs Khabur ware, for example as most recently illustrated in Reade 2005: Fig.15, to which further added with particular interest are the occurrences of (i) painted pottery decorated with birds in earlier style, as shown in Thompson & Hamilton 1932: Pl.LIX:12, which is rather comparable with Khabur ware examples from Dinkha Tepe, (ii) “*jüngere*” Khabur ware as shown in Thompson & Hutchinson 1931: Pl.XXXIV:10 and (iii) Nuzi ware as shown in Thompson & Hutchinson 1931: Pl.XXXIV:5,12), Faivre 1992: Fig.12:5, Fig.14:8 and Fig.24:13 (from Tell Mohammed Diyab), Pecorella 1990: possibly one Khabur ware sherd example decorated in large part with a checkerboard pattern in Pl.4:4 (from Tell Barri), Gates 1981: Ill.4:a (= Woolley 1955: Pl.XCV:ATP/39/279) and Woolley 1955: Pl.XCV:AT/46/275 (both from Alalah), Speiser 1933: Pl.X:3 and Pl.LXIII (from Tell Billa), and Mallon 1946: Fig.11:6,10 (from Tell Jidle). At any rate, for some of these sites, careful consideration is needed in respect of deducing their attribution to Khabur Ware Period 3 or Khabur Ware Period 4.

53) See Oguchi 2001: Fig.8 on p.83, or see J. Oates 1970: Pl.IX:2 (or Postgate, Oates & Oates 1997: Pl.64:621 on p.179).

54) See Oguchi 2003: Fig.4:28 on p.95.

55) See also Oguchi 1998: n.3 on pp.119–120.

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## THE LOCATION OF PURUŠHANTA

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### 1: Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The northwestern territorial extent of Sargon's empire of Akkad has been largely debated by a number of scholars for a long time, but this historical problem still has not been solved. In Sargon's bilingual inscription, several northwestern toponyms are mentioned in association with Sargon of Akkad. It is stated that Sargon bowed down to the god Dagān in Tuttul, then he (the god Dagān) gave to him (Sargon) the Upper Land: Mari, Iarmuti, and Ebla as far as the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountains [Frayne 1993: pp. 27–31]. In addition to this reference, Sargon's northwestern military expedition is also referred to in two of his historical literary texts. These are called the "King of Battle" and the "Ur Letter" and refer to the city of Purušhanta, which has often been located in the northwest of Mesopotamia [Westenholz 1997: pp. 112–3, pp. 118–9 and pp. 150–1]. The "King of Battle" refers to Sargon's expedition to the city of Purušhanta, written URU.*Bur-ša-ḫa-an-da*. The other text of the same date found in Ḫattuša (= Boğazköy) also refers to the city of Purušhanta written URU.*Pu-ru-uš-ḫa-an-da* [Güterbock 1969: pp. 14–26]. In addition to these occurrences, the Old-Babylonian Ur Letter reports that Sargon received divine approval for a campaign against Purušhanta written *Pu-ru-uš-ḫa-an-da*. Here for contributing to solve the historical problem relating to the northwestern territorial extent of Sargon's empire of Akkad, the author of this article will attempt to identify the location of this toponym.

### 2: History of Research into the Location of Purušhanta

Let us first consider the history of the scholarly opinions for its identification and localization. Considering to the identification of Purušhanta/Burušhattum of the Old Akkadian period with other occurrences of the similar toponyms, according to P. Dhorme, E. Weidner appears to have been the first to indicate the identification of Sargon's URU.*Bur-ša-ḫa-an-da* of the Amarna version of the "King of Battle" with other occurrences of Burušhattum referred to in the Cappadocian tablets [Dhorme 1922: p. 461; Dhorme 1924: p. 23]. However, H. Ehelolf already proposed the identification of Purušhanta written *Purušhandar* referred to in association with the Old Akkadian period in one of the historical literary texts of Naarm-Sin called the "Cuthean Legend" with Burušhattum of the Cappadocian tablets [Ehelolf 1921: p. 121; Westenholz 1997: pp. 312–3].

Apart from reference of Purušhanta/Burušhattum of the Old Akkadian period, in 1929 B. Hrozný first considered the probable location of Hittite Purušhanta mentioned in the text of Anitta (= KBo III 22 = KUB XXVI 71, KUB XXVI 98b), lines 73–9. In this text Purušhanta is described as a dependent of the empire of Anitta. So, Hrozný assumed it to be located not far from Neša (= Kaniš) and provisionally identified it with Kayseri [Hrozný 1929: p. 293; Hrozný 1932: p. 114].

In 1939 B. Landsberger noted that an Old Assyrian tablet describes Burušhattum as four days'

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journey from Kaniš. Although he did not specify the tablet, it must be TC III 165 as its content is described below. Based on this information, he briefly commented that it may be located in the region of Niğde [Landsberger 1939: p. 213 and note 13].<sup>2</sup>

In 1941 R.S. Hardy cited another new piece of topographical information given by the Decree of Telepinu (= 2BoTU II 23, I 9 ff.). Hardy states that the cities mentioned in the decree of Telepinu are Ғupišana, Tuwanuwa, Ninaša, Landa, Zalara, Puruṣḫanta and Lušana, and he considered that they are recorded in a certain geographical order. He accepted E. Forrer's earlier identifications of Ғupišana, Tuwanuwa and Ninaša with Classical Cybistra, Tyana and Nanassos respectively, thus he argued that they go from west to east. For the second group, Landa, Zalara, Puruṣḫanta and Lušana, Hardy also accepted Forrer's identification of Landa with Classical Laranda and Lušana with Classical Lystra, hence he argued that they run possibly from east to west, and identified the location of Puruṣḫanta together with Zalara between Landa (= Classical Laranda) and Lušana (= Classical Lystra). Furthermore, Hardy pointed out the possible equation of Hittite Puruṣḫanta with Old Assyrian Buruṣḫattum. However, the first sign "pur" can be read "maš" as well, so he only suggested this equation as provisional [Hardy 1941: p. 188].

The first real attempt to identify the location of Old Assyrian Buruṣḫattum was made in 1947 by J. Lewy by combining several pieces of topographical information [Lewy 1947: pp. 13–5]. He proposed the location of Buruṣḫattum somewhere west or probably southwest of modern Aksaray based on a series of pieces of topographical information given by the letter *KTH* 1, the itineraries TC III 165 and OIP 27, 54 and the letter BIN IV 35.

According to Lewy, the significance of tablet *KTH* 1 for the present discussion lies in ll. 2b–6, which contain the following remarks, "Since the country of Buruṣḫattum as well as the country of Waḫšušana is in uproar, for this reason I did not go on to Waḫšušana". Thus, he assumed that Buruṣḫattum must be located beside Waḫšušana. The itineraries TC III 165 and OIP 27, 54 furthermore, supplement and confirm this information, because they indicate that the road from Kaniš to Buruṣḫattum was in its first part identical with the highway which linked Kaniš with Waḫšušana. TC III 165 indicates that the road from Kaniš to Buruṣḫattum passed by Waḫḫania, Ninaša, and Ulama, whereas according to OIP 27, 54, the route from Kaniš to Waḫšušana went first to Waḫḫania and then, by way of Malita to Waḫšušana. From the letter BIN IV 35 finally, we conclude that caravans sent from Waḫšušana to Buruṣḫattum used a road through Ṣalatu/iwar.

Thus, Lewy identified from these data that three roads Waḫḫania – Waḫšušana, Waḫḫania – Buruṣḫattum, and Buruṣḫattum – Waḫšušana somehow formed a triangle, on one side of which, Ṣalatu/iwar was situated between Buruṣḫattum and Waḫšušana, whereas Ninaša and Ulama lay on one of the two other routes between Waḫḫania and Buruṣḫattum, and Malita was situated between Waḫḫania and Waḫšušana. He identified Ninaša with classical Nanassos and with modern Nenizi (situated about 110 kilometers southwest of Kaniš (= Kültepe) and 40–50 km east of modern Aksaray) and, that one side of the triangle coincides more or less with the modern road from Kayseri to Aksaray by way of Nevşehir.<sup>3</sup> As a result, Lewy concluded that Ulama must be placed in the neighbourhood of Aksaray and accordingly Buruṣḫattum is to be found somewhere west or probably rather southwest of Aksaray, that is somewhere on the Konya Plain.

Later E. Bilgiç advanced Lewy's general identification for the location of Buruṣḫattum and confirmed the equation of the Old Assyrian Buruṣḫattum with the Hittite Puruṣḫanta suggested earlier by Hardy [Bilgiç 1945–51: pp. 20–2]. While he cited the same pieces of documentary evidence as

2 Most recently N. Aydın supports this identification based on TC III 165 with two more pieces of topographical information, OIP 27, 54 and *KTH* 1, whose contents will be described below. However, like Landsberger, he does not give a detailed reason for this localization [Aydın 1994: pp. 46–7].

3 The location of Nenizi cannot be spotted on the modern atlas, so its location on map 1 is approximate.

Lewy, TC III 165 and OIP 27, 54, he also developed a view from the decree of Telepinu (= 2BoTU II 23, I 9 ff.) for the equation of Burušhattum with Purušhanta. In this text, as mentioned above we are informed that sons of Labarna were sent into the cities of Ĥupišna, Tuwanuwa, Ninaša, Landa, Zalara, Purušhanta and Lušna to administer them. So, he pointed out that two of five place names, Ninaša and Purušhanta occur in this text and suggest their proximity, while both places in slightly different writings were also recorded in TC III 165 as the third and final destinations of the journey. So, the equation of Burušhattum with Purušhanta appears convincing. For the actual localization of Burušhattum/Purušhanta, Bilgiç followed in general Lewy's argument. He agreed with the earlier identification of Ĥupišna with Classical Cybistra (= modern Ereğli) established by A.H. Sayce and Tuwanuwa with Tyana (= modern Kemerhisar near modern Bor) established by E. Forrer [Forrer 1926: pp. 19 ff.; Sayce 1922: p. 234; Sayce 1923: p. 45]. However, for Ninaša, which Lewy equated with Classical Nanassos and with modern Nenizi located 40–50 km east of Aksaray, Bilgiç did not entirely agree, because classical Nanassos was at that time varyingly identified in the general area around Aksaray, though he at least accepted its general location in the neighbourhood of modern Aksaray.<sup>4</sup> So, these cities can be placed in general in the area southwest of Kaniš. So, if Ninaša is really placed in the vicinity of Aksaray, to which a journey took two days from Kaniš according to TC III 165, Bilgiç suggested that the third station Ulama must be somewhere south of the Salt Lake (= Tuz Gölü) and the final destination of Burušhattum reached on the fourth day is to be sought still further southwest in the Konya Plain.<sup>5</sup>

In 1967–69 E.I. Gordon identified the location of Hittite Purušhanta at the great site called Homat near the village of Belceğiz in the district of Şarki Karaağaç near the northwest corner of the Beyşehir Lake [Gordon 1967: p. 81].<sup>6</sup> Gordon does not give any specific reason for this identification. However, for its location beyond or to the west of the Konya Plain, he may have relied on the hypothesis established by Lewy and Bilgiç.

S. Alp also maintained the localization of the Hittite Purušhanta in the vicinity of the Konya plain [Alp 1993: p. 193]. In 1993, he argued that Karahöyük near Konya could be identified with Purušhanta. He particularly considers the topographical information of Purušhanta given by the decree of Telepinu (= BoTU II 23, I 9 ff.) as very important. In this text, as mentioned above, Purušhanta is referred to among with six other place names between Zalara and Lušna. Alp considers that Purušhanta is not far away from these places and that Lušna is to be identified with Classical Lystra in the vicinity of modern Hatunsary. Thus, he argues that the location of Karahöyük fits the location of Purušhanta.

Let us consider the other major stream of the identification of Purušhanta. Some scholars assumed that it can be identified with Acemhöyük. J. Garstang appears to have first made this identification in 1944. The place name occurring in the rock-carved hieroglyphic inscription at Topada, about 25 km to the southwest of Nevşehir was at first read as “*Pur-me-ta*” or “*Pur-wi-ta*”, but later E. Laroche suggested emendation and read “*Pur-zu-ta*”, this he argued was the phonetic equation of Purušhanta [Laroche 1957: p. 152 and note 3]. In 1959 this suggestion was followed by J. Garstang and O.R. Gurney who proposed the location of Purušhanta, near modern Nevşehir and provisionally

4 Bilgiç states that according to Ptolemy Nanassos lies in the Garsauritis, and its exact location is varyingly identified. Other candidates apart from Lewy's are: somewhere south of Aksaray; the present Mamasun 8 km east of Aksaray; the south of Mamasun in a place called Eskine/oz 10 km southeast of Aksaray [Bilgiç 1945–51: pp. 20–2].

5 According to Bilgiç, the variant of Cappadocian Ulama is Ulma and Walama, and Ulama corresponds to the Hittite Ullamma. For Walama, one can phonetically compare with the place name Walmā, however, Bilgiç considered that the location of this city, which the troops of Arzawa led by Muršili II defeated on the Aštapa River, appears to not support this equation.

L.L. Orlin and G. Steiner later give wholehearted support to Bilgiç, and locate the city of Burušhattum of TC III 165 on the southwest of Tuz Gölü (= Salt Lake) in the approaches to the Plain of Konya [Orlin 1970: p. 37, pp. 110–1 and p. 140; Steiner 1993: pp. 581–2].

6 The location of Homat cannot be spotted on the modern atlas, so its location on map 1 is approximate.

equated it with the classical place name, Soandus [Garstang and Gurney 1959: p. 64 and map 1]. In 1944 Garstang placed Puruṣhanta on the southeastern edge of the Salt Lake (= Tuz Gölü) without citing a specific reason for its localization. This suggestion was maintained also on a map with their provisional equation of Puruṣhanta with Classical Soandus in 1959.<sup>7</sup> Actually it is unknown whether they intended to identify Puruṣhanta with the specific site. However, they knew of the presence of the large tell there, because they did not mention the modern name of the site, which they specified as Puruṣhanta. So, as N. Özgüç pointed out later, this location on the map coincides with the location of Acemhöyük.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, according to P. Garelli, J. Lewy later also proposed the identification of Puruṣhanta with Acemhöyük in the course of a lecture, which he gave at the College de France.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately it is not known how he reached this identification moving from his earlier identification of the south or southwest of Aksaray to the northwest of Aksaray.

The excavation at Acemhöyük was conducted by N. Özgüç on the supposition that it may be Puruṣhanta, but no decisive evidence was found, except that Acemhöyük was a most important centre during the Old Assyrian colony period [Özgüç 1966: pp. 29–30]. The most important discoveries concerning the identification of Puruṣhanta from this site are seals of Šamši-Adad I. So, the close association of the site with Old Assyrian trade was at least confirmed [Özgüç 1980: p. 65; Charpin 1984: p. 51]. J.R. Kupper recently pointed out that some stamp seals bearing the name, Aplaḥanda were discovered at Acemhöyük, thus he argues for the confirmation of its identification with Puruṣhanta/Buruṣhattum [Kupper 1992: p. 18]. However, in fact later studies of these stamp seals made by Ö. Tunca confirmed that the name, Aplaḥanda is not a geographical, but a personal name, though Tunca along with D. Lacambre maintained the identification of Acemhöyük with Puruṣhanta [Tunca 1993: pp. 629–33; Lacambre and Tunca 1998: p. 597].

G. Steiner, S. Alp and J.D. Hawkins recently argued against the identification of Acemhöyük with Puruṣhanta, while they agreed with Lewy and Bilgiç's earlier localization of Buruṣhattum/Puruṣhanta on the Konya Plain [Steiner 1993: pp. 579–99]. Steiner argues that if Buruṣhattum is identical with the city of Puruṣhanta, which is generally accepted, it cannot be Acemhöyük. Puruṣhanta was the seat of a stock house (É NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB) in the period of king Telepinu of Ḫatti and was still the cult place of the water god in the period of the Great Empire of Ḫatti, while the latest settlement at Acemhöyük was deserted in the Old Hittite period. Also the rôle of Buruṣhattum as the centre of silver mining or copper trade speaks against the identification with Acemhöyük. Steiner rather considers that Acemhöyük can be identified with Zalpa of the Old Assyrian period. Although as already mentioned Alp identifies Puruṣhanta with Karahöyük, he argues that Acemhöyük is certainly a better candidate for Kušar than Puruṣhanta, because Acemhöyük had a magnificent palace and close relations with Mari [Alp 1993: p. 193]. Hawkins considers that three toponyms: Ikuwaniya (= Konya), Ḫurniya and the Ḫulaya River, referred to beside Puruṣhanta in Telepinu's broken list of store cities (= Kbo III 1+68, iii. 17–33) can be located around the Konya plain. So, he argues that the identification of Puruṣhanta with Acemhöyük and its location does not accord with the locations of other toponyms. Thus he suggests that Puruṣhanta should be identified with Karahöyük which is situated near the Konya Plain [Baker, et al. 1995: p. 146; Hawkins 1995: p. 51, note 176].

On the other hand, most recently J.G. Dercksen argues against the localization Buruṣhattum/Puruṣhanta on the Konya Plain and agrees with the identification of Acemhöyük with Buruṣhattum/Puruṣhanta [Dercksen 1996: p. 13 and map]. Dercksen argues that TC III 165 states that the itinerary leading from Kaniš to Buruṣhattum through Wašḫania, Ninaša and Ulama took at least four days.

7 For the map published in 1944 by Garstang, see [Garstang 1944: p.16].

8 N. Özgüç also tells that T. Özgüç also placed the location of Acemhöyük on the map, though nothing about its identification with Puruṣhanta is mentioned [Özgüç 1966: pp. 29–30; Özgüç 1963: p. 98–99]. M. Forlanini supported this identification [Forlanini 1985: p. 46].

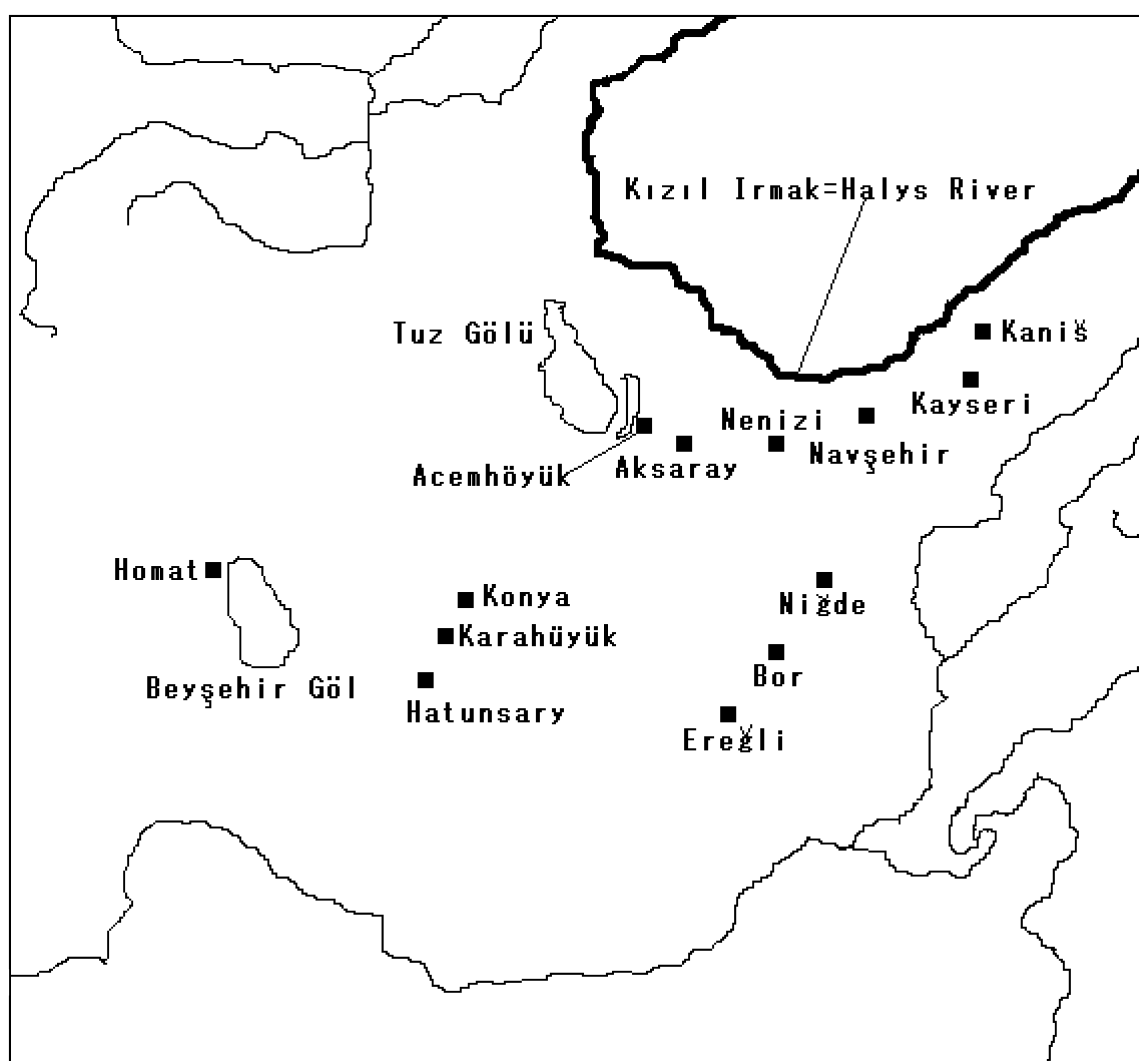
9 P. Garelli also agrees with this identification [Garelli 1963: p. 123 and note 4; Garelli 1989: p. 149].



He argues that the average day's journey of a caravan is about 30 km. So, the distance of the entire journey is approximately 120 km. The actual distance from Kaniš to Acemhöyük is about 150 km, whereas the distance from Kaniš to the Konya Plain is about double and is impossible to reach within four days.

Moreover, Dercksen considers that the localization of Purušhanta with Acemhöyük also accords with the circumstances of other itineraries. As Lewy suggested beside the route of TC III 165 there existed another route, since *KTH* 1, OIP 27, 54 and BIN IV 35 allowed him to reconstruct such a route. As Lewy first pointed out OIP 27, 54 shows the existence of a route Kaniš – Wašhania – Malita – Waḥšušana, and in *KTH* 1 Waḥšušana is likely to be situated in the vicinity of Buruštattum. Letter BIN IV 35 finally shows that caravans sent from Waḥšušana to Buruštattum used a road through Šalatu/iwar. So, there must have been another route diverting from Wašhania through Malita, Waḥšušana, Šalatu/iwar to Buruštattum. Dercksen considered that this route existed north of the Wašhania, Ninaša, Ulama and Buruštattum line.

Dercksen pointed out that there is another text, AKT 3, 34, which confirms the existence of the route from Waḥšušana, Šalatu/iwar to Buruštattum. In addition, this tells of the existence of rivers or canals with bridges over them near these three places. Moreover, in kt t/k 1 and its duplicate



Map 1: Supplementary map for the location of Purušhanta

kt t/k 25 there are also mentions of rivers near Waḫšušana and Šalatu/iwar. Kt 91/k 424 indicates the itinerary Buruḫattum – Šalatu/iwar – Waḫšušana – Tuḫpia – Turḫumit – Kaniš. In addition to this, kt 91/k 437 mentions a river crossing or *nēbartum* in the territory of Turḫumit. Based on the aforementioned pieces of topographical information, it can be established that these places are to be located in the vicinity of the rivers. Dercksen particularly assumed that the river crossed by boat near the territory of Turḫumit is the Kızıl Irmak. Thus, he locates it northeast of Acemhöyük and the Kızıl Irmak and locates the other cities mentioned in kt 91/ k 424 also to the north of Acemhöyük.

Furthermore, Dercksen also established Waḫšušana's northern location on the basis of the letter *ATHE* 63. The sender of this letter, being in Buruḫattum, asks Imdilum to send his textiles, which are brought from Zalpa and Ḫurama to Kaniš, on towards Waḫšušana via the road leading to Tawinia (*ḫarrān Tawinia*). Wherever the exact location of Tawinia is, it can definitely be located to the north of Kaniš. So, the general localizations of the place names of kt 91/k 424 and Waḫšušana's location north of Kaniš favour the identification of Buruḫattum/Puruḫanta with Acemhöyük.

We have briefly reviewed the history of the research into the localization of Puruḫanta/Buruḫattum. Before Lewy's argument arose in 1947, with the aid of a single piece of topographical evidence, some scholars provisionally identified the location of Puruḫanta/Buruḫattum. Hrozný provisionally identified it with the ancient Caesarea (= Kayseri). Landsberger located it in the region of Niğde. And finally Hardy identified the location of Puruḫanta together with Zalara between Landa (= Classical Laranda) and Lušna (= Classical Lystra), while Hardy suggested the possible equation of Hittite Puruḫanta with Buruḫattum. Since 1947, two major identifications of Puruḫanta/Buruḫattum can be observed. One prevailing identification is on or in the vicinity of the Konya Plain or in the region beyond Acemhöyük, and the other is its identification with Acemhöyük. Unfortunately, neither has yet been confirmed.

### 3: Methodology

In the following investigation of the location of Puruḫanta, the author of this paper will try to identify the regional locations of Puruḫanta by the application of cartographic analysis.<sup>10</sup> The topographical information from individual written sources is drawn on a map, and then they are superimposed in order to identify their overlapping areas. However the nature of all the written sources, which indicate the location of Puruḫanta, are different. So in order to harmonize diverse written sources indicating the different regional locations of Puruḫanta and obtain the most accurate and reliable topographical information of the location of Puruḫanta, all the written sources will be classified into three types, and then this cartographic analysis will be applied according their types.

The first type will be called **primary topographical information or written evidence**. This type directly indicates the regional location of Puruḫanta, thus it is very reliable. The second type will be called **supportive secondary topographical information or written evidence**. It does not directly indicate the location of Puruḫanta and it does not stand alone as evidence indicating its location, but in conjunction with primary topographical information, it can circumstantially strengthen the reliability of primary topographical information. The supportive secondary topographical information will, therefore, be included in the studies of primary topographical information. So, based on these two different types of written evidence, an overlapping core regional location of Puruḫanta will be drawn by superimposing all the regional locations of primary and supportive secondary

<sup>10</sup> This method was originally invented by C. Wall-Romana to investigate the location of Agade. The author will apply fundamentally the same method as him for identifying the regional location of Puruḫanta. However it will be more improved and applied in a different way [Wall-Romana 1990: pp. 205–45].

topographical information or written sources. Thus, every piece of reliable topographical information will be harmonized and given equal weight.

The last type will be called **secondary topographical information or written evidence**. It can indicate the regional location, but possibly contains erroneous topographical information, because topographical information for the regional location of Purušĥanta can only be extracted in a secondary or indirect way. Each given piece of secondary topographical information will be superimposed separately on the core regional location in order to avoid inclusion of complex erroneous topographical information. Thus, several tentative regional locations will be drawn for the location of Purušĥanta. Some of the tentative regional locations may be accurate, but some may not. Unfortunately, this limits drawing accurate regional locations with secondary topographical information. Some pieces of secondary topographical information indicate the same information as some pieces of primary topographical information. They will be included together in the section of primary topographical information, because the nature of their topographical information resembles supportive secondary topographical information. They are not separately taken into account for further tentatively delimiting the core regional location. Due to their similarity to supportive secondary topographical information, they do not have power to change the picture of the core regional location.

Sometimes an arbitrary distance is applied to delimit the extent of the regional location, because topographical information of any kind does not always necessarily indicate it. For example, based on the individual written sources, the regional location of Purušĥanta is to be confined beside the banks of the river, but it tells nothing about the extent of the distance from the river for delimiting its regional location. In such a case, we simply adopt the general distance, which appears to be enough to cover the location of Purušĥanta.

As for the depth of this study, it is limited only to translations of the texts since knowledge of the author of this paper is limited only to the elementary Akkadian language. So, all the investigations will rely on the most recent translations of the texts either in Japanese, English, German or French.

## 4: Regional Location of Purušĥanta

### 4. 1: Location of Purušĥanta in Primary Topographical Information

#### 4. 1. 1.

#### **Purušĥanta at a distance of four to five days' caravan journey**

TC III 165 and CCT 2, 1 together appear to give primary topographical information. They indicate the time span of the journey from Kaniš to Burušĥattum. Their translations are given below:

TC III 165, line 1–47

<Kaniš – Wašĥania: (1–4)>

From Kaniš to Wašĥania I spent 2 minas of tin on guards, on an inn, and on donkey-fodder.  
<Wašĥania – Ninaša: (5–12)>

The palace took 21 shekels of tin as *nishātum*-tax; the gentleman took x minas; the lord of the town took 9 1/2 minas; I spent from Wašĥania to Ninaša 1/3? minas of copper on an attorney, and 10 minas of copper on an inn and on donkey-fodder.

<Ninaša – Ulama: (13–23)>

The palace took 24 shekels of tin as *nishātum*-tax; the lord of the town took 15 shekels of tin; the gentleman, the *imrum*, and the head of the ... took 10 1/2 shekels of tin; I spent from Ninaša to Ulama 2 minas of copper on an attorney, and 10 minas of copper on a stable, donkey-fodder,

and an inn.

<Ulama – Buruṣḫattum: (24–30)>

From Ulama to Buruṣḫattum I spent: the gentleman took 5 minas of copper; the attorney took 10 minas of copper; 10 minas of copper on an inn; 10 minas of copper on donkey-fodder; 30 minas on smuggling.

<In Buruṣḫattum: (31–42)>

15 minas of copper for the rent of a house; 2 minas of silver (to pay for) my food and (for) that of the servants; I gave 1 shekel of silver per mina (of silver) and 1 mina of copper per talent (of copper) to the *kārum*-office as *šaddu'atum*-tax. They took 8 *kutānum*-textiles as “five per cent” levy at the *kārum*-office. The deficit of the *biltum*-loads was 12 minas of tin. I gave 2 minas of copper at half a mina of copper per shekel of tin(?) to the *kārum*-office.

<Additional Statement 1: (43–44)>

I paid 20 shekels of silver to porters from Kaniš to Wašḫania.

<Additional Statement 2: (44–47)>

I paid 17 1/3 shekels of silver to porters and to my guides from Wašḫania to Ulama [Dercksen 1996: p. 10].

CCT 2, 1, line 2–8<sup>11</sup>

Say to Pūšu-kēn, you wrote to me as follows: As soon as the tin brought by Kuzari arrived, I sent it to Buruṣḫattum. I hope to receive the silver in five days.

From these texts, it is clear that the journey from Kaniš to Buruṣḫattum took 4 to 5 days. TC III 165 shows that the journey began from Kaniš and went through Wašḫania, Ninaša and Ulama, and finally to Buruṣḫattum, and the payment of the inn in each place is recorded. So, it is clear that the journey took at least four days. Since CCT 2, 1 was found in Kültepe (= Kaniš), Pūšu-kēn, to whom this letter was written must have been in Kaniš and expecting the arrival of money from Buruṣḫattum in five days.<sup>12</sup> As briefly referred to in the introduction most recently Dercksen stated that the average day's journey of a caravan is about 30 km. So, the distance of four to five days' journey is approximately 120–150 km [Dercksen 1996: p. 13 and map].

In addition to topographical information given by TC III 165 and CCT 2, 1, another kind of primary topographical information is also to be utilized in connection with TC III 165 and CCT 2, 1. Kaniš is obviously located in the vicinity of either Kızıl Irmak (= the Halys River), the Seyhan River or the Ceyhan River, so there is a possibility that the journey may have involved a boat trip to reach Buruṣḫattum, and there are some pieces of evidence showing that a boat trip is very likely. As J. Lewy first noted texts: *KTH* 1, OIP 27, 54 and BIN IV 3, indicate the existence of another route from Kaniš to Buruṣḫattum apart from the route indicated by TC III 165. The translations of these three texts are given below:

*KTH* 1, line 1–26

Zu Aššur-nā'dā sage: folgendermaßen (sprach) Īdī-Ištar: “Demgemäß, daß das Land von Buruṣḫattum oder Waḫšušana im Aufstand ist – deswegen ging ich nicht nach Waḫšušana weiter und faßte über das Kupfer, welches in [W]aḫšušana niedergelegt ist, (noch) [ni]cht Entschluß. In [5 Tage]n werde ich klare Nachricht darüber vernehmen und (dann) [nach W]aḫšušana [weiterge]hen. [x] Minen Kupfer, gemischtes, [des A]gua bringt dir Aššur-šamši. Das Silber des Al(i)-aḫum wäge

11 A.R. Millard kindly translated the text into English [vd Meer 1931: pp. 92–5; Garelli 1963: p. 122, note 5].

12 Provenance of the documents published, as CCT was not at first clearly known. However, it was no doubt today that they originally derived from Kültepe (= Kaniš) [Veenhof 1997: pp. 308–10].

dar und (dann) kauft für den Rest des Silbers kusītu(-Stoffe) [aus] Mama oder menuniānu(-Stoffe) oder Häute, *Wolle(haltige)*, und macht die Esel voll(beladen), und (zwar) sollen leere Esel nicht zu mir kommen. Gib acht und nimm die Tafel mit ihrem Ältestenprotokoll und schicke (sie) mir (dann) mit dem frühesten (Boten) her [Lewy 1930: text no. 1].”

OIP 27, 54, line 1–21

2/3 Šeqel weniger 6 1/2 Korn Silber zahlte ich von Kaniš bis Wašḫania auf den Namen des Alāḫum, Sohn des Adad-bāni; 3 Šeqel Zinn zahlte ich in Wašḫania als *dātum* für seine Esellast; 12 Šeqel Zinn gab ich für das Gästehaus in Wašḫania; seine Anteil (an den Ausgaben) ist 3 1/2 Šeqel Zinn; 5 [...] Šeqel Zinn in Malita; [...] Šeqel Zinn ist der Anteil seines Esels; [...] Šeqel Zinn der Lohn des Reisebegleiters, der mit uns von Wašḫania bis Malita ging; von Malita bis Waḫšušana zahlte ich 3 Minen *šikum*-Kupfer als Lohn des Reisebegleiters aus Malita [Nashef 1987: pp. 40–1].

BIN IV 35, line 1–48

Speak to Puzur-Aššur, thus (says) Buzāzu: When I had been summoned to move to Kaniš, and I was about to leave, I left tin, both mine and yours, behind with Ilī-wēdāku, saying: “Acquire before I return fine copper so that it falls to my share.” Unfortunately, I was suddenly confined to bed after I returned from Kaniš. After I had recovered, I said: “Give me the copper, both mine and that of Puzur-Aššur, so that I can go to Buruḫattum and earn silver, about 10 minas, both for Puzur-Aššur and for myself.” While he kept arguing with me, a blockade came in force and I was delayed for 5 or 6 times: “Let us send him the copper,” but as for me, he refuses to give me my copper, and as for you, he refuses to send (it) to you. He keeps sitting on the copper and is still making up his mind what to do with it. It is not the right moment for me to lodge a compliment. I said: “First, let Puzur-Aššur take from the merchandise I have in trust (*būlātu*) whatever he can.” But I become anxious and decided to act as an envoy, thinking: “I will personally transport as much copper as possible, both mine and that of Puzur-Aššur.” I personally brought the copper to Šalatu/iwar, and when I was about to leave, he made known to me the merchant(’s name) (who was the owner in Ilī-wēdāku’s view), lest I myself would seize the copper. I thought: “Let it be, he can indicate to me (as the copper’s owner) whichever merchant he wants.” As soon as I entered Šalatu/iwar, he appointed 2 persons as agents and took action to cause problems to you and me, and has made the copper the property of a strange merchant! And today he is suing me (for the copper)! And he wrote for a contract, asking: “Engage me for the copper at 1 shekel of silver per 30 shekels of copper.” The man has gone mad [Dercksen 1996: pp. 188–90].

When we consult Lewy’s identification of the existence of the other itinerary route from Kaniš to Buruḫattum with the topographical information for the location of Buruḫattum given by the aforementioned three texts, we certainly have to admit the existence of such a route. The route must be the following: Kaniš – Wašḫania – Malita – Waḫšušana – Šalatu/iwar – Buruḫattum, and in comparison with the itinerary route indicated by TC III 165 this route diverted from Wašḫania. Furthermore, kt. 83/k 117 also indicates the existence of the route from Waḫšušana to Buruḫattum through Ulama. Its translation is also given below:

Kt. 83/k 117, line 1–24

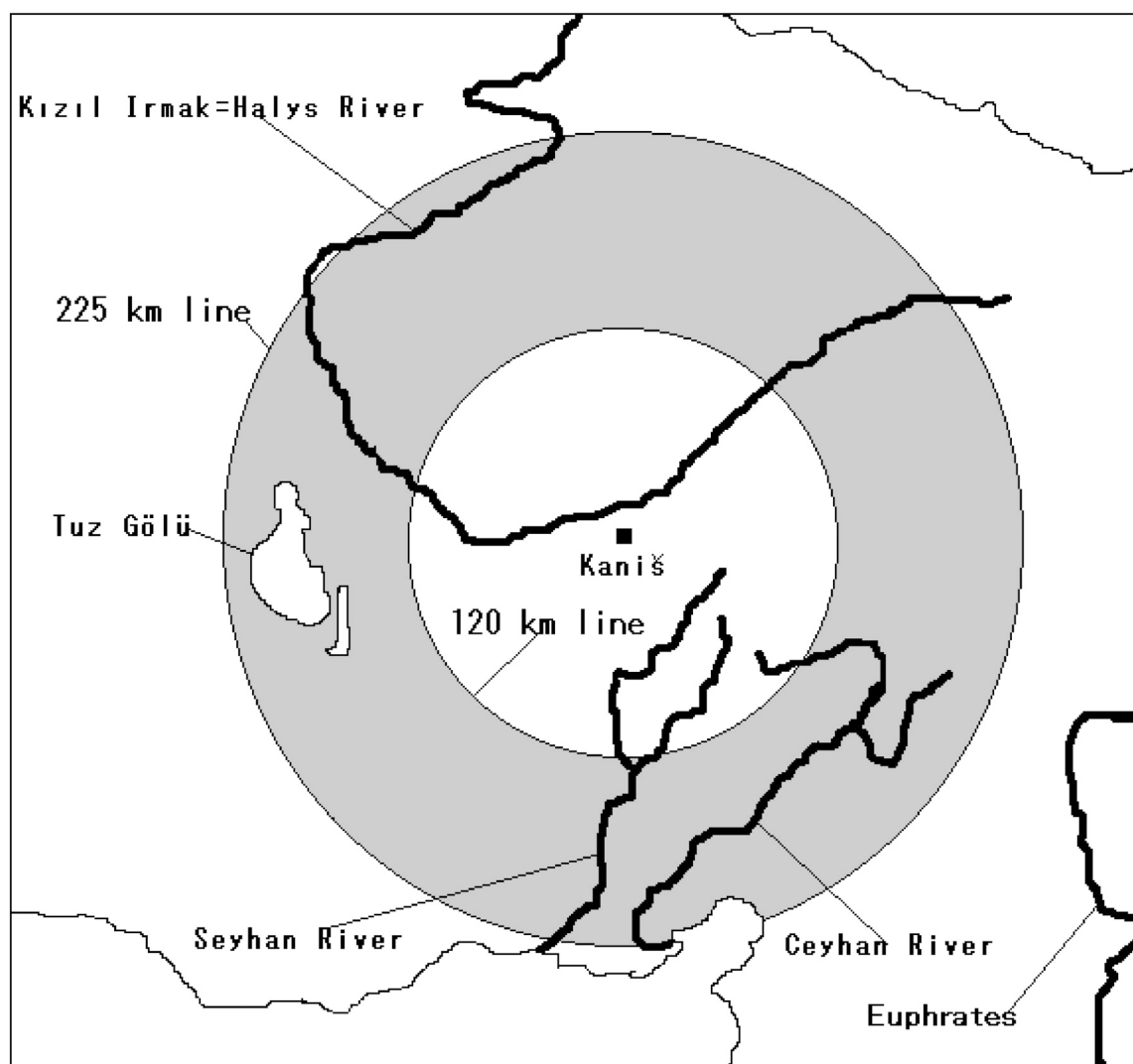
Speak to *kārum* Kaniš: Thus (say) your envoys and *kārum* Waḫšušana: The *wabartum*’s of Ulama and Šalatu/iwar have sent us letters (tablets) and having read (them) we have put them under seal and they are on their way to you. The very day we have the(se) letters read, we have sent two messengers by way of Ulama and two (other) messengers by way of Šalatu/iwar to Buruḫattum in

order to clear up the matter. The first report they will bring us we will write to you in order to inform you (more in details). Ikuppia, the scribe, is our messenger [Günbattu 1995: pp. 107–115].

However, unfortunately apart from Kaniš, none of the other places can be located with certainty. So, we cannot even determine the exact direction of the journey with certainty. However, later Dercksen identified that the caravan journey through Waḥšušana and Šalatu/iwar to Buruḥattum definitely involved the crossing of rivers or canals. Here the translations of three texts indicating this fact are given:

AKT 3, 34, line 1–24

From Waḥšušana to Šalatu/iwar the road-tax, (costs for) donkey-fodder and inn together amounted for us to 1 mina 55 shekels of copper per (donkey); furthermore they levied 20 shekels (of copper) per donkey at the bridge. The donkey-fodder (cost) 2 1/2 minas of copper in Šalatu/iwar. As far as Buruḥattum (the costs) per (donkey) amounted for us to 2 1/2 minas (of copper). They levied 15 shekels (of copper) per donkey at the bridge. (I paid) 1 1/2 minas (of copper) in Buruḥattum for donkey-fodder and for food for the servant. I gave Arwanaḥšu 2 1/2 minas of copper for his



Map 2: Core regional location of Puruḥanta

expenses [Dercksen 1996: p. 11].

Kt t/k 1 and its duplicate kt t/k 25, line 7–35

Šalatu/iwar (7–21): I gave 3 shekels of silver to the inn; I paid 3 shekels of silver to the *kārum* office as *šaddu)atum*-tax; I paid 7 minas of (kt t/k 25 adds: *šikkum*) copper for wine on the day we bought the *perdum*; 1 mina (of copper) for the stable; all this I paid in Šalatu/iwar because of the *perdum*. We left Šalatu/iwar and I paid 2 1/2 minas of copper at the bank of the river (kt t/k 25 has: *ina titūrim*, ‘on the bridge’) because of the *perdum*. I paid 2 minas of copper in Šalatu/iwar for barley.

Waḥšušana (22–35): 5 minas of copper for the inn; I paid 5 minas of copper to the *kārum* office as *šaddu)atum* tax; I paid 5 minas to the gentleman; I paid 4 minas for barley; I gave 10 minas of copper for an escort to the *allahḫinnum* official, and he escorted me as far as the bank of the river; I gave 1 mina to the boatman; all this I paid in Waḥšušana because of the *perdum* [Dercksen 1996: p. 12].

So, there is a considerable possibility that the caravan journey from Kaniš to Burušhattum or vice versa as indicated by these texts, most probably involved a boat trip. The average distance of the boat trip along the current is about 60 km from Aššur on the Tigris [Wall-Romana 1990: pp. 215–6]. So, in case half of 5 days journey from Kaniš to Burušhattum or vice versa involved a boat trip, Burušhattum is to be situated within 225 km of Kaniš. Thus, the location of Burušhattum can be sought in the area between 120 and 225 km from Kaniš. Apart from this reliable topographical information for the location of Burušhattum, there appear no more pieces of primary topographical evidence. So, in the following sections, we will investigate a number of pieces of secondary topographical information in association with this core regional location. See map 2.

## **4. 2: Location of Purušhanta in Secondary Topographical Information**

### **4. 2. 1.**

#### **Purušhanta west of Aksaray and in the vicinity of Tuwanuwa and Ḫupišna**

The tentative location of Purušhanta will be investigated in relation to a number of place names, which occur beside the city of Purušhanta in several written sources. However, regrettably they only give secondary topographical information. As a result of the above investigation, we know that three routes existed to reach Purušhanta: Kaniš – Wašḫania – Ninaša – Ulama – Burušhattum, Kaniš – Wašḫania – Malita – Waḥšušana – Šalatu/iwar – Burušhattum and finally Waḥšušana – Ulama – Burušhattum. So far, the location of the only one place name, Kaniš (= Kültepe) is securely attested. However, unfortunately none of the other places can be located with certainty. When we consider the scholarly opinions for the locations of these places, it is clear that tentative location for Purušhanta as well as the other places: Wašḫania, Ulama, Malita, Waḥšušana and Šalatu/iwar can be established by the tentative localization of Ninaša. So, it is appropriate to begin with the arguments for the identification of Ninaša.

A.T. Olmstead appears to have first considered the identification of Ninaša. In 1922 he suggested equating it with Classical Nanassos of the Ptolemaic map, obviously due to the similarity of both names [Olmstead 1922: p. 226]. For its localization he followed W.M. Ramsay’s earlier identification with Momoassos of the Jerusalem Itinerary [Ramsay 1890: p. 285]. According to Ramsay it can be located twelve miles east of Archelais on the road to Tyana, and identified Nanassos/Momoassos with modern Mamasun, about eight km east of Aksaray.

In 1930 E. Forrer agreed with Olmstead and located Ninaša generally in the same area [Forrer

1926–9: pp. 36–7]. He identified Ninaša/Classical Nanassos with modern Nenizi situated about 110 km southwest of Kaniš and 40–45 km east of Aksaray given the similarity of the sounds borne by these place names.<sup>13</sup>

Later E. Bilgiç agreed with Olmstead's equation of Ninaša with Classical Nanassos, but he avoided specifying the possible location of Nanassos, placing it in the vicinity of modern Aksaray as various scholars had proposed. According to Bilgiç, sites south of modern Aksaray and modern Eskinez/Eskinoz located south of modern Mamasun and 10 km southeast of Aksaray are also possible candidates for the identification of Nanassos apart from modern Mamasun and modern Nenizi.<sup>14</sup> Bilgiç particularly disagreed with Forrer's identification with Nenizi, because he considered that Classical Nazianzos is more suitably equated with modern Nenizi [Bilgiç 1945–51: p. 20 and note 148]. Bilgiç's view of the localization of Ninaša/Classical Nanassos was accepted by several scholars [Goetze 1962: p. 27 and note 5; Garelli 1963: pp. 122–3; von Schuler 1965: p. 34 and note 173; Orlin 1970: p. 37 and note 40, and p. 82].

F. Cornelius also agreed with Bilgiç and tentatively proposed the equation of Ninaša/Classical Nanassos with modern Nevşehir, and suggested the identification of modern Nenizi with Hittite Ninišankuwa [Cornelius 1958b: p. 379; Cornelius 1961: p. 217; Cornelius 1967: p. 77; Cornelius 1973: p. 79 and a map].

Most recently M. Forlanini also added some more pieces of topographical information. According to her the River Maraššantiya, which is to be identified with the Halys River (= Kızıl Irmak) was worshipped in Ninaša in KUB VI 45 II (= KUB VI 46 II). Moreover, KUB XLVIII 105 and KBo XII 53 indicate that Ninaša was included together with Ulama/Walama in the province of Turmita, which also lay on the Maraššantiya River, because this river together with ̘ılaš(š)i and ̘ašamili formed a group of the gods of the city, which were attributed to the city of Turmita in KUB LV 43 IV 32, 1. Thus, she approximately placed its location northeast of modern Aksaray and west of modern Nevşehir [Forlanini 1985: pp. 48–9 and map; Forlanini 1992: p. 179].

There are several other pieces of topographical information indicating a slightly different location for Ninaša. J. Garstang and O.R. Gurney first suggested the possible proximity of Ninaša with ̘upišna and Tuwanuwa, because it occurs with them twice in the Prayer of Muwattalli (KUB VI 45 II 10–19 = 46 II 52–9) and KUB XXVI 2 Rs. 2–4 [Garstang and Gurney 1959: pp. 63–4]. A. Archi and H. Klengel later observed that Ninaša also occurs together with ̘upišna and Tuwanuwa in KBo III 1 I 9, 67 I 10, KUB XI 1 I 9 (= BoTU II 23 I 9 = The Decree of Telpinu), KUB X 48 II 7f [Archi and Klengel 1980: pp. 154–5]. As we have already cited ̘upišna is very likely to be identified with Classical Cybistra/modern Ereğli. The equation of Tuwanuwa with Classical Tyana/modern Kemerhisar has widely been accepted since F. Hrozný first proposed it in 1920. He was depending on Ramsay's earlier argument, identifying Classical Tyana with modern Kemerhisar, just a few miles distant from modern Bor [Ramsay 1890: p. 88, p. 346 and 449; Hrozný 1920: p. 40, note 1; Olmstead 1922: p. 226; Sayce 1922: p. 234; Forrer 1926–9: pp. 19–20 and pp. 35–7; Goetze 1940: p. 53, note 200; Hardy 1941: p. 188; Garstang 1944: pp. 18–9; Cornelius 1958c, p. 2; Garstang and Gurney 1959: p. 64; Garelli 1963: p. 123; von Schuler 1965 p. 34, note 175; Gurney 1981: p. 18]. Today Tuwanuwa is definitely to be identified with Classical Tyana located beneath the modern town of Kemerhisar as the bridge between the two names is provided by a stela with a hieroglyphic Luwian inscription found at Bor [Hawkins 1997: pp. 246–7]. So, there is a possibility that Ninaša is to be located in its vicinity. So, there are two tentative locations of Ninaša. One is in the vicinity or east of modern Aksaray and the other is in the vicinity of ̘upišna and Tuwanuwa.

The localizations of the first station, Wašḡania and of the second station, Ulama, are very

13 J. Lewy agreed with Forrer's identification [Lewy 1956: p. 20, note 86].

14 The locations of Mamasun, Nenizi and Eskinez/oz cannot be found on the modern atlas, so their locations on map 3 are approximate.



tentative. All scholars, who have tried to identify WašĦania, worked from the tentative localization of Ninaša, thus they simply placed it between Ninaša and Kaniš and in the vicinity of either modern İncesu or Nevşehir [Lewy 1947: pp. 13–6; Lewy 1956: p. 20, note 86 and pp. 59–60 and note 251; Bilgiç 1945–51: p. 21; Finkelstein 1956: p. 104; Cornelius 1958b: p. 382; Garelli 1963: p. 122; Orlin 1970: p. 36, note 38 and p. 87; Archi and Klengel 1980: pp. 154–5; Forlanini 1992: p. 179]. The situation surrounding the localization of the third station Ulama is the same as WašĦania. The scholars who placed Ninaša east of modern Aksaray placed it in the vicinity of Aksaray. Others, who placed Ninaša in the vicinity of Aksaray, placed it south of Tuz Gölü (= Salt Lake), some in particular identified Ulama with Acemhöyük [Lewy 1947: pp. 14–6; Lewy 1956: pp. 59–60; Bilgiç 1945–51: p. 20; Garelli 1963: pp. 122–3; Garelli 1965: p. 43; Cornelius 1967: p. 77; Orlin 1970: p. 86 and map on pp. 110–1; Neu 1974: p. 21; Archi and Klengel 1980: p. 154–5; Forlanini 1985: p. 46, notes 1 and 4, and a map].

We also investigated the scholarly opinions relating to the identifications of the stations of another itinerary: Malita, Waḥšušana and Šalatu/iwar. However, the situation is more or less the same as WašĦania and Ulama. The tentative localizations of these three cities also depend on either the tentative localization of Ninaša or the tentative localization of BurušĦattum, which is also initially established by the tentative location of Ninaša. So, unfortunately we cannot obtain any informative topographical information for the location of our PurušĦanta.<sup>15</sup> In 1929 and 1958, only B. Hrozný and F. Cornelius argued the localization of Šalatu/iwar without taking the tentative localizations of Ninaša and PurušĦanta into consideration. Their arguments are only based on the similarity of sounds of the names. Hrozný equated Šalatu/iwar with Classical Sabatra of the Tabula Peutingeriana, which is the Lycaonian steppe (= north of the Taurus Mountain). Due to the discovery of the Greek inscription mentioning Sabatra in the ruins of Jaghli Baiyat (this name does not appear in the modern Turkish atlas) located 58 km east of Konya, Hrozný also identified this site with Classical Sabatra/Savatra/Soatra and with Šalatu/iwar [Hrozný 1929: pp. 291–2]. However, if the ruins of Jaghli Baiyat is really located 58 km east of Konya, this position is about 240 km away from Kaniš and located outside of the 225 km outer ring of the core regional location of PurušĦanta. So, Šalatu/iwar, which is the last station before reaching to BurušĦattum as clearly indicated above, cannot be placed outside of the 225 km outer ring of the core regional location of PurušĦanta. Furthermore, according to J. Lewy, Classical Sabatra/Savatra/Soatra is more preferably equated with the Hittite Šuwatara of the Apology of the Ḫattušili III [Lewy 1947: p. 16].

F. Cornelius equated Šalatu/iwar with Classical Sadakora obviously in the similarity of the sounds of the names [Cornelius 1958b: pp. 382–3; Cornelius 1961: p. 217; Cornelius 1973: p. 84 and p. 298, note 72].<sup>16</sup> He does not give further references for its location, but according to W.M. Ramsay, Classical Sadakora is mentioned by Strabo as on the road between Classical Soanda (about modern Nevşehir) and Caesarea (= modern Kayseri). So, it is located in the vicinity of modern İncesu [Ramsay 1890: pp. 306–7]. In relation to this identification, Cornelius also identified Waḥšušana in the vicinity of modern İncesu. However, when considering the location of PurušĦanta in relation to these identifications, the supposed location of BurušĦattum, which is approximately located at a distance of one day's journey from Šalatu/iwar can only be placed on the area before the 120 km of inner ring of the core regional location as İncesu is located about 45 km away from Kaniš. So, Cornelius' identification is unlikely.

15 For the localization of Malita [Nashef 1991: pp. 81–2; Lewy 1947: p. 15; Bilgiç 1945–51: p. 21; Orlin 1970: p. 36 f.; del Monte 1992: p. 99; Forlanini 1992: p. 178]. As for the remaining two cities, Waḥšušana and Šalatu/iwar the scholarly opinions cannot be separated. Their localizations have usually depended on the localization of one and another [Lewy 1947, pp. 15–6; Lewy 1956: pp. 59–61; Bilgiç 1945–51: pp. 21–2; Garelli 1963: pp. 123–5; Orlin 1970: pp. 36–7, notes 36 and 42, p. 83 and p. 87; Gurney 1979: p. 167; Forlanini 1985: p. 48 and map; Günbattı 1995: pp. 107–115; Dercksen 1996: pp. 11–2 and map A; Michel 1998: p. 272].

16 E. Neu agreed with Cornelius [Neu 1974: p. 34].

Concerning the core regional location of Puruṣḫanta and two tentative regional locations for Ninaša, two tentative regional locations for Puruṣḫanta can be drawn. One will be in the area behind modern Aksaray inside the core regional location, because between Ninaša and Buruṣḫattum there was the third station, Ulama, whose tentative westernmost location is estimated in the vicinity of Aksaray. The other regional location of Puruṣḫanta may be ascertained, if we take the distance from Tuwanuwa to Ḫuṣiṣna, which is about 60 km, from the locations of Tuwanuwa and Ḫuṣiṣna inside the core regional location. See map 3.

There is another piece of secondary topographical information, which indicates the same regional location as the one of the two regional locations of Puruṣḫanta based on the localization of Ninaša above. As we have already briefly noted, when we considered the topographical relation of Tuwanuwa, Cybistra and Ninaša, the Decree of Telepinu I line 7–12 (= KBo III 1) also refers to four other place names beside Tuwanuwa, Cybistra and Ninaša. Most importantly one of them is to be read as Puruṣḫanta. The relevant parts of the translation of this text are:

The Decree of Telepinu I line 7–12 (= KBo III 1, line 9–12)

He (Telepinu) constantly destroyed the (enemy-)lands and conquered the lands in their entirety and made them into the frontiers of the sea. (i.e. he extended his realm as far as the sea.) When he came back from campaign, each of his sons went somewhere in a (particular) land: Ḫuṣiṣna, Tuwanuwa, Ninaša, Landa, Zalara, Puruṣḫanta, Lušna; and they administered the (individual) countries, and the individual big towns were added to it [Kuhrt 1995: pp. 244–8; Borger, et al. (hrsg.), 1982–85: pp. 464–70].

So, there is a possibility that Puruṣḫanta may be placed in the vicinity of Tuwanuwa and Cybistra as well, and we can draw the same regional location as one of the regional locations drawn around Tuwanuwa and Cybistra. However, it should be mentioned that when we consider this argument in conjunction with the tentative locations of the remaining three places, Landa, Zalara, and Lušna, their tentatively identified locations refute the aforementioned argument, because the locations of Landa and Zalara are still controversial, and Lušna, whose localization is generally agreed by scholars, is to be placed in the area far from the core regional location of Puruṣḫanta. Thus, no further hints for the location of Puruṣḫanta in the Decree of Telepinu can be obtained. So, topographical information provided by the Decree of Telepinu should be treated as supportive

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17 Scholarly opinions concerning the locations of Landa, Zalara and Lušna are shown below.

<The location of Landa>

A.T. Olmstead equated Landa with Classical place names based on W.M. Ramsay's earlier proposal to equate Ptolemy's Classical Leandis in Cataonia with Laranda of the Antonine Itinerary. Concerning the localization of Classical Leandis/Laranda, Ramsay reported that Laranda was still called Laranda by the Christian population as well as Karaman, which is the official and usual name. [Ramsay 1890: p. 311 and p. 336; Olmstead 1922: p. 226]. These equations and its identification were then widely accepted [Garstang and Mayer 1923: Laanda; Forrer 1926–9: p. 41–2; Hardy 1941: p. 188; Garstang 1944 pp. 18–9; Cornelius 1958b: p. 389].

Apart from the identification of Landa with modern Karaman, some scholars proposed different localizations. In 1959 Garstang with Gurney changed his earlier opinion, having at first agreed with the identification of Landa with Karaman. They connected between the shrine of Belat, the Great Goddess of the district of Landa mentioned in the Mattiwaza Treaty (= KBo I 1) and the Persian period shrine of the goddess Anaitis worshipped at Zela (= modern Zile) located southwest to Classical Gaziura (= modern Turhal). The only reason given for this equation is that they believe that shrines tend to become traditional [Garstang and Gurney 1959: p. 22 and 25]. So, it has to be judged that this equation is groundless and arbitrary as E. Laroche and A. Ünal later disagreed with it [Laroche 1961: p. 66; Ünal 1974: p. 198].

According to Laroche the name of the goddess of Landa is Kun(n)iyawanni, and the name of another goddess, Belat is its Akkadian allomorph. So, the comparison Belat of Landa with Persian goddess, Anaitis of Zela is groundless. Laroche also disagreed the localization of Landa in modern Karaman, because he considered that Landa is in general to be located to the south of the Salt Lake (= Tuz Gölü), because he considered that all seven place names in the Decree of Telepinu (= KBo III, 1), Ḫuṣiṣna, Tuwanuwa, Ninaša, Landa, Zalara, Puruṣḫanta and Lušna, can be placed in the Hittite Lower Land.

secondary evidence for one of the tentative regional locations of Puruṣhanta drawn around Tuwanuwa and Cybistra.<sup>17</sup>

In the Prayer of Muwatalli (= KUB VI 51 + 46) he solemnly invokes all the gods and goddesses, mountains and rivers of the Land of Ḫatti and prays for them to come to his aid. The emergency, which is weighing on him is not specified and the prayer was probably written for use as occasion might require. This prayer is a complete list of the gods and goddesses of the Hittite kingdom, arranged according to their cult-centres. In col. II, line 38–40, the place name Puruṣhanta occurs with other place names. The translation of the relevant part of the text is:

The Prayer of Muwatalli (= KUB VI 45 + 46), col. II, line 38–40

Storm-god of Uša, Storm-god of Puruṣhanta, Mt. Ḫuwatnuwanta, River Ḫulaya, gods, goddesses, mountains and rivers of the Lower Land [Garstang and Gurney 1959: p. 118; Singer 1996: p. 37].<sup>18</sup>

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Ünal identified the general location of Landa to the north of the Halys River [Ünal 1974: p. 198]. He particularly pointed out topographical information concerning Landa given by the Apology of Ḫattušili III (=Ḫattušiliš), which is preserved in multiple contemporary copies, all found in the eastern storeroom of the Great Temple at Ḫattuša. Its column II 3-7b tells that Kaškeans from Pišhuru, Išhupitta and Taištipa passed the Maraššantiya River (= the Halys River) and then marched further south to Kaniš after they had destroyed a place, of which only the first sign of the name, L[a----] was preserved which A. Götze, who first published the Apology of Ḫattušili III, restored as L[andaš] [A. Götze 1924: p. 15]. Ünal supporting this restoration argued that Landa has to be placed to the north of the Maraššantiya River (= the Halys River). However, by looking at scholarly opinions about this restoration, it clearly appears controversial. E. Laroche and most recently H. Otten, H.M. Kümmel and A. Kuhrt do not support this restoration, whereas E. von Schuler, J. Garstang and O.R. Gurney agreed with it [Laroche 1961: p. 66; Borger, et al. (hrsg.) 1982–85: p.484; Garstang and Gurney 1959: p. 22; von Schuler 1965: p. 56, note 387].

<The location of Zalara>

As for scholarly opinions about the localization of Zalara, E. Forrer appears to have been the first to suggest the equation of Zalara with Classical Zoldera, which he tentatively identified with the ruin of the city located south of modern Karaman, because of the similarity of the sounds of both names [Forrer 1926–9: pp. 38–9]. R.S. Hardy at least agreed with Forrer's equation of Zalara with Classical Zoldera, but he assumed that Classical Zoldera should be placed more to the west. He agreed with Forrer's earlier identifications of Ḫupišna, Tuwanuwa, Ninaša, Landa and Lušna mentioned in the Decree of Telepinu with the Classical place names and their localizations, and he assumed that these place names were listed in geographical order. The locations of Ḫupišna, Tuwanuwa and Ninaša run from west to east. The second group, Landa, Zalara, Puruṣhanta and Lušna run from east to west due to the identification of Landa with Classical Laranda and Lušna with Classical Lystra located northwest of Laranda (= modern Karaman). However, the localization of Classical Zoldera in the vicinity and north of Karaman breaks the line from east to west. So, he argued that Zoldera together with Puruṣhanta should be placed between Landa (= Classical Laranda) and Lušna (= Classical Lystra) [Hardy 1941: p. 188].

J. Garstang and O.R. Gurney argued for the localization of Zalara with the opposite point of view. They assumed that Zalara must have lain in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake (= Tuz Gölü), probably in its northwest, because in the contexts of KUB XXI 6a Zalara is placed between Ḫarziuna and the Lower Land as the boundary place. They identified the extent and the location of the Lower Land with the low-lying plain of Konya, though they never mentioned the precise identification and localization of Ḫarziuna, and unfortunately it cannot be detected how they reached this localization of Zalara [Garstang 1944: pp. 18–9 and p. 33; Garstang and Gurney 1959: pp. 64–65]. In addition to these arguments concerning the localization of Zalara, del Monte notes that most recently J. Freu and M. Forlanini suggested the possible location of Zalara. However, the book published by J. Freu is unfortunately not available in the U.K, and two articles of Forlanini are written in Italian, so the contents cannot be accessed. For the details of the book and articles [del Monte 1992: pp. 190–1].

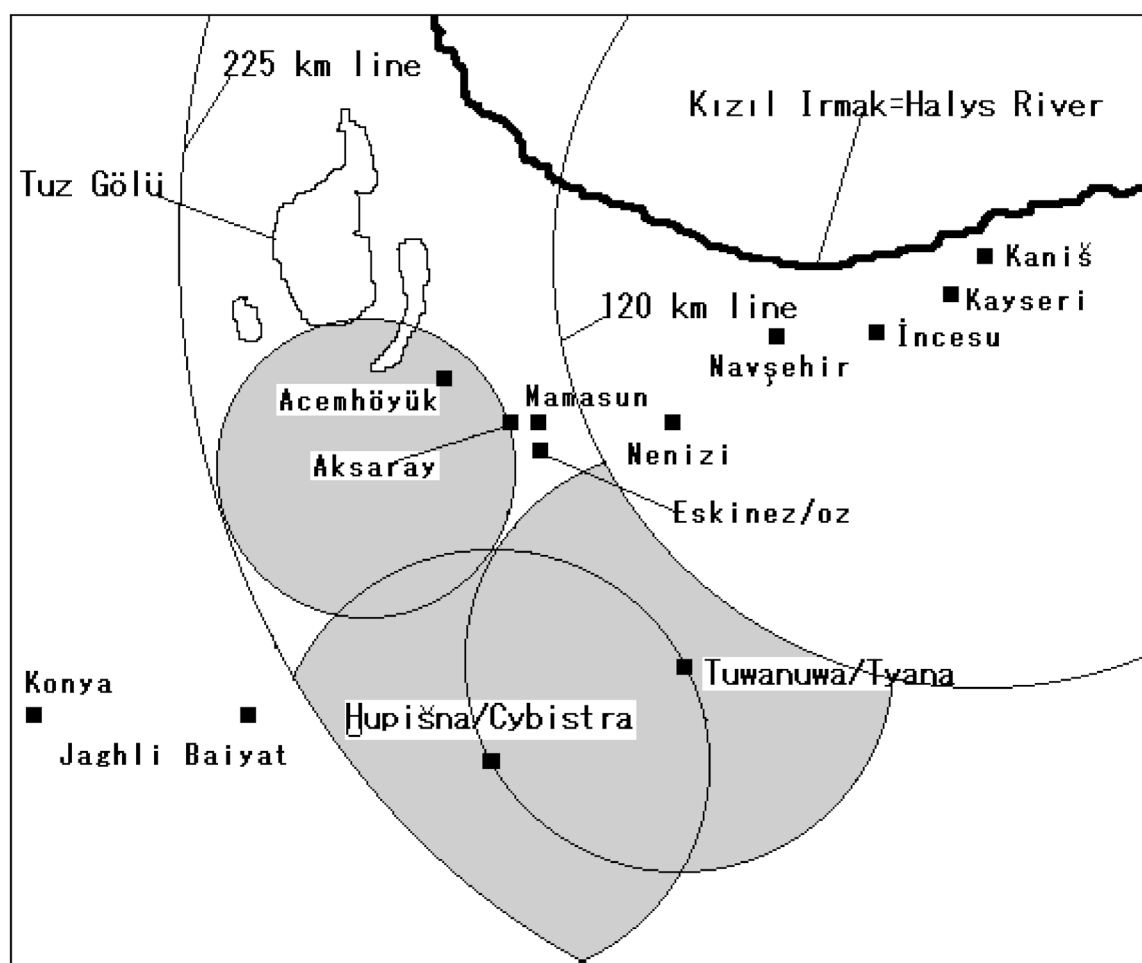
<The location of Lušna>

As for the location of Lušna, E. Forrer also first established its equation with Classical Lystra because of the similarity of the names. Moreover, according to W.M. Ramsey, Classical Lystra was identified with the site called Zoder a mile north of modern Hatunsary, south of Konya by the discovery of inscription carrying this name [Ramsay 1890: p. 332; Forrer 1926–9: p. 42]. Since then the identification of Lušna has universally been accepted by scholars [Hardy 1941: p. 188; Garstang 1944 pp. 18–9; Garstang and Gurney 1959: p. 64; Cornelius 1958b: p. 378; Cornelius 1973: p. 35 and 100; Heinhold-Krahmer 1977: p. 13 & note 9; Gurney 1981: p. 18].

18 The original edition has Ḫuwalanuwanta, but Garstang and Gurney argued that this must be a mistake either of the scribe or of the copyist, since a variant Ḫutnuwanta exists [Garstang and Gurney 1959: p. 118, note 3].

This text clearly refers to Uša, Mt. Һuwatnuwanta and River Һulaya alongside Purušhanta. No indication of their geographical order appears, so the location of Purušhanta cannot be established in relation to these three other names. However, it is clearly indicated that all of these place names are located in the Lower Land, so if the extent of the Lower Land superimposes on the ring of the core regional location of Purušhanta, there may be a possibility that Purušhanta of this text is to be placed in the superimposed area. So, the tentative extent of the Lower Land needs to be investigated.

The location of the Lower Land used to be taken as a virtual equivalent of the political term Arzawa.<sup>19</sup> However, A. Goetze clearly demonstrated a mistake in this identification. He demonstrated that the Lower Land is situated in the southern part of Anatolian plateau based on a number of pieces of evidence [Goetze 1940: p. 23]. For example, in the decree of Һattušili III (KBo VI 28, obv. 8), the Lower Land is a province of the Hittite Empire. When Muršili II inherited the throne, its governor was Һannutti (KUB XIX 29 IV 11 = *AM* 18 f.), obviously the same man, who (during the reign of Šuppiluliuma II) had led an army from the Lower Land against Һapala, one of the Arzawa countries (KUB XIX 22 4). The necessary inference that the Lower Land bordered on Arzawa can be confirmed by the fact that in Muršili II's second year a Hittite army stood by in the Lower Land in order to watch the moves of the Arzawan king (KUB XIV 16 I 23 = *AM* 28 f.). Under Muwatalli II the Lower Land is so firm a Hittite possession that the king moves the deities of Һatti there to



Map 3: Purušhanta west of Aksaray and in the vicinity of Tuwanuwa and Һupišna 1

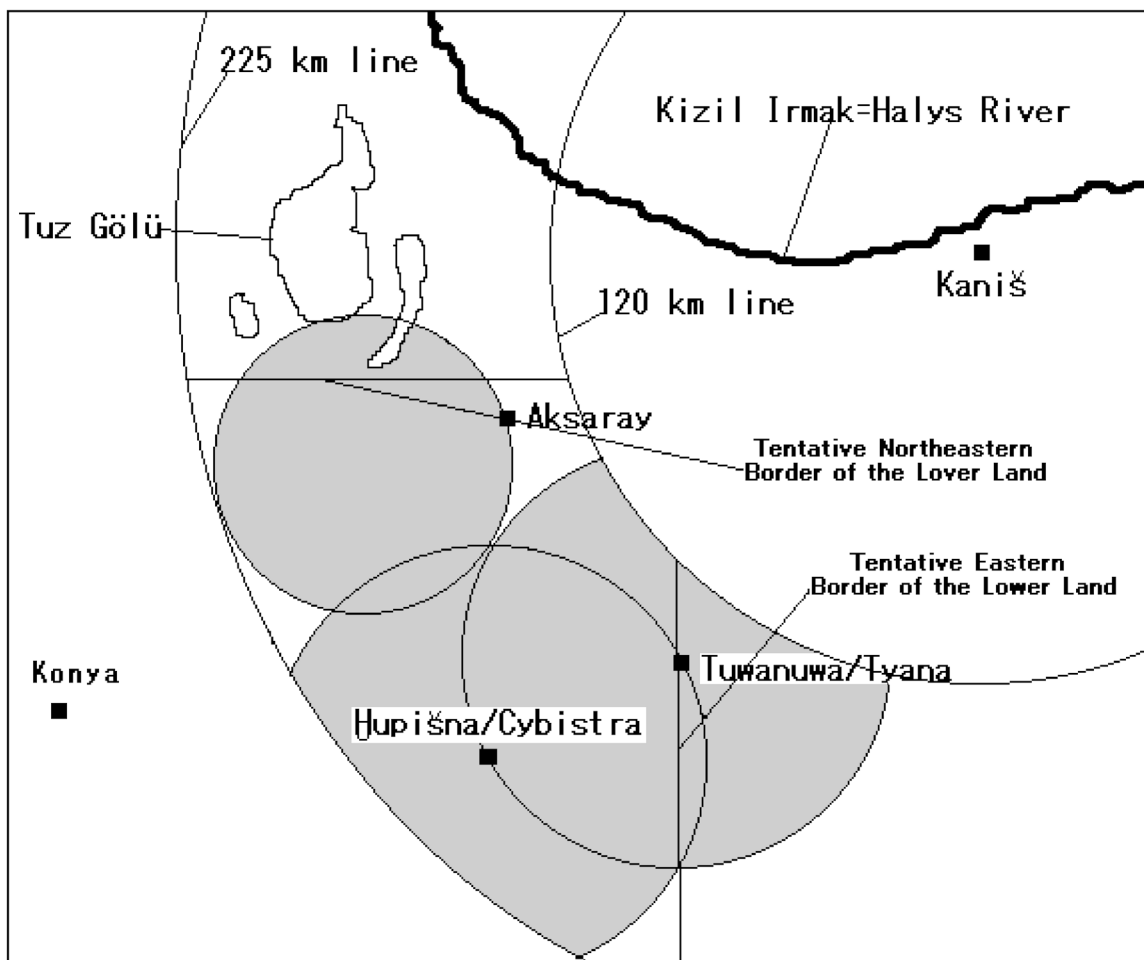
19 For further references to this early identification given by Forrer, Sayce and Hrozný [Goetze 1940: p. 23].

safeguard them from a possible Kaškean attack on the capital (*Hattušiliš* I 76). As shown above, the same king enumerates the gods of the Lower Land in his religious decree (KUB VI 45 with the duplicate 46) where all the deities of the Hatti countries are invoked. According to the pertinent section of the text (KUB VI 45 II 38) the cities of Uša and Purušhanta, the mountain of Hūwatnuwanta and the river Hūlaya are in the Lower Land. The Lower Land also was a Hittite possession in the days of Hattušili III (= KUB XXI 6a rev. 13) and of Arnuwandaš (= KUB XXVI 9 I 6). Thus, Goetze concluded the Lower Land must be placed in the southern part of Anatolian plateau [Goetze 1940: pp. 22–3].

Later Garstang and Gurney agreed with Goetze's identification of the Lower Land, and further deduced the possible extent of the Lower Land from a brief account of an early raid described by Hattušili III in the Decree of Hattušili III (= KBo VI 28). Thus:

“In early days the Hatti Lands were sacked from beyond their borders..... From beyond the Lower Land came the enemy from Arzawa, and he too sacked the Hatti Lands and made Tuwanuwa and Uda his frontier.”

Hence, like Goetze, Garstang and Gurney considered that Arzawa lay in the west-south-west of Anatolia [Garstang 1944: pp. 18–20; Garstang and Gurney 1959: pp. 64–5]. Furthermore, from the above quotation, it is clear that the Arzawan enemy could not only invade the Lower Land



Map 4: Purušhanta west of Aksaray and in the vicinity of Tuwanuwa and Hūpišna 2

successfully, but could completely overrun this Hittite district to make “Tuwanuwa his frontier”. So, they argued that the Lower Land was situated between the border of Arzawa and the border of the Ḫatti Land. Tuwanuwa has been identified with Classical Tyana/modern Kemerhisar, and that is not mentioned as a part of the Lower Land in the Prayer of Muwatalli II, but it stands in the Ḫatti Land outside the north-east boundary of the Lower Land.<sup>20</sup> Thus, Garstang and Gurney deduced that the area crossed by the Arzawan army must have been the low-lying plain of Konya, with an extension northwards to include the Salt Lake, and extending for an uncertain distance towards the south-west and Arzawa. The whole of this area is low-lying in comparison with the central Hittite homeland, from which it is separated to the south of the Halys basin by a range of hills.<sup>21</sup>

When we consider the possible extent of the Lower Land identified by Goetze, Garstang and Gurney in relation to the ring of the core regional location of Puruṣhanta, it becomes clear that the result roughly accords with and supports the extent of the two tentative regional locations of Puruṣhanta based on the tentative localization of Ninaša. See map 4.

#### 4. 2. 2.

##### **Puruṣhanta in the vicinity of Uša**

As we have seen Uša, Mt. Ḫuwatnuwanta and the River Ḫulaya are referred to together with Puruṣhanta in the Prayer of Muwatalli II (= KUB VI 51 + 46). However, there is no indication of their topographical relation apart from that they are in the Lower Land. However, P. Garelli reminded us that CCT 5 12b, EL 168 12 and 25, and BIN IV 45 28 and 33 show the proximity of Buruṣhattum to Uša. Furthermore, according to Garelli Waḫšušana is also referred to together with Buruṣhattum and Uša in BIN IV 45 [Garelli 1963: p. 125 and note 1]. K. Nashef recently also drew attention to the unpublished text I 766, which shows the close geographical relation of Uša with Buruṣhattum and Ulama [Nashef 1991: pp. 130–1]. Unfortunately no translations of these texts are available so, the nature of the topographical information cannot be assessed. However, we know from TC III 165 that Ulama is the last station before Buruṣhattum, and the aforementioned *KTH* 1, OIP 27 and BIN IV 35 indicated that Waḫšušana is to be located about two days’ journey away from Buruṣhattum. So, there is a strong possibility that if Uša is really located in the vicinity of Ulama, Waḫšušana and Buruṣhattum, it can be also reached at least within two days’ journey from Puruṣhanta.

It should also be noted that the Lower Land used to be identified as a virtual equivalent of the political term Arzawa. In 1940 Goetze clearly demonstrated that this identification was mistaken. So, the scholarly arguments prior to 1940 relating to the localization of Uša will be excluded. It is clear that the land and the city of Uša as well as Mt. Ḫuwatnuwanta and the River Ḫulaya could not be correctly located with that misleading identification of the Lower Land, because all of them were closely associated with the Lower Land.<sup>22</sup>

The location of the land and the city of Uša as well as the location of Mt. Ḫuwatnuwanta are only assumed in relation to the localization of the Ḫulaya River Land. So, we have to first investigate the scholarly opinions relating to the localization of the Ḫulaya River Land. After 1940 Garstang and later with Gurney undertook an extensive investigation [Garstang 1944: pp. 14–38; Garstang and Gurney 1959: pp. 66–72]. According to them the delineation of the boundary of the Ḫulaya River Land is described in the treaty with Ulmi-Tešup (= KBo IV 10). They observed that the successive clauses are epitomized in the schedule, which starts with a place-name in the ablative

20 F. Cornelius agreed with this point and states that F. Kinal also pointed out this fact and placed the Lower Land to the west of Niğde and Tyana [Kinal 1953: p. 7; Cornelius 1958b: p. 381–2; Cornelius 1959: p. 105; Cornelius 1963: p. 243; Cornelius 1967: p. 63].

21 According to G.F. del Monte, Forlanini most recently mentioned the identification of the Lower Land, but the book is written in Italian, so it is not accessible [del Monte 1992: p. 179].

22 E. Forrer identified Uša with Hasa köy, north of Niğde [Forrer 1926–9: pp. 7–8 and pp. 21–23].

case, the function of which seems to be to indicate a direction as seen presumably from the interior of the Ĥulaya River Land. Furthermore, the places or features are selected as prominent landmarks outside the frontier. Then, the boundary is precisely defined either by a direct statement such as “Mt. Lula is the boundary”, or by a reference to the nearest places on either side of it in that particular direction. However, most of these places seem to have been only hill villages not readily identifiable. There are five neighbouring countries or landmarks for the Ĥulaya River Land: the Land of Pittaša, the Land of Uša, the Land of Ĥatti, the Land of Tataša or the Outside and the Land of Walma, and a group of place names associated with each of them. The synopsis of the boundaries of the Ĥulaya River Land established by Garstang and Gurney is given below:

#### The Land of Pittaša

<Landmark 1>

The Land of Pittaša; the Boundary Mt. Ĥawa

<Landmark 2>

The Land of Pittaša; the Outside Boundary Šanantarwa; The Inside Boundary; Zarniya

<Landmark 3>

Pitaša Frontier; the Ouside Boundary Arimata.

<Landmark 4>

Mt. Ĥutnuwanta; the Inside Boundary *hallapuwanza*

<Landmark 5>

Kuršawanša; the Boundary *huwasi*-Stone

#### The Land of Uša

<Landmark 1>

Uša; the Inside Boundary Zarata

<Landmark 2>

Wanzatarwa; the Outside Boundary Ĥarazuwa

<Landmark 3>

Mt. Kuwalyata; the Inside Boundary Šanantarwa

#### The Land of Ĥatti

<Landmark 1>

Kušahušenaša; the Boundary Mt. Arlanta; the Inside Boundary Alana

<Landmark 2>

Šinuwanta; the Boundary Mt. Lula; the Inside Boundary Ninainta

<Landmark 3>

Zarnuša; the Inside Boundary *ħarmimas*

<Landmark 4>

Zarwiša; the Boundary Mt. Šarlaimi

<Landmark 5>

The High Mountain; the Ouside Boundary Šaliya

#### The Outside or the Land of Tataša

<No Landmarks & No Boundaries>

Walwara, Mata, Šanhata, Larima, Šarantuwa

#### The Land of Walma

<Landmark with Five Inside Boundaries>

Walma; the Inside Boundaries Waltana, Ušawala, Aluprata, Ғуғура

Garstang and Gurney first identified some of the particular landmarks associated with the Land of Ғatti. Mt. Arlanta is said to contain a lake and they identified it with the Karaca Dağ. Mt. Lula opposite Šinuwanta led them to the Byzantine stronghold of Loulon (or Lulum), near the modern village of Sinanti, which had already been identified by Forrer with Šinuwanta. Mt. Šarlaimi in the text is described near the High Mountain and Šaliya, but in the Prayer of Muwatalli (= KUB VI 45 +46) it is associated with Ғupišna, and Ғupišna has already been equated with Classical Cybistra at modern Ereğli. Šaliya was equated by Goetze with modern Pozantı in the Cilician Gates. Thus, Garstang and Gurney in general identified the group near the entrance to the strategic pass of the Cilician Gates, thus they tentatively identified other toponyms in the chain reaction. They identified Mt. Šarlaimi with İvriz Dağ running southeast to join with the Bolkar Dağ, and the latter Mountain representing the mightiest range in the great chain of Taurus, must represent the High Mountain near Šaliya (= modern Pozantı). Thus they located the Land of Ғatti in a large part of the Tyana district including the Taurus Mountain range.<sup>23</sup>

The interpretation of the section of the boundary, which follows that bordering “Ғatti” is more problematical. Five boundary places are said to belong to “Tataša” (= the Outside). However, there is no mention of a frontier and the usual landmarks. Garstang and Gurney assumed that this cannot mean simply “outside the Ғulaya River Land”, since, like the other ablatives in these clauses, it must serve to point the direction in which this particular section of the boundary lay. Thus, they assumed that possibly the expression is intended to be taken in conjunction with the last mentioned landmark, the High Mountain, in the sense “outside the High Mountain”. Then, they interpreted the phrase “on the outer side” in the sense “on the further side” from the point of view of the Hittite king residing at Ғattuša. As a result, they assumed that the territory of Tataša with the five towns would have to be sought on the southern side of the modern Çarşamba Çayı basin. So, Garstang and Gurney tentatively concluded that a very suitable location for Tataša would be near modern Karaman.

As a result of a number of the tentative localizations of the aforementioned place names, Garstang and Gurney concluded that the boundary is traced in a clockwise direction. From the Taurus Mountains, it follows the Lands of Walma, Pitaša and Uša. So these neighbouring countries must be located respectively to the west, northwest and northeast of the Ғulaya River Land. Therefore, for the identification of Mt. Ғutnuwanya, which is in the Land of Pittaša they identified with Boz Dağ. As for the Land of Uša, they identified it with the larger area called the Lower Land running east from Boz Dağ, skirting the southern shore of the Salt Lake (= Tuz Gölü), up towards the valley in which Aksaray now stands. Garstang and Gurney did not specify the Ғulaya River with any specific modern river, but on their map they placed its name on the modern Çarşamba Çayı.<sup>24</sup>

Forlanini followed Garstang and Gurney’s identification of the River Ғulaya with the modern Çarşamba Çayı, but she did not agree with Garstang and Gurney’s identification of the Land of Uša.

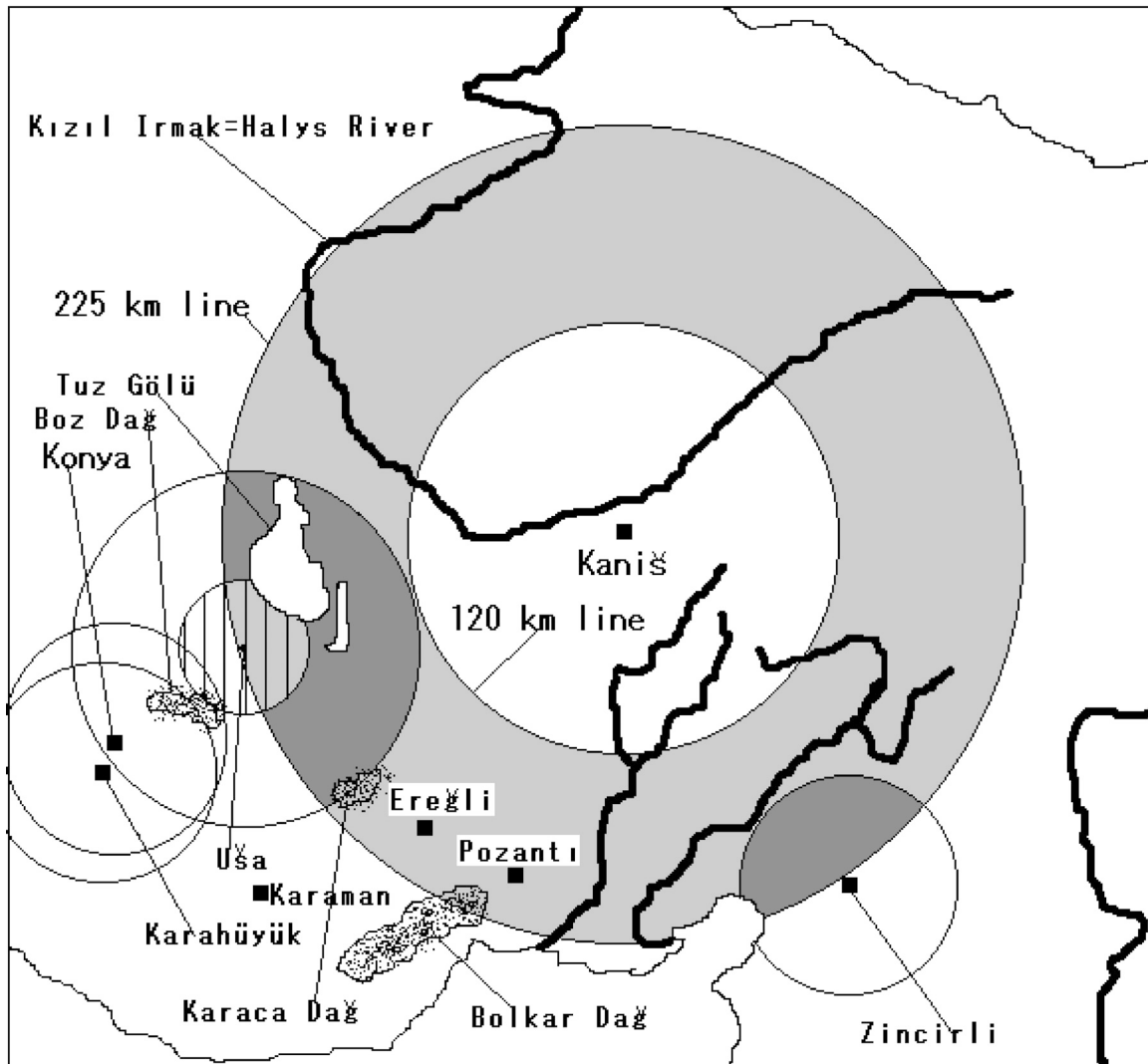
23 The locations of Loulon/Lulum and Sinanti cannot be found on the modern maps. However Forrer and Ramsay described their locations north of the Taurus Mountains [Forrer 1926–9: p. 21; Ramsay 1890: pp. 351–4]. İvriz Dağ cannot be identified on the modern atlas as well.

24 Although Garstang and Gurney’s identification of the Ғulaya River Land and accompanied identifications of the Land of Uša and Mt. Ғutnuwanta are largely hypothetical, their identification of the River Ғulaya Land has been widely accepted. The actual identification of the River Ғulaya differs, but scholars at least identified the rivers flowing within the region identified as the Ғulaya River Land by Garstang and Gurney. For example, E.I. Gordon later identified the Ғulaya River with the Ғulu Irmağı, the southeastern outflow of Beyşehir-Lake and to be carried eventually through the gorges of the Çarşamba Çayı to water the Konya Plain. F. Cornelius tentatively identified the Ғulaya River with the Classical Kalykadnos River/modern Gök Çayı [Gordon 1967: p. 81, note 29; Cornelius 1967: pp. 63–4; Cornelius 1973: p. 23, p. 224 and note 8 and p. 241]. M. Mellink agreed with Cornelius’ view [Mellink 1974 p. 111].



She identified Uşa with Konya or Karahüyük, because she considered that this place is closely tied with the River Һulaya Land (= the plain of the arşamba ayı), and more plausible for its identification [Forlanini 1985: p. 63, note 76].<sup>25</sup>

W. Schramm attempted to read the short cuneiform inscription written on a fragmentary steatite



Map 5: Puruřanta in the vicinity of Uřa

25 Though the location of Uřa is not considered in relation to the identification of the River Һulaya Land, most recently Hawkins also agrees with Garstang and Gurney's earlier identification of the plain of the arşamba ayı, because Hawkins locates three toponyms: Ikuwaniya (= Konya), Һurniya and Puruřanta, referred to beside the Һulaya River in Telepinu's broken list of store cities (= KBo III 1+68, iii. 17–33) around the Konya plain. Most importantly Puruřanta is mentioned along with three other toponyms here. However, no detailed translation of this text is available. The Edict of Telepinu, which contains this broken list, is recently translated by Kuhrt and H.M. Kümmel, however they stated that the relevant parts are very difficult to understand. So, unfortunately no translation of this text is available for us, thus we cannot judge the nature of its topographical information. Hawkins also informs us that the bronze tablet discovered in 1986, bearing the treaty between Tudđaliya IV of Һatti and his first cousin, Kurunta king of Tarđuntařa, contains a revised version of the frontiers of the Һulaya River Land with the same other toponyms in the same order as KBo IV 10. On this tablet both Uřa and Mt. Һutnuwanya are referred to as the boundary of the Һulaya River Land with the same other toponyms in the same order as KBo IV 10. For Hawkins' identification of the River Һulaya, see [Baker et. al. 1995: p. 144–6; Hawkins 1995: pp 49–51]. For the translation of the Edict of Telepinu by Kuhrt and Kümmel, see [Kuhrt 1995: p. 244–8; Borger, et al. (hrsg.) 1982–85: pp. 464–70]. For the translation of the relevant parts of the treaty between Tudđaliya IV of Һatti and Kurunta king of Tarđuntařa, see [Otten 1988: p. 13; Beckman 1998: pp. 464–70].

tablet which H. Bossert initially published in 1958, but neither Bossert nor E. Weidner, whom he consulted by letter, could give a satisfactory reading. Schramm very tentatively attempted to read the three sentences as follows: “[PN], king of the Land of Uša”. Since this tablet is said to have found at modern Zincirli, he argued that Zincirli can be identified with Uša. It is impossible for us to either prove or disprove the correctness of his reading and he did not take other pieces of topographical information into account. So, obviously this is a very tentative argument [Schramm 1983: pp. 458–60]. K. Nashef rejected this equation later, stating that this identification appears very unlikely and contradicts a number of pieces of topographical information relating to the locations of Puruṣḫanta, Waḫṣuṣana and Ulama, which are mentioned above and below. Besides the physical location of Zincirli does not contradict the ring of the core regional location of Puruṣḫanta. So, this very tentative identification will be included the tentative regional location of Puruṣḫanta [Nashef 1991: pp. 130–1].

We can now attempt to delimit the core regional location of Puruṣḫanta in relation to four tentative locations of Uša: the area running from Boz Dağ to the southwestern shore of the Salt Lake (= Tuz Gölü), Konya, Karahöyük and Zincirli. Concerning the geographical relation between Puruṣḫanta and Uša in CCT 5 12b, EL 168 12 and 25, BIN IV 45 28 and 33, and I 766, we know that Ulama and Waḫṣuṣana were also associated with them. Ulama is the station before Buruṣḫattum, and Waḫṣuṣana is two stations before Buruṣḫattum. So, we can delimit the ring of the core regional location of Puruṣḫanta by a distance of two days journey, which is 60 km from the locations of the four candidates for Uša. It is obvious that Konya and Karahöyük are clearly too far away from the core regional location, while a 60 km distance of the limitation from the area running from Boz Dağ to the southwestern shore of the Salt Lake (= Tuz Gölü) and Zincirli succeed in delimiting the core regional location of Puruṣḫanta. See map 5.

#### 4. 2. 3.

##### **Puruṣḫanta between Neša and the River Ḫulana**

In the Hittite text of Anitta (= KBo III 22 = KUB XXVI 71, KUB XXVI 98b), Puruṣḫanta is mentioned in relation to three different places: Neša, Šalatiwara and the River Ḫulana. There appears to be suggestive topographical information concerning the location of Puruṣḫanta. The translation of the relevant part of the text is:

The text of Anitta (= KBo III 22 = KUB XXVI 71, KUB XXVI 98b), line 72–8<sup>26</sup>

Still in the same year I (= Anitta, son of Piṭḫana, king of the city Kušar) campaigned against [...Šalatiwa]ra. The man of Šalatiwara arose together with his sons and went against [...]; he left his land and his city, and occupied the River Ḫulana.

Of Ne[ša...] avoided [him] and set fire to his city, and [...] it i[n], the troops surrounding(?) the city (were) 1400 infantry and 40 teams of horses, si[lver] (and) gold he had brought (with) him, and he has left. When I [...] went into battle, the man of Puruṣḫanta [brought] me gifts, and he brought me a throne of iron and sceptre of iron as a gift. But when I came back to Neša, I brought the man of Puruṣḫanta with me. As soon as he enters the (throne) chamber, he shall sit before me at the right.

As we have already investigated opinions relating to the localization of Old Assyrian Šalatu/iwar, little informative topographical information can be obtained. However, it appears obvious from this text that Puruṣḫanta is located in the vicinity of Šalatiwara, and the latter's location is

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26 The newest translation of this text and the further references are given by A. Kuhrt [Kuhrt 1995 pp. 226–7].

described between Neša and the River Ғulana. So, it may be possible also to locate Purušhanta between these two places. Concerning the toponym Neša, it has universally been accepted that it is another name for the city of Kaniš in the Hittite sources [Nashef 1991: pp. 87–8; del Monte and J. Tischler 1978: pp. 290–1; del Monte 1992: p. 115; Wilhelm 1999: p. 232]. As a result, if the River Ғulana is to be located outside the ring of the core regional location of Purušhanta, we can tentatively delimit a certain part of the area of the two rings of 120 and 225 km lines by secondary means. There are two major streams of argument for the localization of the River Ғulana.

As already mentioned, B. Hrozný equated Šalatu/iwar with Classical Sabatra of the Tabula Peutingeriana and by the discovery of a Greek inscription mentioning Sabatra in the ruins of Jaghli Baiyat (this name does not appear in and accord with the modern Turkish atlas.) 58 km east of Konya, Hrozný identified this site with Classical Sabatra/Savatra/Soatra and with Šalatu/iwar. According to Hrozný, in the Greco-Roman period, there was a river called Hylas coming from the east and flowing into the Lake Tatta near Savatra. So, due to the proximity of River Ғulana with Šalatu/iwar mentioned in the text of Anitta (= KBo III 22 = KUB XXVI 71, KUB XXVI 98b) and phonetic similarity of the Classical Hylas River with the Hittite Ғulana River, Hrozný equated them [Hrozný 1929: p. 292].

F. Cornelius read <sup>id</sup>Ғulana as the ideogram <sup>id</sup>SIG<sub>7</sub> (= yellow or green river), and identified the river with the Yeşil Irmak (= green river) [Cornelius 1959: p. 109]. However, later he changed his opinion and identified it with the Classical Kydnos River, probably because he realized that he had mistakenly read <sup>id</sup>Ғulana (= ideogram <sup>id</sup>SÍG = wool river) as the ideogram <sup>id</sup>SIG<sub>7</sub> (= yellow or green river) [del Monte and Tischler 1978: pp. 529–30; von Schuler 1965: p. 55 and note 379]. According to Cornelius, the Ғulana River is mentioned in KUB XXVI 43 in relation to Patuwanta/Podoandos [Cornelius 1963: p. 244; Cornelius 1973: p. 24 and note 60]. Cornelius did not indicate the locations of Patuwanta/Podoandos and the Kydnos, but according to Ramsay, Nicephorus' expedition advanced into Cilicia, and there the army encamped on the banks of the Kydnos River. So, its location is somewhere in the Cilician plain [Ramsay 1890: p. 350].

J. Garstang and O.R. Gurney identified the River Ғulana with the Samantı River, a tributary of the Seyhan River [Garstang and Gurney 1959: p. 6 and p. 44]. They took two pieces of topographical information into account. In the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma, it is stated that the men of Maša and Kamala had repeatedly attacked the Land of the Ғulana River and the land of Ka/išiya [H.G. Güterbock 1956: pp. 41–130]. So, firstly from this it can be ascertained that the Land of the Ғulana River is situated near Ka/išiya. Moreover, Ka/išiya is listed in the Narrative of the Accession of Ғattušili III between Tumana and Šapa and the River Ғulana is listed after Šapa [Götze 1924]. Garstang and Gurney recognized that the list of the towns recorded in the Narrative of the Accession of Ғattušili III and the parallel text KBo VI 29 show the same sequence for the order of the towns, thus they concluded that the towns listed in these texts were situated on a strategic road leading roughly north to south or at least that the sequence was determined by the north to south direction of geographical considerations. They identified Tumana with Pala listed before Kašiya on the mountain chain between modern Sivas and modern Şahr (= Kumani/Classical Comana), thus they argued that the Land of the River Ғulana or the River Ғulana together with Ka/išiya can be placed in its vicinity, and they provisionally identified it with the Samantı Su.

Goetze accepted the possible proximity of Tumana with the Ғulana River, but disagreed with Garstang and Gurney's identification of Tumana on the mountain chain between Sivas and Şahr [Goetze 1960: pp. 43–6]. Instead, Goetze located Tumana to the west of the Halys River, accordingly the Ғulana River is to be placed in the same area. Goetze firstly assumed the hostile political situations of Pala and Tumana against the Hittites at the end of Šuppiluliuma's reign, when he was engaged in the warfare in Syria, and his main forces were certainly concentrated in Ғalpa (= Aleppo) and Karkamiš. The success of the war against Syria was obviously based on open rear communications

between Ḫalpa and inner Anatolia by way of Kumani (= modern Şahr/Classical Comana), Takarama and along the line from present day Malatya to Sivas. Hostile Pala and Tumana are placed across those lines, so the war against Syria could not be carried out. Thus, he concluded that Garstang and Gurney's identification of Tumana on the mountain chain between Sivas and Şahr was simply impossible.

For the localization of Tumana, Goetze regarded the itineraries of KBo V 8 iii 3 ff. and KUB XIX 13 I 7 ff. as the most important evidence, because they allow a placement of Tumana to the area west of the Maraššantiya River, which Goetze identified with the Halys River. However, he did not give the details for the nature of the topographical information contained in these two itineraries, and his argument is vague and the clear fundamental opinions supporting the localization of Tumana cannot be identified. It appears that his identification was rather based on the sequence of a number of the hypothetical localizations of certain place names.<sup>27</sup> Since Goetze's identification of Tumana west of the Halys River, some scholars tentatively identified the Ḫulana River with specific rivers located in this region. J.G. McQueen identified it with the Kirmir River [McQueen 1968: p. 177 and map on p. 176]. According to G.F. del Monte J. Freu also suggested a location of the River Ḫulana to the west of the Halys River, and specifically identified it with the Classical Sangarios River, which is to the north of the Porsuk Çayı.<sup>28</sup> Forlanini argued that this Ḫulana River is to be identified with the Porsuk Çayı, and even if not it can be at least placed in a northwestern localization.<sup>29</sup>

As already stated, Hrozný's identification of the river Hylas in the vicinity of the ruins of Jaghli Baiyat (this name does not appear in and accord with the modern Turkish atlas) located 58 km east of Konya and about 240 km southwest from Kaniš, is physically impossible, simply because Şalatu/iwar, which is the last station before reaching to Buruḫattum from Kaniš as clearly indicated by many documents in the sub-chapter 4.1.1 above, it cannot be placed outside of the 225 km outer ring of the core regional location of Puruḫanta.

Garstang and Gurney's identification of the River Ḫulana with Samantı River also appears unlikely. Samantı is situated inside the inner ring of 120 km line of the core regional location of Puruḫanta, but Puruḫanta is described as in the vicinity of Hittite Şalatiwara, and Şalatiwara is to be located between Neša (=Kaniš) and the River Ḫulana. So, the only possible place to locate Puruḫanta is on the inner side the ring of 120 km line of the core regional location of Puruḫanta, and this location is clearly unsuitable for the location of Puruḫanta.

Some other tentative identifications of the River Ḫulana accord with the ring of the core regional location of Puruḫanta. Firstly, concerning Cornelius' view, though there is no positive evidence to prove his identification of the River Ḫulana in the Cilician plain, it is physically possible to locate Puruḫanta in the Cilician plain in relation to considering the locations of Şalatiwara and Puruḫanta.<sup>30</sup> The Cilician plain is delimited in general as the tentative regional location of Puruḫanta.

McQueen, Freu and Forlanini identified the River Ḫulana in the same district of the west of the Halys River, which Goetze first pointed out. They identified it with the Kirmir River, the Classical Sangarios River and the Porsuk Çayı. Two lines are drawn from Kaniš to the northern end of the Kirmir

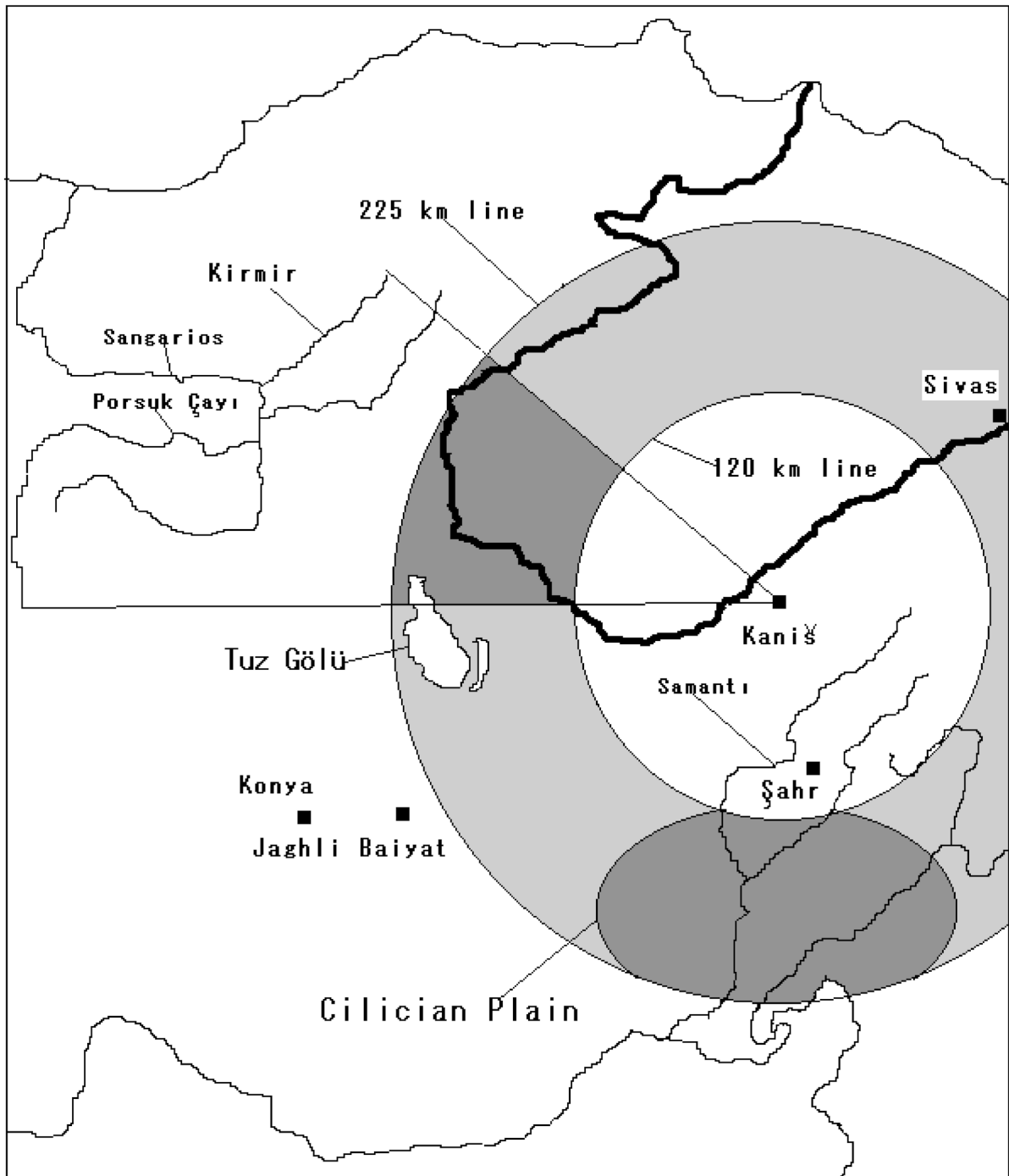
27 A. Goetze's identification of the Ḫulana River was widely accepted by several scholars [von Schuler 1965: p. 55 and note 379; Cf. Ünal 1974: p. 191; Ünal 1972–7: pp. 489–90].

28 The Classical Sangarios River is located to the north of the Porsuk Çayı according to W.M. Ramsey, but unfortunately Freu's book is not available in the U.K, so his reasoning for this identification cannot be observed [del Monte 1992: pp. 40–1; Ramsey 1890: map on p. 23].

29 Forlanini did not give details for this specific localization, but it seems that she argued about it in the article, which she published a few years ago. However, it is written in Italian, so unfortunately it cannot be accessed [Forlanini 1985: p. 48, note 20].

30 Cornelius must have unaware of the Text of Anitta (= KBo III 22 = KUB XXVI 71, KUB XXVI 98b), line 72–8, as he identified Şalatu/iwar in the vicinity of modern İncesu, which is obviously not situated in the Cilician plain, see his identification of Şalatu/iwar in sub-chapter 4.2.1.

River and to the southern end of Porsuk Çayı thus, we can assume that Šalatiwara could be placed in the area between these two points. So, if one of the identifications of the River Hūlana is really true, Puruṣhanta, which is the neighbour of Šalatiwara and may possibly be located at the distance of one day's journey from Šalatiwara, may be sought in the area between the two lines in two rings of the core regional location. See map 6.



Map 6: Puruṣhanta in the region between Neša and the River Hūlana

## 4. 2. 4.

**Purušhanta at a distance of four to five days' journey from Ḫattuša**

In *ATHE* 63 the proximity of Burušhattum to Waḫšušana is mentioned. In addition to this, it is indicated that Waḫšušana may be located between Burušhattum and Tawinia. Opinions related to the localization of Waḫšušana are unfortunately not informative for considering the location of Purušhanta as it always derived from the tentative localization of Ninaša. However, we know that a number of texts indicate that the route went from Waḫšušana to Burušhattum through Šalatu/iwar as repeatedly mentioned above.

*ATHE* 63

A Imdilum, di[s]. Ainsi (parle) Puzur-Aššur: à propos du cuivre d'Amur-Ištar, à mes représentants à Burušhattum, ils ne veulent pas livrer le cuivre. Au moment où tu entendras ma letter, je serai en route pour Burušhattum. Amur-Ištar ou Lullu doit me rejoindre, (là-bas), afin qu'on me livre le cuivre, et que je puisse faire sortir de l'argent pour toi, sous ma surveillance. Si les étoffes (provenant) de Zalpa, le cuivre (provenant) de Zalpa, le cuivre (provenant) de Ḫurama sont arrivés, envoyez-les par Tawi[n]ia à Waḫš[uš]a[na]. Ic[i], nous avons consulté le palais. Voici la réponse: "que les Kanešéens partent". Venez donc ici [Içhisar 1981: pp. 289–90].

From this text, it becomes clear that Puzur-Aššur commands Imdilum to send some fabrics from Zalpa and copper from Ḫurama to Waḫšušana through Tawi[n]ia, while he has to go (from Waḫšušana) to Burušhattum. So, in case we can at least establish the tentative location of Tawinia on the supposition that it is situated in the vicinity of Waḫšušana, which is obviously located at two days' distance from Burušhattum as *KTH* 1, *OIP* 27 and *BIN* IV 35 clearly indicated in the sub-chapter 4.1.1, we may be able to locate Burušhattum somewhere at three days' distance from Tawinia, which is approximately 90 km. In addition, we must be cautious about the involvement of a boat trip as it was clearly indicated by several texts that these cities are located in the vicinity of the river. So, the maximum distance of the journey should be assumed on the supposition that half of the three days' journey involved a boat trip. So, 120 km will be the possible maximum distance of the journey. So, we shall start by considering opinions for locating Old Assyrian Tawinia and Hittite Tawiniya.

In 1930 A. Götze and E. Forrer only briefly mentioned the identification of Hittite Tawiniya. They stated that Tawiniya is the name of a gate at Boğazköy-Ḫattuša according to Bo 2061 I 13–4. Thus, they suggested identifying it with the nearest city to Boğazköy-Ḫattuša, identifying it with Classical Tonea located to the north of Boğazköy-Ḫattuša and on the road from Classical Tavium (= modern Büyük Nefesköy) to Classical Amasia (= modern Amasya) of the Tabula Peutingeriana. They identified Tonea with Hüyük near modern Alaca (Altyapan was built on this great ruin hill) [Götze 1930: p. 27; Forrer 1930: p. 158; Goetze 1957a: p. 68; Goetze 1957b: p. 98]. E. Bilgiç also agreed with and supplemented Götze and Forrer's view. According to Bilgiç a milestone belonging to the road from Classical Tavium to Classical Amasia and Hittite layers were found at Hüyük near modern Alaca [Bilgiç 1945–51: p. 31 and note 215].

On the contrary, J. Garstang identified Tawiniya with Classical Tavium located some 19 km southwest of Boğazköy. He only argued that the location of Tavium seems to explain the name of one of the main entrances to Ḫattuša, called the Tawiniyan gate [Garstang 1943: p. 47]. So, obviously his identification originally derived from the phonetic similarity of both names.<sup>31</sup> In 1959, Garstang with Gurney attempted to further strengthen his earlier tentative view for the identification of Tawiniya with Classical Tavium based on two different listings of place names, Herald's List II (= VboT. 68, col. II) and the Festival Itinerary (= KUB IX 16; X 48; XX 80; KBo III 25) [Garstang and Gurney

31 J. Lewy agreed with Garstang [Lewy 1957: p. 27 f., note 3].

1959: pp. 11–2]. They describe journeys from Ḫattuša to Arina.

<Herald's List II>

Ḫattuša > Tawiniya > Tuḫupiya > Ališa > Zipišḫna > Amuna > Ḫatina > Arina

<The Festival Itinerary>

Ḫattuša > Katapa > Ḫakura & Tatašuna > Taḫurpa > Arina > Tatiška > Taštariša & Kaštama > Ḫurna > Zipalanta > Katapa > Taḫurpa > Tipuwa > Ḫattuša

Since there is no place in common between the two lists apart from the first station Ḫattuša and Arina, it is assumed that from the beginning the routes diverged, probably leaving the city of Ḫattuša by different gates to reach Tawiniya and Katapa respectively. They argued that there were three main gateways in the walls of Ḫattuša. Two are the King's Gate and the Lion Gate in the upper city to the south, and the other one is at the foot of the hill to the north. The configuration of the country is such that if the king on one occasion had left by the northern gate and on another had used one of the southern gates to reach the same objective, he would have had to make a long and unnecessary detour on one of the journeys. For this reason they exclude the northern gate, and conclude that the two routes to Arina were those leading out of Ḫattuša by way of the two southern gates. One of two southern gates was known as the Tawiniyan Gate in a fragmentary text (= KUB X 91, ii, 2–12) describing part of a religious ceremony:

“In the morning a decorated carriage stands ready in front of the temple; three ribbons, one red, one white, one blue, are tied to it. They harness the chariot and bring out the god from the temple and seat him in the carriage.” Various women go in front holding lighted torches... “and the god comes behind, and they take the god down through the Tawiniyan Gate to the wood.”

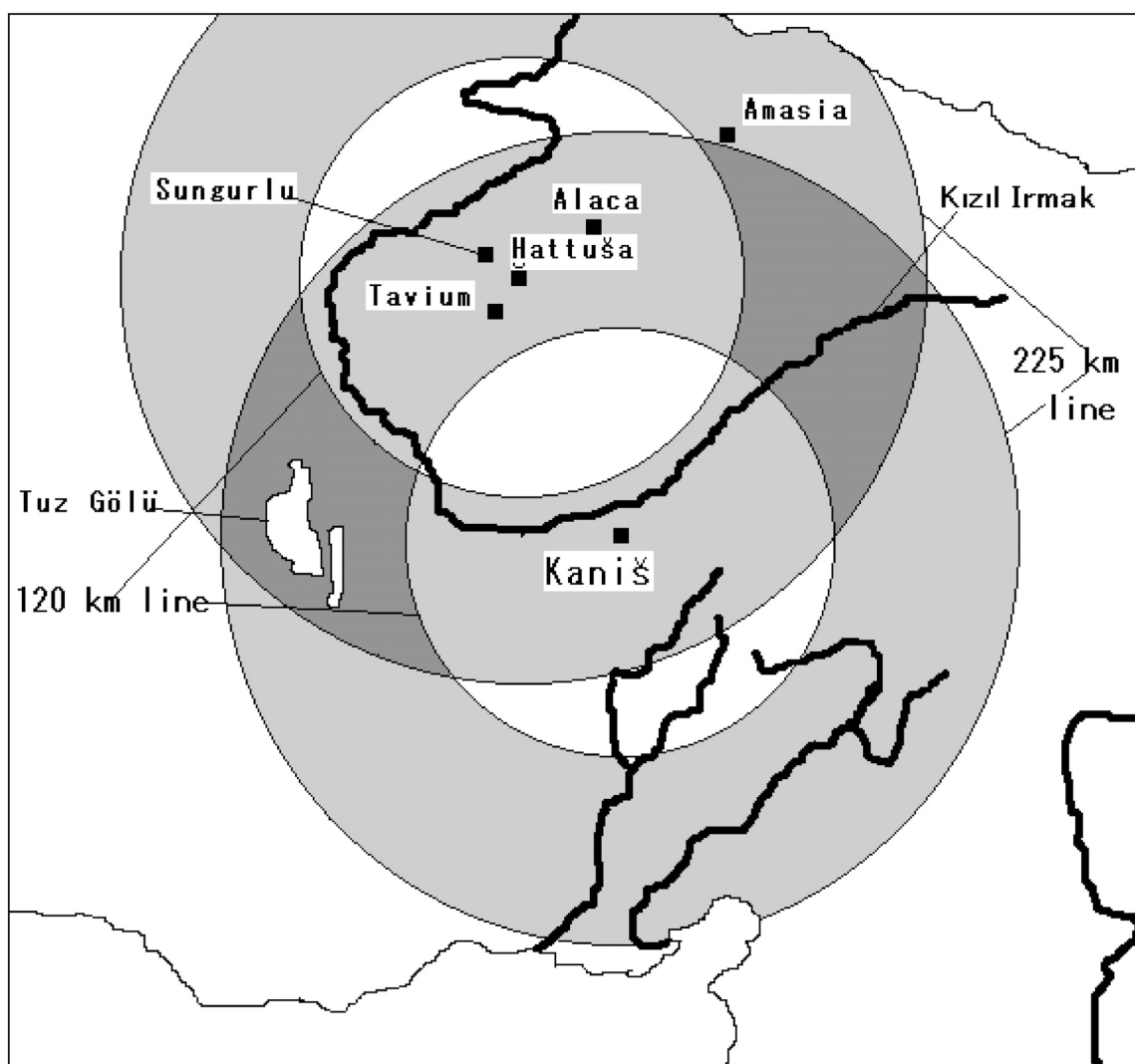
Based on this content, they argued that the Tawiniyan Gate cannot have been the gate at the north of the city because of the lie of the land, and in addition it would not lead to a wood but to the stream and the much frequently used north-south trade-route. As a result, they concluded that the temple from which the procession went “down” to this gate was one of those in the upper city, and it is only the Lion Gate to which a procession would be said to go “down”, because the King's Gate is roughly on the same level as the temple. It is therefore, probable that the Tawiniyan Gate is to be identified with the Lion Gate of Ḫattuša, and Tawiniya with the first town on the road, which led out through the gate. So, it is obvious that at this point they disagreed with Götze and Forrer's identification of Tawiniya with Classical Tonea located to the north of Ḫattuša. Because of the ravine, which drops down to the stream facing this gate, Garstang and Gurney considered that the chariot-way must have bent southwards for a short distance to join the route later used by the Romans from Amasia to Tavium on the way to Ancyra. The location of Classical Tavium some twelve miles to the southwest of Boğazköy, which is securely identified and confirmed by K. Bittel as Büyük Nefesköy, really suits the site of Tawiniya, furthermore both names have phonetic similarities.

On the other hand, Güterbock argued against Garstang and Gurney's identification of Tawiniya with Classical Tavium, but agreed with Götze's identification with Classical Tonea [Güterbock 1961: pp. 86–7]. Güterbock argued that it is *a priori* quite possible that a ceremonial visit to various cult places should have proceeded in a line that was “a detour,” forming a curve, loop or zigzag, as indeed the itinerary of the *nuntarriašḫaš* festival (= the Festival List of Garstang and Gurney) touches Taḫurpa twice and thus must have made a loop.

Furthermore, in Garstang and Gurney's discussion of the position of the Tawiniya Gate at Ḫattuša, Güterbock pointed out that two rituals had been left out. According to him KUB XV 31 I 13–15 indicates that “They lift up the tables and carry them down to the Tawiniya Gate (*nat-kan*

KÁ.GAL-TIM ŠA <sup>uru</sup>Ta-ú-i-ni-ia katta pedanzi) and place the tables on the first road”. As for KUB XV 34 I 18, it tells that “They go down through the Dauniya Gate” (*nat-kan katta IŠTU KÁ.GAL <sup>uru</sup>Da-a-ú-ni-ia panzi*). Güterbock argued that these are incantation rituals and are not connected with any specific temple. So, although both rituals are of the *evocatio* type, aiming at bringing gods back home, they are styled in such general terms that the conclusion is inevitable that the road to the Tawiniya Gate led “down” from anywhere in the city. Once this is recognized, Classical Tonia situated to north of Boğazköy offers a much closer parallel, especially to the variant spelling Dauniya just quoted, than to Tavium.<sup>32</sup>

Until Güterbock’s counter-argument was given Cornelius supported Garstang and Gurney’s identification [Cornelius 1955: p. 53; Or.NS 27, p. 244; *RHA* 17, p. 115, note 5]. However, he accepted Güterbock’s argument and at least agreed with the location of Tawiniya to the north of Ḫattuša [Cornelius 1963: pp. 234–5; Cornelius 1967: p. 70]. Cornelius stated that according to KBo X 20, the road to Tawiniya is shorter than the way-back from there to Ḫattuša, and Tawiniya lie at a distance of one day’s travel from Ḫattuša. So, Cornelius suggested that Tawiniya must be placed downhill



Map 7: Puruṣhanta at a distance of four to five days’ journey from Ḫattuša

32 This view has been supported by P. Garelli and E. von Schuler [Garelli 1963: p. 122; von Schuler 1965: p. 20, note 16].



at a distance of one day's travel from Ḫattuša. Classical Tonia is registered only on the road from Tavium to Amasia, 20 km north of Tavium in the immediate vicinity of Boğazköy, which resembles to the present road from Boğazköy to modern Sungurlu. Thus, Cornelius pointed out the contradiction of the distance indicated by KBo X 20, and temporarily suggested placing Tawiniya somewhere on the way to modern Sungurlu.<sup>33</sup>

Considering these arguments, one certain fact is to be observed that Old Assyrian Tawinia and Hittite Tawiniya is to be placed in the vicinity of Ḫattuša. So, it is possible to reconstruct the itinerary from Ḫattuša to Puruṣhanta through Tawinia/Tawiniya and Waḫšušana. There is no doubt that Šalatu/iwar is on the road from Waḫšušana to Buruṣhattum and vice versa. So, we can assume that Puruṣhanta may be reached in four days' journey, which is about 120 km from Ḫattuša at the shortest distance. We have to also consider the maximum distance. In *ATHE* 63, Šalatu/iwar is not mentioned, so it is also likely that there is another intermediate station between Tawinia/Tawiniya and Waḫšušana. In addition, Waḫšušana and Šalatu/iwar are located in the vicinity of the river, so we have to also assume the employment of a boat trip. So, it has to be enough for the maximum distance of the journey on the supposition that the journey would take five days and a half days for a boat trip. Thus, the maximum distance must be 225 km, 75 km on the land and 150 km on the river. As clearly seen on the map, two regions superimposed on the ring of the core regional location of Puruṣhanta. One superimposed area is in the west of Kaniš and the other is in the northeast of Kaniš. See map 7.

#### 4. 2. 5.

##### **Puruṣhanta at a distance of four days' journey from Turḫumit**

There is no doubt that there was a route to Buruṣhattum through Waḫšušana and Šalatu/iwar as confirmed by a number of pieces of evidence cited above. In addition, J.G. Dercksen recently brought attention to another Old Assyrian text, kt 91/k 424, which shows the existence of this route with two other place names beside Kaniš, Waḫšušana, Šalatu/iwar and Buruṣhattum. This text recorded the expenditures of a journey, which were incurred on a journey (partly with porters carrying goods). It started in an unnamed locality, and led to Šalatu/iwar and Buruṣhattum, and from there back to Šalatu/iwar and further to Waḫšušana, Tuḫpia, Turḫumit and Kaniš.<sup>34</sup>

kt 91/k 424

<Šalatu/iwar - Buruṣhattum (1–14)>

I paid x minas of *šikkum* copper as wages for a porter to get to Šalatu/iwar. I paid in Šalatu/iwar in all, 20 minas of *šikkum* copper on various occasions. I gave 3 minas to the inn (and) I paid 10 minas of copper to porters. I gave 7 minas of copper to Tarkua. I spent 3 minas of copper to get to Buruṣhattum. In Buruṣhattum I paid 3 shekels of silver to the *kārum* as *šaddu'atum*-tax. I paid 3 minas of copper as costs to get to *Ušbukatum*, and 3 shekels of silver for an inn in Buruṣhattum.

<Buruṣhattum – Šalatu/iwar (15–6)>

I had to pay 1 1/2 minas of copper from Buruṣhattum to Šalatu/iwar.

<Šalatu/iwar – Waḫšušana (17–20)>

10 minas of copper were spent until I left Šalatu/iwar. <> was spent in Waḫšušana on an inn.

33 Despite these later disagreements with Garstang and Gurney's view, some others still support the possibility of their identification [Börker-Klähn 1983: pp. 99–103; Forlanini 1985: p. 47 and note 14].

34 For the locations of modern and classical place names in the following discussions, see map 8 below.

<Waḫšušana – Tuḫpia (20–1)>

I had to pay 1 1/2 minas of copper to get to Tuḫpia.

<Tuḫpia – Turḫumit (21–2)>

I had to pay 3 minas of copper to get to Turḫumit.

<Turḫumit – Kaniš (23–5)>

From Turḫumit to get to Kaniš I had to pay 5 minas of fine copper.

<Kaniš – Waḫšušana (25–6)>

I spent 3 minas of copper to get to Waḫšušana [Dercksen 1996: p. 12].

It is obvious from this text that if we can establish the tentative locations of Tuḫpia and Turḫumit, we can calculate the possible distance of the journey from either of these two places to Buruḫattum. Consulting the scholarly opinions about the localization of Old Assyrian Turḫumit, it appears that J. Lewy first confirmed the equation of Hittite Turmita with the Old Assyrian Turḫumit and the Old Assyrian Tuḫpia and the Hittite Tuḫpiya in 1956 [Lewy 1956: p. 65 and note 272]. He states that the identity of Turmita and Turḫumit, which was first tentatively assumed by B. Landsberger, is clear, when comparing the Old Assyrian letter CCT III 1 with the Hittite texts VAT 13005 col. I, x + 22 and Bo 2026 col. II, ll. 10 f., because both Turmita and Turḫumit are mentioned together with the Old Assyrian Tuḫpia and the Hittite Tuḫpiya respectively.<sup>35</sup> So, their equation can be accepted.

In 1923 Garstang and Mayer first considered the identification of the Hittite Turmita apart from the Old Assyrian Turḫumit [Garstang and Mayer 1923: p. 13]. Based only on the similarity of the sounds, they provisionally equated it with modern Darende. But, this identification was later abandoned by Garstang himself with Gurney in 1959. They attempted to identify the location of Hittite Turmita with modern Yenihan based on the list of towns extracted from the Narrative of the Accession of Ḫattušili III and the parallel text, KBo VI 29 [Götze 1924; Garstang and Gurney 1959: p. 14, 17 and 41]. They show the same sequence:

List I – Ḫišašḫapa – Katapa – Ḫanḫana – Taraḫna – Ḫatina – Turmita

List II – Ḫakpiš – Ištaḫara – Ḫanḫana – Ḫatina – ...zip... – Turmita

List III – Ḫakpiš – Ištaḫara – Ḫanḫana – Taraḫna – Ḫatina – Kuruštama

The cities of List II stand in the text as a return journey from Turmita to Ḫakpiš, so they have been inverted to make comparison easier. Garstang and Gurney suggested that List III contains a scribal error. It is originally listed Ḫakpiš – Ištaḫara – Taraḫna – Ḫatina – Ḫanḫana – Kuruštama, but they argued that comparison with Lists I and II indicates the inclusion of an error, and Ḫanḫana should be placed before Taraḫna. As a result, they concluded that places are listed in the same sequence

35 Other scholars did not specify the identifications of Hittite Turmita/Old Assyrian Turḫumit and Hittite Tuḫpiya/Old Assyrian Tuḫpia with particular sites, but agreed with the localization of Hittite Turmita and Old Assyrian Turḫumit in the northern part of the Anatolia in the area of modern Çorum between Boğazköy and Merzifon suggested by A. Götze or more to the southwest between Alişar and Sivas suggested by J. Garstang.

Many scholars cited the location of Hittite Turmita/Old Assyrian Turḫumit and Hittite Tuḫpiya/Old Assyrian Tuḫpia in the area of modern Çorum between Boğazköy and Merzifon [Garelli 1963: p. 122; von Schuler 1965: p. 28 and note 125, and p. 31 and note 153; Lewy 1963: p. 103; Houwink ten Carte 1967: pp. 47–8].

H. Otten agreed with the relative localization of Hittite Turmita and Old Assyrian Turḫumit in the area of modern Çorum between Boğazköy and Merzifon, but he only remains to cite the identifications of Hittite Tuḫpiya/Old Assyrian Tuḫpia given by Garstang, Götze and Cornelius [Otten 1959: pp. 356–7; Otten 1965: p. 48 and note 2].

L.L. Orlin cited their locations in the area between Alişar and Sivas [Orlin 1970: p. 38, p. 77 and p. 86].

A. Ünal cited in the area to the north of Sivas-Tokat line for the location of the Hittite Turmita/Old Assyrian Turḫumit, but like Otten for the Hittite Tuḫpiya/Old Assyrian Tuḫpia he only cited Garstang, Götze and Cornelius' earlier identifications [Ünal 1974: pp. 223–4].

and suggested that they were situated on a strategic road, or at least that the sequence was determined by geographical considerations. The comparison of these three lists shows clearly that road junctions must have been situated at ҲанҲана and Ҳатина. For the stretch ҲанҲана – (ТараҲна) – Ҳатина, which is common to all three lists, is approached either from Ҳишаšһаpa and Katapa or from Ҳакпиš and Ištaһара, and after Ҳатина alternative routes led either to Turmita or to Kuruštama.

In addition to these three lists, Garstang and Gurney regarded the location of Katapa as important for the localization of Turmita. They located it at the mound near Küçük Köhne. Thus, they placed ҲанҲана at the nearest road junction to the east, namely at modern Köhne, where the north-south trade route branches off to the south and which was of great importance as a road junction during Roman times.<sup>36</sup> Continuing to the east, the next road junction is at Classical Sebastopolis (= modern Sulusaray), where a road diverged northward to Classical Zela (= modern Zile) and Classical Amasia (= modern Amasya). Here they tentatively located Ҳатина, with ТараҲна roughly at the point where the road from ҲанҲана to Ҳатина crossed the Classical Scylax River. So, Garstang and Gurney considered that Turmita evidently lay on the continuation of the main road eastwards. Furthermore, according to them H.H. von der Osten in his exploration of Asia Minor, describes how he traveled southward down the road from modern Tokat hoping to reach his camp at Ališar Hüyük. Along many zigzags he climbed the slope of Çamlı bel. The descent towards Yenihan was very steep, and to the east of the road a large hüyük was seen on a rocky elevation in the broad valley surrounding that important town. There the caravan routes from modern towns of Yozgat, Sivas and Kayseri meet, as it is the starting point of the oldest roads to the Black Sea coast. After turning westward toward the Ak Dağ heights the road became worse and worse, and only with great difficulty did he reach the summit of the pass. The descent was even worse. Thus, Garstang and Gurney assumed that the large hüyük on the rock above Yenihan would be the ideal site for the Hittite city of Turmita, because there the defenders of the ancient cross-roads could keep watch for the advance of hostile Kaškean raiders, and so prevent the enemy from attacking the thickly populated and fertile country of the Kanak Su valley.

As for Hittite Tuһupiya, in the lists of towns of the Sacrifice List (= KBo IV 13 I) this city is mentioned immediately after Turmita:

<Sacrifice List>

Tawiniya – Zalpa – ҲанҲана – Ankuwa – Turmita – Tuһupiya – Zišparna – Takupša – Kaštama – Ališa – Šanaһuita – Ҳакпиš – Taptina - ..... – Ištaһара – Tapika.

Furthermore, the Narrative of the Accession of Ҳattušili III explains how the Kaškean enemies had invaded the Land of Ҳatti and that the enemy from the Land of Turmita began to attack the land of Tuһupiya [Götze 1924]. So, it is clear that Turmita and Tuһupiya are located close to each other and Tuһupiya can be placed as the next station to Turmita. Obviously Garstang and Gurney tentatively

36 Garstang and Gurney's identification of Katapa has to be described. Its localization is based on the aforementioned Herald's List II and Festival Itinerary in the sub-chapter 4.2.4. Since there is no place common to the two lists apart from the first station Ҳattuša and Arina, Garstang and Gurney assumed that from the beginning the routes diverged, probably leaving the city of Ҳattuša by different gates. For going to Tawiniya as already described above in the sub-chapter 4.2.4, they identified that the procession went down from the Lion Gate in the upper city to the south, thus they identified Tawiniya with Classical Tavium (= modern Büyük Nefesköy), located 19 km to the southwest of Boğazköy.

As for, Katapa, which they identified as lying on a road leading southward to Arina, this route must have therefore, started with at the eastern King's gate, due to the identification of Tawiniyan Gate with the Lion Gate of Ҳattuša. According to Garstang and Gurney, in 1928 H.H. von der Osten traveled from his camp near Ališar Hüyük along a track on the east side of modern Turkish Kerkenes Dağ to Köhne, and Garstang and Gurney assumed that from there the road he followed seems to agree in the reverse direction with the route of the Festival List. As a result, they tentatively identified Katapa with Küçük Köhne [Garstang and Gurney 1959: p. 14, 17 and 41].

identified Turumita with modern Yenihan and since Ғатина and ҒанҒана are not mentioned, they concluded that Tuḫupiya may be placed at the point where the road leads from Turmita to the valley of the Kanak Su (the later Byzantine highway) [Garstang and Gurney 1959: pp. 18–9].<sup>37</sup>

In 1932 beside Garstang's identifications of Hittite Turmita with modern Yenihan and Tuḫupiya on the point between Yenihan and the valley of the Kanak Su, A. Götze developed another theory for their localizations [Götze 1930 pp. 25–6; Goetze 1957: p. 72; Goetze 1957: pp. 93–4 and p. 98]. According to Götze, Ғattušili III reported an attack on the Kaška at the border areas [Götze 1924: col. II 2 ff.]. He assumed that the cities, which were registered in his report, can be categorized into the three geographical groups:

A), Starting point: Pišḫuru, Iṣḫupita, Taištupa. Destination: La[an-ta??], Marišta after the crossing of the Maraššantiya River, the lands [.....]pa and Kaniš.

B), Starting point: Ғa[.....], Kuruštama, Kaziura. Destination: <<the deserted cities of Ғatti>>.

C), Starting point: Turmita, Tuḫupiya. Destination: so far Ippašana, then Šuwatara. Ғakpiš and Ištaḫara escape the destruction.

He argued that group B offers a welcome confirmation of this explanation, because Kaziura existed still in the Classical period under the same name. Classical Gaziura is according to Strabo's description certainly modern Turhal on the Yeşil Irmak. So, he ascertained that the order of those cities given by Ғattušili III is certainly not accidental, and they run from east to west. The Maraššantiya River, which he identified with the Halys River, is mentioned in group A. Kaziura (=modern Turhal) is registered in group B and located west of the Maraššantiya River. As a result, Götze presumed that Tuḫupiya and Turmita of group C lie to the northwest of modern Turhal in direction of modern Samsun.

Cornelius disagreed with both Garstang and Götze. He identified Turmita with modern Zile (= Classical Zela) [Cornelius 1955: p. 54; Cornelius 1959: p. 107; Cornelius 1967: p. 76; Cornelius 1973: p. 18]. He assumed that Götze's identification of Zela with Hittite Arina is impossible, because Arina was never reached from Kaška, though Ғattuša was even threatened by the Kaškeans from the north, so the location of Classical Zela to the north of Ғattuša does not make sense for its identification with Hittite Arina. Thus, Arina must lain further south. According to Cornelius, Strabo expressly said that Zela was established by Queen Semiramis of Assyria and Turḫumit is the only Assyrian toponym, which is generally to be located in the north of the Hittite empire. Thus, he tentatively identified Zela with Turḫumit.

As for Tuḫupiya, Cornelius suggested the equation Tuḫupiya with Classical Tombe (= modern Köhne = Garstang's Hittite ҒанҒана), because of the etymological similarity of both names [Cornelius 1955 p. 51; Cornelius 1958a: p. 244; Cornelius 1958c: p. 3; Cornelius 1963: p. 239]. Concerning this identification, Ünal added a complementary comment. In a discussion in 1969 Cornelius suggested that Tuḫupiya is to be placed at the great mound Dökmetepe located approximately 10–20 km north of modern Köhne. However, no reasons for this identification were given by Ünal [Ünal 1974: p. 222].

Apart from the localizations of Hittite Turmita and Old Assyrian Turḫumit in the northwest of Boğazköy, Forlanini tentatively placed it in the area between the Kızıl Irmak and the northeast of Tuz Gölü based on a number of pieces of circumstantial evidence [Forlanini 1985: pp. 48–51].

(1), In the Cappadocian documents Turḫumit is often associated with western cities like Waḫšušana and Buruṣḫattum, and one can reach Turḫumit through Ulama, through which one can also reach

37 For the locations of the places, see map 8 below.

the other two cities.

(2), Turḫumit was at the same time a very important centre of the copper trade near Tišmurna, which is a centre for the production of this metal. One can find there copper of Ta/iritar, which is a country situated on the left bank of the lower Kızıl Irmak. Forlanini considers that Tišmurna must be identified with the site of modern Karaali and the mining region of Ta/iritar with the basin of the Devrez River.

(3), The Hittite and Cappadocian sources corroborate each other in showing that Turḫumit/Turmita was in the vicinity of Tuḫpia/Tuḫpiya, which also must be near Tawiniya/Tawinia. In association with Tawiniya, Ḫanḫana and Ḫattuša, Tuḫpia/Tuḫppiya shared the cult of the god, Telepinu. Thus, all these suggest placing Turḫumit/Turmita towards the basin of the Kızıl Irmak west of Boğazköy.

(4), Ulama/Walama and Ninaša were a part of the province of Turmita. The annexation of these two cities can only be explained through the expansion of this district, for reasons of administration and defence, at the period where one looked for the aid of the king of Tumana to reorganize the regions devastated by the Kaškeans. In addition, these two cities were treated before the province of Ušḫaniya with the city of Uḫiuwa among others, and after the city of Kašiya. Forlanini assumed that the enumeration of these cities follows a geographical order, at least if one accepts the reconstruction in which three provinces close together and are placed in the same order between the zones of Avanos and Ankara.

(5), Tamita, another locality of the province of Turmita, was not far from the country of Timuḫala, which is a centre of the activities of Kaškeans at the time of Muṣili II and separated from Mt. Iuḫini. Therefore, Forlanini suggested that Tamita may be placed in the vicinity of Tapapanuwa, Kazapa, Tašmaḫa and Ḫurna on the Kızıl Irmak south of the region of Mt. Kašu and of the River Daḫara. So, it is likely that Tamitta represented the northern limit of the province of Turmita and is to be placed in the area close to the Elmadağı.

(6), In the list of provinces entrusted by Muwatalli II to his brother Ḫattušili III, Turmita is enumerated between those of central Ḫatti (Katapa, Ḫanḫana, Ḫatina) and those of the northwest (Pala, Tumana, Kašiya, Šapa). According to the Apology of Ḫattušili III, Turmita cannot be too far from Kuruštama, which is the city near Ḫanḫana and, according to the Annals of Muṣili, near Tapapanuwa.

(7), The contacts of Turḫumit with the western cities of Waḫšušana and Šalatu/iwar attested by the Cappadocian documents find some support in the Hittite texts. In particular in the list of the divinities of KUB 53, 42, where Turḫumit is enumerated immediately before the cities of Katila and Ḫarziuna (with Mt. Kamaliya). The fragment of the ritual of KUB 51, 2 names Turmittiyas (= Turmita?) and the Mt. Kuwaliyata, which is described by the treaty of Ulmi-Tešup as a point on the frontier of the country of the River Ḫulaya towards Ḫatti. The city of Šuwatara attacked by the Kaškeans of the country of Turmita at the time of Muwatalli II, can therefore, be identified with the Greek place name Σαουάτρα in Lycaonia.

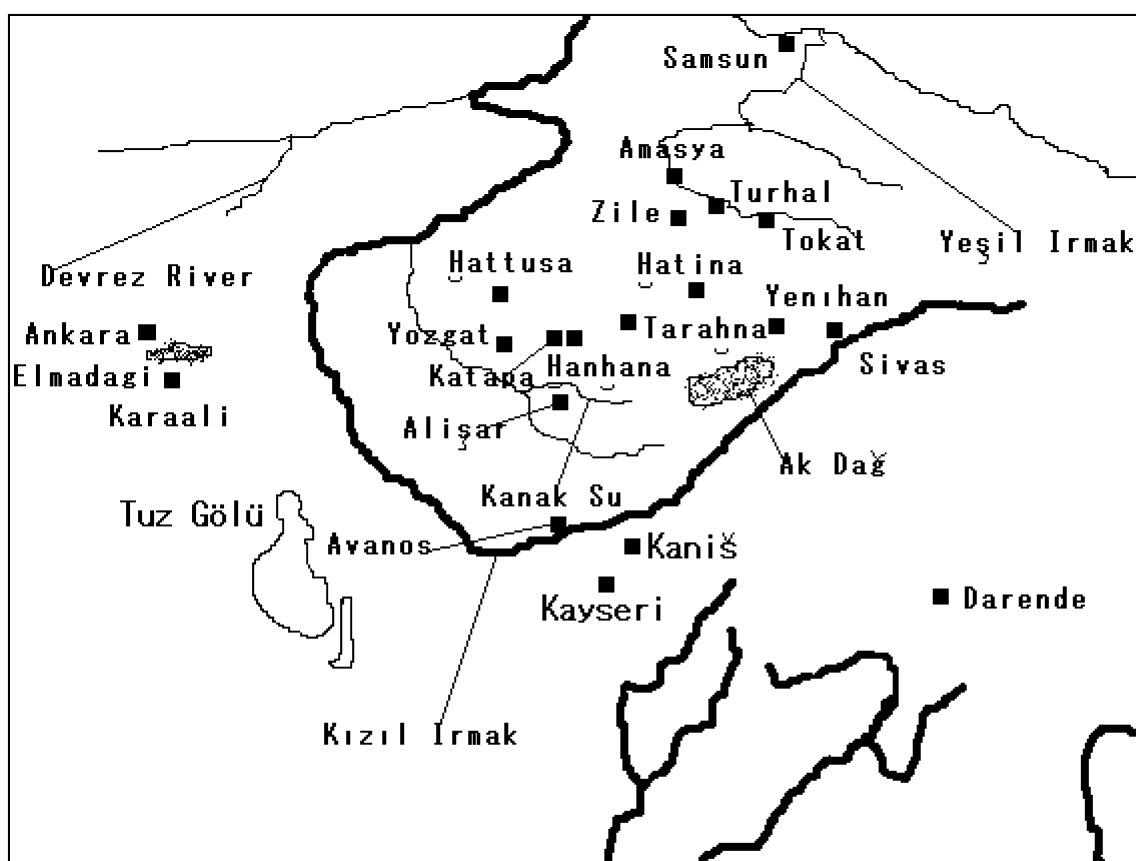
(8), Two other connections with some Classical and Byzantine toponyms can now be proposed in accord with the geographical data. Forlanini assumed that Pitaniyaša and [U?]rata, two cities of Turmita correspond to Pitnissos near Kozanlı and Baretta near Aspona.<sup>38</sup>

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38 These two modern place names cannot be identified on the modern Turkish atlas.

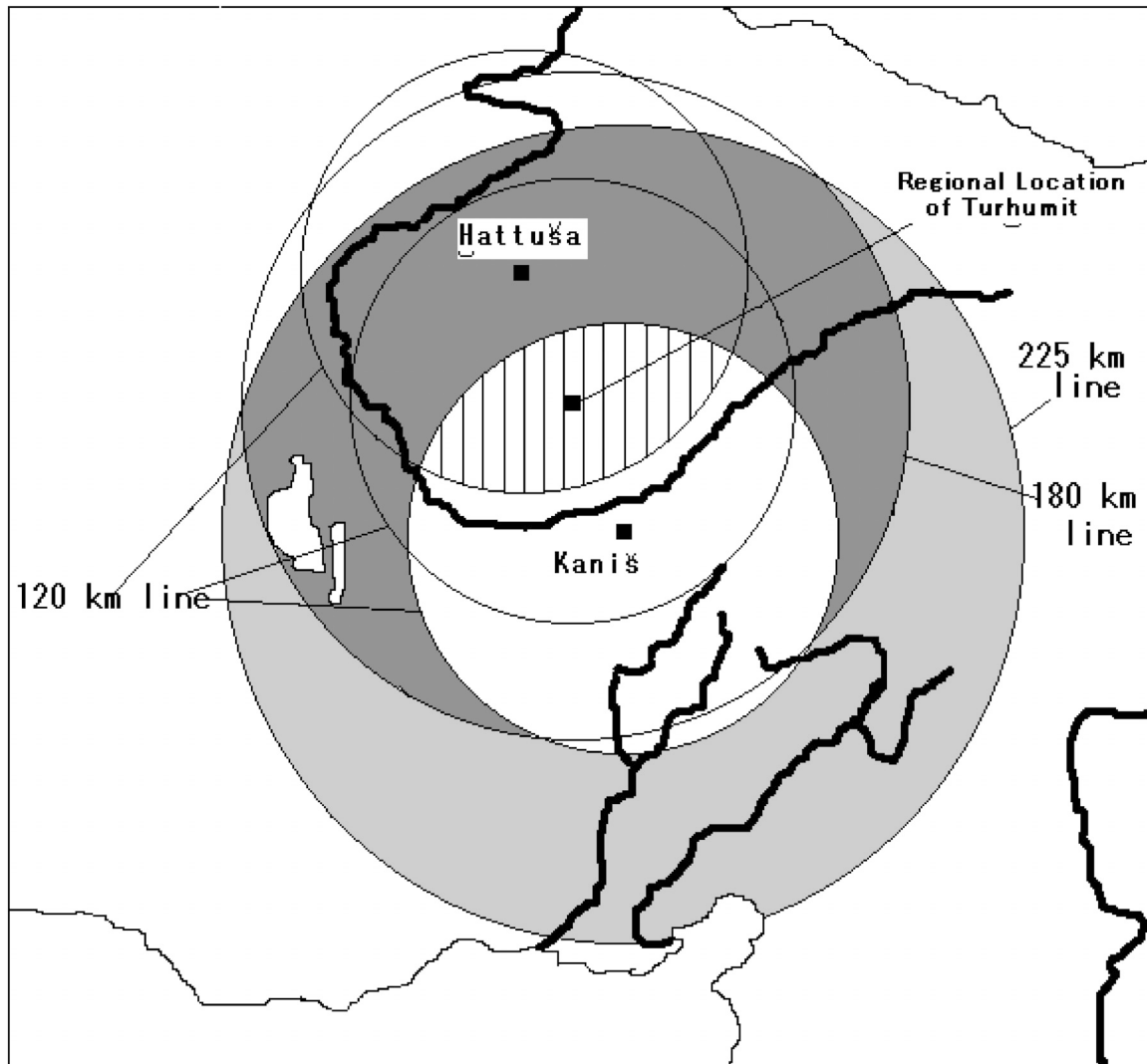
(9), In addition to these eight circumstantial factors for the localization of Hittite Turmita and Old Assyrian Turḫumit, as mentioned in the sub-chapter 4.2.1 above Forlanini later added one more piece of circumstantial evidence [Forlanini 1992: p. 179]. According to her in KUB LV 43 IV 32, Turmita is indicated as lying on the Maraššantiya River. In the action the river together with Țılaš(š)i and Țašamili formed a group of the gods of the city, which were attributed to the city of Turmita. So, she suggests placing Turmita on the Maraššantiyaa River (= the Halys River) further downstream.<sup>39</sup>

However, these tentative localizations cannot be reliable, particularly the northeastern localization of Turmita/Turḫumit, when we take the aforementioned topographical information of kt 91/k 424 into account. The journey obviously went from Turḫumit to Kaniš. The expense of five minas of fine copper paid for this journey is higher than the journey from another place to the next station. However, even if we assume the possible distance from Turḫumit to Kaniš is more than the distance of a day's travel from the cost, the locations of the sites suggested by the aforementioned scholars are too far away. Moreover, C. Michel and P. Garelli most recently suggested that in *KTS* 1, 3b, 4 the copper is presented in a number of transactions passed from Turḫumit to Tawinia, whose location



Map 8: Supplementary map for the locations of modern and Classical toponyms

39 C. Michel agreed with Forlanini's opinion [Michel 1991: pp. 253–4]. J.G. Dercksen agreed with Forlanini's view. However, he located Turḫumit on the eastern bank of the lower Kızıl İrmak. His supposition originally derived from the tentative localization of Waḫšušana to the west of Kaniš identified in relation to the localization of Ninaša and two texts, kt 91/k 424 and kt 91/k 437. The road from Waḫšušana to Turḫumit that led via Tuḫpia as shown in these texts demonstrates that Turḫumit was near a river. So, Dercksen assumed that when coming from Waḫšušana and Tuḫpia, this river had to be crossed before reaching Turḫumit. Thus, Turḫumit is to be situated east of the Kızıl İrmak. This opinion is obviously established in relation to the localization of Ninaša, so it is valueless concerning the location of Puruḫanta [Dercksen 1996: p. 14 and map A].



Map 9: Puruṣhanta at a distance of four days' journey from Turḫumit

was above to be identified at least to the area within the distance of a day's travel from Ḫattuša [Garelli and Michel 1996: p. 283]. So, in terms of the topographical information given by kt 91/k 424 and *KTS* 1, 3b, 4, Turḫumit/Turmita must at least be placed somewhere between Kaniš and Tawinia or Ḫattuša. So, we can tentatively identify the location of Turmita/Turḫumit in the superimposed area, which one can reach within four days' journey on foot both from Kaniš and Ḫattuša. Tuḫpiya/Tuḫpia can accordingly be placed in the vicinity of or within this tentative regional location of Turmita/Turḫumit. Kt 91/k 424 clearly indicates that Buruṣḫattum is the fourth station from Turḫumit. Thus, we attempt to delimit the ring of the core regional location of Puruṣhanta by the ring drawn by the distance of 120 km line (a day trip of  $30 \text{ km} \times 4$ ) and 180 km line (a day trip of  $30 \text{ km} \times 2$  with a boat trip of  $60 \text{ km}$  of a day  $\times 2$ ) from the central point of the regional location of Turmita/Turḫumit. See map 9.

## 5: Conclusion

A number of different locations have been proposed based on the varying natures of the written sources, as the possible candidates for the Hittite Puruṣhanta and Old Assyrian Buruṣḫattum. We

identified that TC III 165 and CCT 2 1 are the most reliable sources concerning the location of Puruṣhanta/Buruṣhattum and they indicate that the caravan journey took at least 4 to 5 days from Kaniš to Buruṣhattum through Waṣḥania, Ninaša and Ulama. In addition to these sources, we confirmed the existence of another route leading from Kaniš to Buruṣhattum through Waṣḥania, Malita, Waḥṣušana and Šalatu/iwar from *KTH* 1, OIP 27 54, BIN IV 35, and AKT 3 34 and kt t/k 1 and its duplicate kt t/k 25 indicated the possible involvement of a caravan journey by boat. As a result, we ascertained that Puruṣhanta/Buruṣhattum can be located between 120 km and 225 km from Kaniš, and we drew the ring of the core regional location of Puruṣhanta/Buruṣhattum. When we compare its extent with a number of the locations suggested by some scholars, we can conclude that the earlier identifications of R.S. Hardy (= Puruṣhanta between Classical Laranda and Lystra), J. Lewy and E. Bilgiç (= in the Konya Plain), E.I. Gordon (= Homat), and S. Alp and J.D. Hawkins (= Karahöyük) are not acceptable. They are located too far away from Kaniš and outside the ring of the core regional location. Thus, it is physically impossible for the merchants to reach these sites with 4 to 5 days' journey. B. Hrozný tentatively identified Puruṣhanta with modern Kayseri. The merchants could certainly reach this place within 4 to 5 days journey from Kaniš, but its close proximity to Kaniš does not allow any other itinerary stations between Kaniš and Buruṣhattum. So, this identification does not accord with topographical information given by TC III 165 and CCT 2 1.

On the other hand, the earlier identifications of B. Landsberger (= modern Niğde), and J. Garstang and O.R. Gurney followed by a number of scholars (= near Nevşehir and Acemhöyük) appear possible. Their locations are situated well within the ring of the core regional location of Puruṣhanta/Buruṣhattum.

In addition to these results, we also gained some secondary results for the location of Puruṣhanta/Buruṣhattum. By using several pieces of secondary topographical information or evidence, we attempted to further delimit the ring of the core regional location of Puruṣhanta/Buruṣhattum. The tentative locations of Ninaša and other itinerary stations were investigated first, and we identified that the localization of Ninaša is the key to also identifying the remaining stations. Ninaša may be equated with Classical Nanassos, and several scholars have proposed to locate it in the vicinity of modern Aksaray. Thus, we reached the conclusion that Buruṣhattum is the last destination of the itinerary TC III 165, so based on the tentative location of the third station of Ninaša, we estimated that the secondary regional location of Buruṣhattum is in the area west of modern Aksaray. Another proposal was also made by some other scholars, who placed Ninaša and Classical Nanassos in the vicinity of Ḥuṣiṣna (= Classical Cybistra/modern Ereğli) and Tuwanuwa (= Classical Tyana/modern Kemerhisar). Therefore, we suggested the possibility of Buruṣhattum also being in the vicinity of these two places and delimited the area as the secondary regional location of Buruṣhattum around Ḥuṣiṣna and Tuwanuwa. The investigation of topographical information for Puruṣhanta given by the Decree of Telepinu (= KBo III 1) and the Prayer of Muwatalli (= KUB VI 51 + 46) reached the same conclusions as those of the investigation of the location of Ninaša. It must be noticed that both Landsberger and Garstang with Gurney's identifications of Puruṣhanta exactly accord with these two tentative regional locations of Puruṣhanta/Buruṣhattum.

We also sought the location of Puruṣhanta in relation to the tentative locations of Uša. Garstang with Gurney and W. Schramm's localizations of Uša showed agreements with the ring of the core regional location of Puruṣhanta/Buruṣhattum. Thus, the ring of the core regional location was further delimited in the two listed areas. In one half a doughnut-like shaped area around modern Aksaray and the Salt Lake (= Tuz Gölü) was superimposed on the core regional location. The half moon shaped area in the eastern part of the Cilician Plain was defined as the other tentative regional location of Puruṣhanta.

The tentative regional location of Puruṣhanta is also sought in relation to the locations of Neša (= Kaniš) and the River Ḥulana. Similar results to those for the locations of Uša have been obtained.



But, the two tentative regional locations of Purušhanta cover much wider areas than those of Uša.

We tentatively calculated the two secondary regional locations of Buruṣhattum in relation to the locations of Ḫattuša and Tawiniya. Again the area around the Salt Lake (= Tuz Gölü) was defined as one of the two tentative regional locations of Buruṣhattum, while the new tentative regional location was also indicated in the area around the upper course of the Kizil Irmak.

Finally, the tentative locations of Turḫumit were investigated for further delimiting the ring of the core regional location of Purušhanta/Buruṣhattum on the supposition that the caravan took the four days' journey from Turḫumit to Buruṣhattum as kt 91/k 424 indicates. We did not agree with the previously prevailing localizations of Turḫumit and we tentatively placed it in the intermediate area between Kaniš and Ḫattuša. Then, we delimited the large crescent shaped area from the ring of the core regional locations.

We can clearly observe the striking aspect that all the secondary regional locations of Purušhanta/Buruṣhattum cover the areas where Acemhöyük is located. Maybe this result is only accidental but, at the same time, it makes the identification of Purušhanta/Buruṣhattum with Acemhöyük highly possible.

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## FOLLOWING A FALSE TRAIL — THE SEARCH FOR THE HITTITES

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The attempt to answer the question of cultural continuity and discontinuity has been, and continues to be, the principal driving force in the archaeology of Anatolia. On a wider scale, the concern with defining cultural boundaries has been no less a central issue in the archaeology of the Ancient Near East. The question of cultural boundaries goes to the very heart of understanding and interpreting Anatolian and other Ancient Near East sites from a historical view. This, however, begs two essential questions: 1) is the historical view the proper view for archaeology? and 2) is the historical view credible, even to the objectives of historical scholarship? While these questions may seem ridiculous and completely unwarranted, or heretical, I will endeavor to demonstrate that a reassessment of these basic issues is critical.

The basic problem is the concept of culture. ‘Culture,’ like many of the terms that we are fond of casually tossing about in common speech, is simply a hypothetical construct whose definition is slippery and elusive. Consequently, it is quite meaningless to talk about cultural continuity and discontinuity when we cannot definitively state what it is that is or is not continued. Let us critically examine the use of the term ‘culture’ in historical and archaeological contexts. We often use such expressions as the ‘Hittite culture,’ the ‘Hattian culture,’ the ‘Phrygian culture,’ the ‘Urartian culture,’ the ‘Hurrian culture,’ etc., but what do we really mean by these expressions? Basically such labels are defined by language, i.e., the language in which the surviving texts of a group of people were written, and/or that of place names or personal names recorded in the surviving texts of one or more coterminous groups. The term for a so-called ‘culture’ is derived from the term that we use to identify the spoken language that we attribute to a specific historical group. As an example, let us take a critical look at ‘Hittite culture’ to analyze what we really mean by this expression.

The name ‘Hittite’ is a bastardization by modern (20th century) historians of the term ‘Hatti’ used in the Nesite language to refer to the region of north central Anatolia of which Hattusa was the capital during the historical periods known as the Old Hittite Kingdom and the Hittite Empire. The term ‘Hatti’ was derived from the name associated with the group of people who had called their written language ‘Hattic’ and had resided in north central Anatolia prior to the arrival in the area of the so-called ‘Hittite’ people and the subsequent founding of the Old Hittite Kingdom. The people who actually wrote in the language labeled ‘Hittite’ by modern historians referred to the language as ‘Nesite,’ a term presumably derived from the name of the ancient city known as Kanesh in Old Assyrian and as Nesha in Nesite, which may have been an important early hub for these so-called ‘Hittite’ people. As the historians had been using the corrupted term ‘Hittite’ for some time before they realized that the actual authors of the texts written in the mislabeled language called it Nesite, they decided they should continue using the erroneous label. Today’s scholars seem to be no less disinclined to correct the error. The reality is that there was never any group of people that either called themselves or their language Hittite or were ever known by that name to any other historical people.

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Since we tend to call a historical group of people by the language that we associate with them, might not the so-called Hittites be Nesites? We will examine this and other possible identities of the so-called Hittites. Nesite has the distinction of being the earliest attested Indo-European language. It is first known from personal names and loanwords found in the Old Assyrian documents of the Assyrian trading colonies ca. 19th century BC discovered at Kanesh (or Nesha). The vast majority of actual texts written in Nesite however, were discovered at Hattusa, consisting of approximately 25,000 tablets and fragments dated from the 17th to the 13th centuries BC. These texts were written on clay tablets using the logo-syllabic cuneiform borrowed from the Mesopotamian writing system. Texts from two other Indo-European languages written in cuneiform were also found at Hattusa: 1) Luwian, closely related to Nesite, consisting of texts dated from 1400–1200 BC (a dialect of Luwian is also inscribed in an indigenous hieroglyphic that initially appears on seals dating from the 15th century BC, becoming more prevalent as a writing system towards the latter part of the Hittite Empire, and a major system of writing in the so-called ‘Neo-Hittite’ city states in the Early Iron Age), and 2) Palaic, consisting of texts dated from 1650–1400 BC. Both the Luwian and Palaic cuneiform texts are concerned exclusively with ritual and religious matters and constitute a very small proportion of the textual archive at Hattusa, but were very important since they recorded many fundamental practices and tenets of the spiritual and ritual life of an apparently very ritualistic society, or, at least, that of the inner society of the ruling family.

Nesite, Luwian and Palaic represent the early members of the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European language family. While considered by many scholars to be just another subgroup of the Indo-European language, there are some scholars that find anomalies in the Anatolian subgroup that set it apart from the remainder of the family. These anomalies primarily consist of the unusual simplicity of verb morphology and the absence of the feminine gender in nominal inflection (in Nesite, for example, there are two genders, one of which may be defined as a common gender and the other a neuter gender). Compared to some of the other ‘old’ Indo-European languages, such as Sanskrit and Lithuanian, for example, each with eight noun cases, Nesite has only five, with some constructions simply suffixes appended to a general oblique case stem (modern English, having basically done away with noun cases — except for the appending of the letter ‘s’ onto the end of plurals and an apostrophe or an apostrophe ‘s’ to indicate the possessive case, and three simple pronoun cases: subjective/nominative, objective/accusative, and possessive/genitive — is a primary example of an evolutionary simplification of a language). Some scholars that find such anomalies significant have formed an Indo-Hittite hypothesis which theorizes that the Anatolian subgroup was separated from the common ancestor of the Indo-European language family at some very early stage, allowing for independent development and eventual simplification and refinement before the other subgroups began to diverge. This hypothesis views the Anatolian subgroup as an ‘aunt’ of, rather than a ‘sister’ to, the other subgroups of the Indo-European family. Such a view can have some very profound implications.

In a recent presentation, Charles Burney (2003) discussed how this hypothesis, first proposed in just a sketchy outline by Emil Forrer in 1921 and later expanded by Sturtevant in 1938 (see E. H. Sturtevant 1962, a posthumous publication of Sturtevant’s 1938 lecture on the Indo-Hittite hypothesis at the Linguistic Institute at Ann Arbor, Michigan), was largely dismissed until resurrected in the late 1980s in a number of publications espousing theories of Indo-European origin (most notably Renfrew 1987), and, gaining steady support, became the subject of a colloquium at the University of Richmond, Virginia in March of 2000. Burney states that the unavoidable conclusion of the hypothesis, strongly promoted by Colin Renfrew, is that some speakers of Proto-Indo-European migrated out of Anatolia, where speakers of Proto-Anatolian remained and began to diverge and form the Nesite, Luwian, and Palaic languages. Such a scenario has been reasoned to imply that the earliest Proto-

Indo-European nucleus, evolving from Proto-Indo-Hittite, developed in the Konya Plain around 7000 BC. While the majority of linguists reject this position either on the basis of chronology or because they cannot reconcile an Anatolian origin for the Indo-European Language family, even though they can accept the basic premise of the Indo-Hittite hypothesis, i.e., the idea of a separation of Proto-Anatolian from Proto-Indo-European; others simply reject the entire Indo-Hittite hypothesis.

As Burney points out, the implications of the Indo-Hittite hypothesis are far-reaching, suggesting that the Nesite speakers, the so-called Hittites, formed a part of the indigenous population of the Anatolian plateau long before the emergence of a so-called Hittite polity in the middle second millennium BC. How long before is highly speculative and the subject of some intense debate; however, interesting clues relating to the nature of the indigenous and ancient intrusive Anatolian populations that bear on the implications of the Indo-Hittite hypothesis demand our attention. Among them Burney points to James Mellaart's division of Bronze Age Anatolia west of the Euphrates into two zones meeting along a diagonal line from the Sea of Marmara to Iskenderum, with the postulation that Nesite speakers, or Hittites, and Hattic speakers, or Hattians, occupied the north central area and east to the Euphrates, the Palaic speakers occupied the northwest, and Luwian speakers, or Luwians, occupied the west and south.<sup>1</sup>

Such a division is not inconsistent with traditional claims made by historians and linguists regarding origins and ethnolinguistic relationships among the populations of ancient Anatolia. For the west and south, linguistic links between 1) the Luwian language, 2) the Early Bronze Age Lukka, and 3) the languages of a) the land in the first half of the second millennium BC referred to as *Luwiya* and by the middle of the second millennium BC referred to as *Arzawa*, and b) that of Early Iron Age Lycia and Lydia, have long been suggested and have become almost universally uncritically accepted. For the north central area and east, there are the claims regarding the documented polity of the so-called Hittites, its capital at Hattusa, the Hittites' revered shrine at Nerik, Tudhaliya III's

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1 Please refer to the maps on pages 115 and 116. Though the so-called 'diagonal map of Anatolia' has been attributed to Mellaart, I have been unable to locate the source. The earliest known depiction of the 'diagonal map' I have found is that by Carruba (1989), shown as one of three maps attributed to Mellaart (on page 19 the top map is the 'diagonal map' attributed to 'Mellaart 1975, Map VII,' the bottom map is attributed to 'Mellaart 1971, Map I,' and the top map on page 20 is attributed to 'Mellaart 1971, Map 2'). The 1975 reference designates Mellaart's *The Neolithic of the Near East*, which contains 14 maps. There is no map VII in that volume and the maps are not numbered sequentially, but rather are counted as figures and numbered in order of appearance of the figures. The maps appear in the sequence of figures as follows: 1: Near East showing Epipaleolithic and Neolithic sites; 2: Epipaleolithic sites in the Levant and southern Anatolia; 11: Networks of the obsidian trade; 21: Prepottery Neolithic B settlements in the Levant and adjacent cultures in Anatolia; 29: Zagros Mountain zone and the adjacent Mesopotamian lowlands showing aceramic and ceramic sites; 81: Pottery distribution in the Umm Dabaghiyah-Ceramic Jarmo phase; 82: Pottery distribution in the Early Halaf-Hassuna-Early Samarra phase; 97: Pottery distribution in the Middle Halaf, Middle Samarra and Late Hassuna phases; 100: Pottery distribution in the Late Halaf, Hajji Muhammed phase; 115: Distribution of early racial types in the Near East; 120: Transcaucasia, northwest Iran and eastern Turkey; 129: Eastern Iran and southwest Turkmenia; 148: Levant and neighboring regions during the Halaf, Amuq C-D and Wadi Rabah cultures; and 157: Aegean area.

The 1971 reference designates 'Anatolia, c. 4000–2300 B.C.' (Mellaart 1971a) and 'Anatolia, c. 2300–1750 B.C.' (Mellaart 1971b). Map 1 (the bottom map on page 19 in Carruba) is in fact 'Map 9, Anatolia in the Early Bronze Age 1 period' (Mellaart 1971a, 373), and map 2 (the top map on page 20 in Carruba) is in fact 'Map 10, Anatolia in the Early Bronze Age 2 period' (Mellaart 1971a, 385). Map 7 in the volume in which the Mellaart sections appear is entitled 'Palestine: Principal Early Bronze Age and Middle Bronze Age sites' and is in a different section, not authored by Mellaart. The 'diagonal map' in Carruba is reproduced by Colin Renfrew (Renfrew 2001, 52, fig. 5) considerably modified, and attributed to the same erroneous source originally given in Carruba. The diagonal line in both Renfrew's and Carruba's depiction of the 'diagonal map' does not extend from the Sea of Marmara to Iskenderum, but rather from the Sea of Marmara to a point on the Seyhan River just north of Adana, and the 'diagonal map' itself does *not* particularly show Anatolia divided into language/ethnic zones, as claimed; however, the contents of any text that may have referred to the elusive map is not known since wherever else the original map may be found, it is certainly not in the cited Mellaart sources.



base at Samuha, and the references to the land of Hatti in the Hattusa archives. For the northwest, there is the proposed location of the state or land of Pala (the population of which is assumed to be Palaic speakers) in the Pontic zone west of the Kizil Irmak basin. Among more controversial claims, some scholars (for example, Ivanov 1985; and Diakonoff 1990, 63) have linked Hattic with the West Caucasian branch of the North Caucasian language family, and therefore see, rather than an autochthonous Hattian population, a Hattian intrusion from the northeast into Anatolia, a claim that has been widely postulated for the so-called Hittites. Such a view is obviously diametrically opposed to long-held convictions of Hittite origins, but nevertheless should be carefully evaluated and not just dismissed out of hand.

From so-called Hittite loanwords and personal names found in 19th century BC Old Assyrian documents at the Assyrian trading colony at Kanesh together with an Old Hittite copy of a royal inscription of an early king, Anitta of Kussara (the 'Anitta text,' CTH 1),<sup>2</sup> which was found in the Hattusa archive, commemorating his military conquests and the expansion of his kingdom from a small area around Kanesh to a territory covering most of central Anatolia, from the northern tip of Zalpa in the Pontic zone to at least as far south as Purushanda, and perhaps even to Shalatuwar, we can logically surmise a plausible basis for the Indo-Hittite hypothesis and its implications for an indigenous Proto-Anatolian population that centered on the Konya Plain and over time differentiated into three early Anatolia Indo-European languages, Luwian spreading to the south and west, Palaic moving to, and settling exclusively in, the north, west of the Kizil Irmak basin, and Nesite represented by a small number of speakers that by the 19th century BC had settled in a small area around the city of Kanesh. To the north, from the Kizil Irmak basin to the Euphrates, lay an intrusive population of Hattians who had settled into a loosely organized group of communities.

Some centralized communities developed from the population of Nesite speakers, among them, the city of Kussara, where a dynasty arose. From such a strong, centralized system of rule, the ambitious kings Pithana and his son and successor Anitta were able to organize and mobilize a fighting force that easily defeated not only neighboring communities of Nesite speakers, but also the unorganized settlements of Luwian speakers in the south and Palaic and Hattian communities in the north and northeast, to control a territory that was to later become the base territory of the Old Hittite Kingdom, with a capital at Hattusa, a former center of the adopted homeland of the Hattians. This kingdom consisted of many conquered communities that included Nesite, Luwian, Palaic, and Hattic speakers, with a variety of religions, rites, rituals, customs, etc., in a highly heterogeneous and loosely administered polity headed by a ruling family whose authority to rule passed from one generation to the next by birthright.

In such a scenario, we need to ask what do we mean by Hittite culture and Hittite ethnic identity? The so-called Hittites, that is to say, the Nesite speakers, as the scenario goes, were originally a very small population group that conquered and controlled speakers of other languages and set themselves up as rulers of a very heterogeneous territory in terms of language, customs, religion, etc., of which the Nesite speakers were the minority. Who, or what, then, designates a Hittite culture? In this scenario, the Old Hittite Kingdom is clearly not a culture, or a discrete ethnic identity, it is only an area under a ruling authority, the area itself comprising many groups, languages, cultures and even local political structures.

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2 CTH = Catalog of Hittite Texts (Laroche 1971: Suppléments 1–2 in *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* 30, 1972, 94–133; and *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* 33, 1975, 63–71 — also currently cataloged and updated by the American Schools of Oriental Research, accessed at: <http://www.asor.org/HITTITE/CTHHP.html>).

We should consider the Anitta text a little more critically. Though reputedly discussing events of the pre-Hittite Kingdom time, the text itself is a copy (actually fragments of three copies) tenuously dated 150 years after the original was assumed to have been written (see Bryce 1998, 37–8; Neu 1974, 6; Hoffner 1980, 291; and Güterbock 1983, 24–5), and though once thought to have been originally inscribed in Hattic, or even Old Assyrian, it is now surmised to have originally been written in Old Hittite (i.e., Old Nesite — see Neu 1974, 3–9). It is most interesting to note, though, that while the Anitta story has long been considered to be a tale of the early consolidation of territory by Nesite-speaking people prior to the formation of the Old Hittite Kingdom,<sup>3</sup> regardless of whatever else they may be, the names of the two early kings of the Anitta text, Anitta and his father Pithana, are indisputably not Nesite names!

Even if we totally reject the preceding scenario we must reach a conclusion from existing facts that the so-called Hittite polity of the Old Hittite Kingdom, and its successor, the Hittite Empire,<sup>4</sup> like the vast majority of polities in the Ancient Near East, can still only be understood as nothing more than a political sphere covering a specific territory at a specific time in history, which, in composition, was ethnically diverse, multilingual and multicultural. Though historians label such polities as ‘cultures,’ implying some sort of unity or identity by which the population of such a polity recognized themselves, with very few exceptions, the ancient peoples never thought of themselves in that way. Certainly they never identified themselves with the cultural labels fabricated by the historians. There are a number of facts that inevitably lead to this conclusion, some of the most pertinent I present in the following material.

The first consideration is that without very specific, collaborative texts in clear, no uncertain terms, that directly state that an identifiable group of people spoke a specific identifiable language or languages at a certain place and time, we can never know what language was actually spoken by any group of people that have long since vanished, regardless of what written language or languages we may associate with any particular ancient people. The language that a certain group of people used for writing can never be automatically assumed to be the language of the common speech of those same people; there are simply too many cases that refute any such assumption.

Languages can be used for specific occasions or functions in a society. In addition to its general function as a vehicle of everyday communication, one of the most common special uses of language is for sacred invocations, devotions, prayers, incantations, recitations, chants, or other religious or ritualistic liturgy, spoken or written. Such functional usage is restrictive to set it apart and above the ordinary routine of life, requiring a rigid, distinct separation between the sacred language and the common language. Examples in modern society are the use of Latin in Roman Catholic services, Hebrew in Jewish services, and Sanskrit in Buddhist chants or Hindu prayers, regardless of the national language of the worshippers.

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3 First edited in transliteration by Emil Forrer in 1922, the original composition of the Anitta text was initially thought to have been written in Hattic or possibly Old Assyrian, and therefore not related to early Hittite history; but from 1974 when Neu argued that the Anitta text was not an Old Hittite translation from either Hattic or Akkadian, but indeed was an original composition in Old Hittite, the text assumed the status of the earliest of the Hittite historical texts.

4 Though the polities distinguished by 1) the rulers from Labarna to Muwatalli I, and 2) the rulers from Tudhaliya I/II to Suppiluliuma II, are usually termed ‘Old Kingdom,’ and ‘New Kingdom,’ respectively, in scholarly literature, I prefer to use the more pedestrian terminology, ‘Old Hittite Kingdom’ and ‘Hittite Empire,’ as these are more reflective of political fact rather than implying any possible change of ruling family and ethnicity from one political period to the other, which very much remains a highly conjectural position.

Another special use of language is the reinforcement of social hierarchy whereby the ruling class or aristocracy speak a different language from that of the common people. In that situation, when we refer to a Hittite-speaking people, do we mean that the ruling class spoke Hittite, or the common people spoke Hittite? The distinction in language does not necessarily indicate that the ruling class was of a different ethnic group than the common people; in some societies ascendancy to the aristocracy may be by merit as well as a hereditary privilege, and in others the practice of exogamy of the upper social strata ensures a multi-ethnic ruling class; however, regardless of any consideration of ethnic affiliation, members of the aristocracy in some societies speak a special language of the aristocracy to set themselves apart from the common people.

There are also literary languages — that is, languages used exclusively for literature — such as Standard Babylonian, the literary language of Mesopotamia from 1500 – 1 BC, and Pali, the literary language of Buddhism in the first century BC; as well as the lingua francas — the media of communication between peoples of different languages — such as Aramaic, used prolifically over a wide area of the Ancient Near East, from Upper Egypt in the south to Anatolia in the north, and from the Levant in the west, eastward as far as the Indian subcontinent, from as early as the Neo-Babylonian period (1000 – 625 BC) to c. 200 BC. Language does not in any way imply any particular ethnic affinity, and conversely, ethnicity does not in any way imply any particular language affinity. There are, again, too many cases that refute such assumptions.

An especially important consideration is that the historicity, veracity, and accuracy of the content of ancient texts can never be accepted uncritically, especially literary texts. Texts, like any objects of material culture, served some specific purpose in a society, and were directed at a specific audience. Many uses, such as state propaganda, political maneuvering both internal and external, promotion of the king and royal family, allegory, mythic epic, pure literature, and the formulaic form of religious invocation or oracular inquiry were sometimes best served by total fabrication, a twist or modification of a particular fact or facts, denial of some facts and actual events, or a complete indifference to reality in the sole interest of effect.

In essaying the viability of language in defining a cultural or ethnic identity, consider the site of Tell Mozan, which has been identified by Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati as Urkesh, the Hurrian capital, on the basis of their interpretation of seal impressions of the royal court. The king Tupkish, and the royal nurse, Zamena, have Hurrian names, while the queen, Uqnitu, and a high-ranking courtier identified by name as Innin Shadu in a number of seal impressions, have Akkadian names; the seal inscriptions are interpreted as being read in both Hurrian and Akkadian and art styles, attributed to both Akkadian and ‘Hurrian’ (is there really such thing as a Hurrian art style?), are intermixed, while Akkadian motifs abound (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1995/1996 and 1997).

Do we have then a Hurrian or Akkadian ethnic people, Hurrian or Akkadian speakers, or Hurrian or Akkadian culture? Just because a royal seal interpreted as reading, ‘Tupkish, king of Urkesh’ has been found at Tell Mozan, along with some other seals attesting to the king Tupkish and his royal court, does not, without any further evidence, unequivocally identify Tel Mozan as Urkesh. The concept of Urkesh itself must be reexamined with respect to chronology and the evidence of so-called ‘Akkadian’ and other neighboring sites and the historical record that may or may not justify the notion of Urkesh as a Hurrian capital located at the site of Tell Mozan, and we must consider the implications of other inscriptions referring to other kings of Urkesh that may not only imply locations distinct from that of Tell Mozan, but may also imply that the name ‘Urkesh’ itself is only a part of the

titulary of a king, and not the name of an actual place, but the mythological home of the gods or a symbol of a spiritual core, and/or that the word may indicate different things at different times, as is so often the case in the texts of the Ancient Near East (ANE).

Looking a bit closer at the so-called ‘Hurrians,’ we can find no indisputable evidence of a Hurrian empire (while the Mitanni Empire is a conclusive historical fact, its proposed ethnic identity as Hurrian is equivocal), a Hurrian settlement, a Hurrian culture, or even a Hurrian people, we have only a curious body of texts written in a language that we call ‘Hurrian’ that fails to give us any indication of the society, homeland, or any other clue (other than related strictly to myth and religion) of the identity of its authors. Based on documentation of Hurrian personal names, we find a so-called ‘Hurrian population’ or ‘Hurrian state’ distributed throughout the late third millennium BC “from Suruthum and Setiesa in the east, through Talmus, Simurrum, Urbilum, and Simanum in the northern Zagros to Ursu and possibly Ebla in the west” (Michalowski 1986, 138). Such a vast kingdom or widely distributed local kingships of a single ethnicity or culture is completely incompatible with what we know of the situation of the various polities in the Near East at this time. Michalowski cautions against implying too much from the proposed language affiliations of personal names; as follows: “One should not rely unduly on this distribution of Hurrian personal names in Old Akkadian times for, as Durand (1977, 28) has noted, the sample of documents does not provide a safe basis for analysis and the fact that at Gasur, at least, the records represent the activities of an Akkadian garrison, and not the local population, should warn us against any firm conclusions” (Michalowski 1986, 139).

Michalowski further notes, “In Sumer and Akkad, Hurrians are sporadically attested in Sargonic documents at Nippur (Gelb 1959), at Girsu (see the names a-hu-šé-na and si-da-ba-tal, among others, in Donbaz and Foster (1982 no. 142), possibly qualified as su-BAPPIR.ki-a-ne. This text was already discussed in Gelb [1956, 383], who did not consider these names as Hurrian: he read the last sign in the latter name as HU; the new copy seems to be ambiguous) and at Umma (if one can indeed read ú-na-ap-[ . . . ] in *MAD* 4 167: 17 [i.e., Gelb 1970, 167: 17]) . . .” (Michalowski 1986, 139, n. 16).

In his analysis of the historical consequences of the term Subir/Subartu, Michalowski provides an appendix of Hurrian names in Ur III texts associated with geographical names, with the following caveat, “. . . the fact that a ruler has a Hurrian name by no means implies that the whole territory was settled with people who spoke that language. A good example of the complexity of onomastics is the family of the important Ur III general Hašib-atal, who was in charge of Arrapha. He had a son with an Akkadian name, Puzur-Šulgi, and a fiancée, or daughter-in-law (é-gi<sub>4</sub>-a) with a Sumerian name, Nin-hedu (Limet 1972, 134). It could be argued that this naming pattern reflects his ideological connections with the central government, but it is also an interesting case that may indicate the connection between native language, culture, and onomastics is more complex than is often assumed” (Michalowski 1986, 146, n. 32).

The difficulties of deriving any kind of definition of ‘Hurrian’ beyond the fact of the language itself are illuminated by the very excavators of Tel Mozan themselves who have identified the site of Tel Mozan as the Hurrian capital of Urkesh, yet struggle to define a Hurrian cultural or ethnic entity, as follows: “On the basis of various considerations . . . we assume that the urban populations of the Khabur plains had a distinctive physiognomy epitomized by the term ‘Hurrian.’ Since this is in the first instance a linguistic term, its full significance can only be understood if and when sizable Hurrian archives can be found. The identification of a distinctive ‘Hurrian’ civilization can not result from considerations pertaining to material culture alone” (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1988, 30).

The excavators are puzzled by the absence of direct, conclusive data attesting to a Hurrian society, and pointedly ponder, “Why is it that no single Hurrian city has been excavated as yet?” (ibid., 31). They suggest that in order to identify a city as Hurrian, there must be a substantial body of Hurrian texts that attest to an ongoing community at the site that left its records behind just as it did the remainders of other components of its material culture. Not only have no sites been discovered to date that contain textual documentation of an active Hurrian community, but even much more curiously, in all of the archives in the ANE where Hurrian texts have been discovered, there is not a single Hurrian administrative, commercial, legal, or military text — no king’s lists, military campaign reports, royal proclamations, inventories, financial accounts, property deeds — not a single record reflective of an active community, society, or polity — of indeed any trace of the day-to-day workings of any kind of literate community of people. If there ever was a distinctive literate group of people that founded settlements and even kingdoms over a period of at least 1200 years (from the Akkadian period to the collapse of the Mitanni Empire) over a vast territory from southern Anatolia in the north to the Hamrin in the south, and from the Levant in the west to as far east as the territory east of the Tigris River to Nuzi and beyond, as claimed, then there would have to be records, not from other sources, but by the very people themselves that founded and lived in such settlements and communities. It is inconceivable that for all that length of time, for all that vast territory, with all the cultic, mythological and religious texts found written in Hurrian, that even a single Hurrian administrative, commercial, or legal record has never been found.

We have an identical problem with Hurrian material culture. “Material evidence of the Hurrians has long been sought by archaeologists. In keeping with theories of cultural change current in the 1930s and 1940s, the Hurrians were linked with the appearance of novel ceramic types and glyptic styles. Khirbet Kerak ware, Khabur ware, Bichrome ware, Nuzi ware, and Nuzi/Kirkuk/Mitannian glyptic are among many supposed hallmarks of the Hurrians. These have since been discarded on the grounds of their different origin, chronology, or distribution (Barrelet, 1977). Indeed, recent studies have left *little hope of ever identifying a distinctive culture of the Hurrians* [emphasis mine] . . .” (Stein 1997, 126–7). What Stein, however, does not explicitly point out that is often misunderstood by historians, and most unfortunately, is often ‘forgotten’ or conveniently ignored by many archaeologists, is that find material per se does not equal material culture, and an artifact, or style, or feature, can *never* identify a distinct culture. Archaeologically the concept of culture is equivalent and restricted to, a distinctive material culture, which is defined in the context of the rigorous grouping of meticulous associations of find material into subassemblages of social function and social order linked together to form an assemblage that represents a fully articulated social structure, or society. The material culture is described by definitive typologies. Noncontextualized ceramic types and glyptic styles do not represent, or in any way imply, a material culture.

By forcing historical labels derived from uncritical reading of ancient texts onto archaeological material we are compounding our errors in the understanding and interpretation of the past. Commenting on the evidence for the historical labels, Michalowski makes the following observation, “Most of our reconstructions of early Mesopotamian political history rest on the identifications of place names mentioned in administrative texts, royal inscriptions, and literary texts. Recent studies of trade and the political relationships between Mesopotamia and Iran have made extensive use of literary texts, such as the Uruk epic cycle and *Enki and Ninhursag*. . . I for one, cannot accept the majority of the conclusions that have been presented using such evidence. . . The problem is that once one eliminates the data of the literary texts and subjects the so-called historical texts to radical critiques, one is left with very little in the way of evidence for the reconstruction of history. That may be an unpleasant situation but there is no alternative; our history books contain too many imaginary plots

built upon bad evidence and worse analysis. It may be that alternative solutions will turn out to be overtly less appealing, like the results of the cleaning operations performed on old paintings. In the long run, however, these reevaluations may provide a deeper understanding of ancient societies, one less dependent on contemporary prejudices and expectations” (Michalowski 1986, 135).

It is Wilhelm, though, who expresses the Hurrian enigma and its direct implications best, as follows: “There have been many attempts by archaeologists to solve the problem of the origin of the Hurrians and of their settlement of the fertile crescent, and to link it with the distribution of ceramic types. In particular, a kind of pottery first known as ‘Khirbet Kerak ware,’ which is widespread from the Transcaucasus across Eastern Anatolia and Northern Syria to Palestine, was attributed to the Hurrians (Burney and Lang 1975, 97ff). However, this hypothesis is untenable on chronological grounds: the pottery is centuries older than the first evidence of the Hurrians; indeed, the Hurrians did not occupy Syria until the second millennium. The distribution of Kirbet Kerak ware might, however, indicate that Proto-Hurrians were involved. . . . The distribution of ceramic forms is suspect as an indicator of the migration of peoples because it may be caused by a variety of factors. Changes in political structures, trade routes, and fashions can be held responsible as well as demographic movements. . . .

“‘Hurrian’ in the wide sense in which we use the word today denotes principally a linguistic unity. Though it is based on the self-description of a Hurrian-speaking population in the late second millennium B.C., we now use it more loosely to refer to a wider time and place. This area of reference does not have to (and certainly does not!) tally with the textual identification as Hurrian of such properly historical entities as ‘country,’ ‘troops,’ ‘king.’ This discrepancy characterizes a basic problem . . . *a group defined by a certain language need not also reflect a social entity and may in fact have little or no historical consequence whatever* [emphasis mine]” (Wilhelm 1989, 5–6).

In light of these statements, let’s revisit the prevailing view of the so-called Hittites. We know of the Hittites primarily from textual sources: 1) initially from Nesite loanwords and Nesite personal names in Old Assyrian documents from the Assyrian trading colony of Kanesh dated to the 19th century BC, and 2) the huge volume of texts from the archives at Hattusa dated from the 17th–13th centuries BC. However, there are problems with these two sources. Primarily, personal names do not necessarily attest to either ethnicity or a particular spoken language. Let us further consider the personal names of the royal family in the succession of rulers in the Hittite Empire period. From Gelb’s suggestion, in 1935 (36, n. 3) [elaborated upon by Gelb (1951–2) and more extensively by Güterbock (1954)], that the ‘new dynasty’ [i.e., the ruling family of the Hittite Empire beginning with Tudhaliya (I/II?)] constituted a different ethnicity from that of the ruling family of the ‘old dynasty’ (i.e., the ruling family of the Old Hittite Kingdom), there has been a continuing debate as to whether or not the kings of the Hittite Empire had double names — a Hittite (Nesite) name, and a Hurrian name.

The latest, and in my opinion, the most probing and balanced study of the question of the double names of the kings of the Hittite Empire and its implications, is the study by Richard Beal published 2002. Beal summarizes the evolution of this basic question and the concepts that have been derived from it, as follows: “The evidence of the Hurrian names in the royal family, the double names of the kings, the lack of evidence of connection between Huzziya II and Tudhaliya II, and the argument that there was discontinuity in the names of the kings between Huzziya and his predecessors on one side and Tudhaliya II and his successors on the other [whereby Beal cites Otten 1966, 136f; and Gurney 1954, 26 (‘there was a break in the line’)], led to the theory that Tudhaliya II founded a new dynasty of Hurrian origin, whose members had Hurrian personal names and took ‘Anatolian’ throne names upon their accession to the throne. *Since then just about everybody has followed at*

*least the basic outline of this theory [emphasis mine]*" (Beal 2002, 57–8). Beal then cites a large number of studies that defines his use of the phrase "just about everybody" in the context of the argument of the double names of the kings of the Hittite Empire; it is an impressive corpus, though, since herewith referenced, does not also need to be reproduced here.

In his in-depth, tightly argued study, Beal has convincingly exposed the weaknesses in the evidence for the notion of an Anatolian 'throne name' ceremoniously acquired at the time of accession, and a Hurrian 'birth-name' for the line of kings of the Hittite Empire. He also presents a counterargument to the notion that there was any new dynasty represented by the Hittite Empire of a necessarily different ethnicity from that of the dynasty of the Old Hittite Kingdom, but instead points to a continuance of the line of rulers from the Old Hittite Kingdom into the Hittite Empire; and while there is some merit for the argument that Tudhaliya II did not found a new dynasty, there is insufficient evidence to make any claim whatsoever of the ethnicity of the ruling family in either of the two historical periods, and all arguments of ethnicity and continuance are nothing more than unsupported conjecture.

While exposing the weaknesses in the evidence for the tradition of both a throne name and a birth-name of the kings of the Hittite Empire, thereby casting reasonable doubt on the credibility of that notion, Beal clearly demonstrates that, from the time of Tudhaliya II (the first of a number of kings of the empire whose wives were known to bear Hurrian names), a mix of names in different languages were common with members of the royal family as well as members of the royal court, while evidence for the double names of kings can be found only for three kings of the Hittite Empire — Mursili III, Muwatalli II, and Tudhaliya IV, and for Piyyassili/Sarri-Kusub, king of Carchemish and son of Suppiluliuma I, and possibly for Kurunta/Ulmi-Tessub(?) (see Beal 2002, 57, 64 and 70; and Bryce 1998, 297–9), king of Tarhuntassa and son of Muwatalli II. Beal's two possible explanations of the double names, that 1) every prince had from birth two names, one 'Anatolian' and one Hurrian, lacks credible evidence and fails to explain the considerable mix of names of different languages of many individuals of the royal court that are neither princes nor even members of the royal family, or that 2) every prince had either a Hurrian or an 'Anatolian' personal name, and at accession to the throne adopted either a Hurrian name if his personal name was 'Anatolian' or adopted an 'Anatolian' name if his personal name was Hurrian, so that, whichever way, he would be recognized as king of both the Hittites and the Hurrians, directly refutes Beal's own compelling argument against the concept of a 'throne name' and a 'personal name,' and, with evidence of only three kings of the empire having had double names, lacks reasonable credibility.

The essential point of Beal's study is that from the Middle Hittite period (Beal 2002, 66) there is clear, incontestable documentation of the extensive mix of personal names in different languages throughout the royal family and throughout the empire. Not only do we find Hittite (Nesite) and Hurrian personal names, but also Luwian personal names in the royal family. The center of the seals of the kings of the Hittite Empire were typically inscribed in Luwian hieroglyphs encircled by a border of Nesite text rendered in cuneiform characters. On the rock shrine at Yazilikaya 63 deities are depicted, which comprise the principal divinities of the so-called Hittite pantheon; those that are labeled are identified by Hurrian names inscribed in Luwian hieroglyphs. So, do we have a Nesite-speaking Hurrian people with a Hittite culture writing in Luwian, a Luwian people worshipping Hurrian divinities and adopting Hittite customs, or Hurrian-speaking Hittites writing in Luwian hieroglyphs?

Finally, consider the problems with the Old Assyrian references to so-called Nesite loanwords and personal names, as follows: 1) as previously stated, language is not necessarily indicative of ethnicity

or culture, and 2) it is very difficult, with only a few words and names, to recognize what specific language loanwords and foreign names are derived from. Hoffner, as an example, refuses to commit himself, as follows, “The earliest sure evidence for the presence in Anatolia of the Indo-European groups associated with the Hittites is the occurrence of Hittite *or* [emphasis mine] Luwian names in the commercial documents from the Old Assyrian colony period (c. 1850–1700)” (1997, 85). If these words and names *are* of Luwian affiliation, what might we surmise from that fact? Burney (2003) states that it has been suggested that as early as c. 2000 BC the Hittite (Nesite) language was obsolete and that by the time of the Hittite Empire the majority of the population of the Anatolian lands under Hittite rule spoke Luwian. I do not know what the evidence is for such a suggestion, but Burney then ponders what the relationship is between the Luwian speakers and the Hittites; are the Hittites, in fact, Luwians? When we consider 1) that the archives at Hattusa contained texts in eight different languages, 2) a substantial number of texts were written not only in languages other than Hittite (or Nesite), but were not even Indo-European, 3) that much of the literature, especially mythology, which is the foundation of cultural, ethnic identity, was written in Hurrian or were Nesite versions of original Hurrian texts, and that 4) we have no definitive Hittite material culture, only noncontextualized styles and forms, we must seriously question what Hittite culture means.

Though I have barely scratched the surface in presenting examples in which multiple languages for personal names and text are common in the ANE within a polity, and even, for personal names, within the same family, the examples that have been presented should be more than sufficient to recognize that multi-ethnic, multilingual, multicultural polities were the rule, rather than the exception. It must also be clearly, unequivocally recognized that language does not necessarily reflect ethnicity or culture, that ethnicity and culture does not determine language, and that neither the language of a personal name or written documents can make any claim whatsoever as to the common spoken language of any ancient population. Not only is it totally invalid, in the absence of demonstrable, hard evidence, to assume and label a population as a cultural unit based on either the language of toponyms, texts, or personal names, but it is inherently illogical to do so. If one uses the logic that the language of a personal name, *or* the language of the texts associated with a place or polity must define the spoken language of the related population and thereby their cultural and ethnic identity, by what logical criterion can Anitta and Pithana be considered Hittite when their names are not Hittite though the Anitta text supposedly authored by Anitta may have been written in Old Hittite, and by what logical criterion can the royal families of the Hittite Empire be considered Hittite, Hurrian, or Luwian when there are personal names and texts in all three languages? The concept of historical cultures is totally vacuous, and the entire historical and archaeological constructions of the ANE are a house of cards on a island of quicksand. The answer to the central question of this study is that we have *neither* cultural continuity *nor* cultural discontinuity, because we have no legitimate cultures.

We have failed to identify and study the numerous individual cultures that are contained within the large ANE polities because we are fixated on false notions of culture and meaningless historical labels. The only ‘culture’ that we as archaeologists can legitimately recognize and study is material culture labeled by type site, defined by find material associations in context and the derivation of critical subassemblages, assemblages, and typologies. As archaeologists, we cannot, and should not, make claims about religion, ethnicity, mythology, language, and historical events, nor should we be misled by the false claims and empty labels of the historians. As archaeologists, we should stick to archaeology, and as historians we should seriously rethink what we mean by culture and ethnicity, and how a cultural sphere may be discerned and demarcated using rigorous, unequivocal criteria, and documented based on clear, hard, demonstrable evidence in the form of rigorous, critical hermeneutical analysis of textual descriptions of social structures, belief systems, ideology, philosophy and mythol-



ogy in concert with definitive material cultures isolated by archaeologists. A little critical thinking goes a long way.

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**Fig. 1** Diagonal Map 1  
 (Carruba 1995, 19, top map)



Fig. 2 Diagonal Map 2  
(Renfrew 2002, 52, fig. 5)



Fig. 3 Diagonal Map 3, after Robinson  
(Map base: www.nationalgeographic.com/xpeditions ©2001 National Geographic Society)

## タル・タバンの出土碑文（1997-1999年度発掘調査）

シュテファン M マウル\*

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(訳) 柴田大輔\*\*

シリア北東部ハブール川流域、現在のハッサケ市南方に位置する遺跡タル・タバンは、1997年から1999年の間合計3シーズンに渡り大沼克彦隊長率いる国士舘大学調査隊の手によって発掘された。この調査による成果の一つに多数の文字資料の発見がある。これは日本隊による発掘調査としては初めての快挙であり、中近東における発掘調査全体の視点から見ても注目に値する発見であった。大沼隊長は、当該文書の解読と分析をハイデルベルク大学のシュテファン・マウル教授に依頼し、その成果をまとめた独文報告書 *Die Inschriften von Tall Tābān (Grabungskampagnen 1997-1999): Die Könige von Tābētu und das Land Māri in mittellassyrischer Zeit*, Acta Sumerologica Supplementary Series 2, Tokyo, 2005が昨年出版された。以下に和訳するのは、日本のより幅広い読者に研究成果を紹介するためマウル教授が作成した原稿である。

タル・タバンの出土した文字資料は、中期アッシリア時代に現在のタル・タバンの周辺を支配し、またマリ国王を自称していたある小王国の君主が残した建築碑文であった。この碑文より、タル・タバンのマリ国王の居城タベトゥ市であった事、マリ国がアッシリア帝国に服属しつつも他の属州とは異なり一定の独立を保っていた事、そしてマリ国王を自称する支配者の家系が少なくとも前13世紀末から前11世紀にかけて綿々と当地において続いていた事が明らかになった。さらに、この家系がアッシリア王家の傍系に連なる可能性も浮かび上がった。このような王国に関する情報は、前二千年紀後半のアッシリア帝国による属領行政の予期せぬ新しい側面を伝えるものであった。また、碑文は、タベトゥ市が城壁と城門から成る防御施設によって守られていた事、市内には天候神アダドと治癒女神グラの神殿があった事など、タベトゥ市の地誌についても貴重な情報をもたらす。

(訳者)

## はじめに

1996年9月、大沼克彦教授の指揮の下、国士舘大学イラク古代文化研究所（東京）は、北東シリア地方の中心都市ハッサケ周辺における一般調査を実施した。長期間に渡りイラクにおいて行われた発掘調査の後、考古調査をシリアへと拡大する必要があったのだ<sup>1</sup>。そのためにふさわしい遺跡が探し出され、白羽の矢は、ハッサケ市の南東19kmハブール川東岸に位置する偉容を誇る遺跡タル・タバンの立ったのであった<sup>2</sup>。

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1 Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Okada 1999: 1を参照。

2 この遺丘は、南北方向に約350m、東西方向に約330m広がり、周辺地表との高低差は、最大で26mになる（詳細に関しては、Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Okada 1999: 3ff. 並びに同Pl. 1-5の写真を参照）。

この遺丘は、大沼教授の指揮の下、1997年、1998年、そして1999年に行われた三度の発掘によって調査された。まず、テルの北西斜面に小さな試掘溝が開けられ<sup>3</sup>、この試掘溝が徐々に拡張された<sup>4</sup>。その結果、13の文化層が確定された<sup>5</sup>。墓一基とわずかな残存物のみが確認されている最上層はヘレニズム時代に帰属する（第1層）<sup>6</sup>。続く二つの層（第2層並びに第3層）を構成する城壁跡と幾つかの埋葬跡は新アッシリア時代に由来する<sup>7</sup>。その下に位置する第4層から第9層は、中期アッシリア時代に帰属する<sup>8</sup>。この層からは城壁と煉瓦敷が出土したが<sup>9</sup>、それが属した建築的脈絡を突き止めるには、試掘溝の広さは十分ではなかった。しかしながら、勾配の急なテルの斜面という位置は、中期アッシリア時代に由来するこの建築址が、丘の居住地を敵対勢力から守る防御施設と密接な関係にあったことを示唆する。タル・タバンの発掘において発見された文字資料は、専ら、中期アッシリア時代に属する第5-9層、あるいはテルの麓にあった瓦礫層（“Middle Assyrian drifted layer”）<sup>10</sup>に由来する。粘土板文書1点の他、「マリ国王」を自称する中期アッシリア時代の領主の碑文が記された土製円筒（クレイシリンダー）9点の断片、煉瓦断片46点、壁装飾土製釘（クレイネール）の断片13点、そして土器断片2点が見つかった。出土した碑文は、タル・タバンのこれら「マリ国王」達の居城であったことを確認する。この居城はタバトゥという名で呼ばれていた<sup>11</sup>。残念なことに、原位置にて見つかった碑文付きの煉瓦、土製円筒、壁装飾土製釘は一点も無かった。第10-13層からは一点も碑文が見つかっていない<sup>12</sup>。しかし、城壁址をも有するこの層がミタニ時代に相当する可能性を、この層において見つかった土器は示唆する。調査された試掘溝では、第13層の下にて岩盤に到達したようなかのように見える。しかし、タル・タバンは、より古い時代から居住されていたと推測できる。この点を示唆する論拠として、まず、既に古バビロニア時代この都市が存在していたことを証言する文字資料が挙げられる<sup>13</sup>。さらに、これまでに見つかった土器も論拠になる。「トレンチ1」の区域からはハッスーナ土器の破片と前三千年紀に典型的な土器が発見されている<sup>14</sup>。それどころか、テルの麓からは旧石器時代中期の石器も見ついている<sup>15</sup>。

発掘調査に従事した研究者は、新たに発見された中期アッシリア時代の王碑文が、数年前わずか数キロメートルしか離れていないタル・ブデリから出土したものと極めて類似していることに即座に気がついた<sup>16</sup>。タル・ブデリから出土した中期アッシリアの地方領主の碑文を編纂する任務は筆者に課されていたため<sup>17</sup>、大沼克彦教授は、タル・タバンの出土碑文も出版することを筆者に提案した。そして、雅量を示すこの提案を筆者は喜んで引き受けた。このような経緯で、国士舘大学イラク古代文化研究所（東京）の招待により、1999年秋における発掘調

3 トレンチ I. Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Okada 1999: 4 の地図を参照。

4 トレンチ II 並びに トレンチ III. Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Shimbo 2000: 4 並びに Ohnuma/ Numoto 2001: 4 の地図を参照。

5 Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Okada 1999: 9 を参照。

6 Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Okada 1999: 8。

7 Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Okada 1999: 8。

8 Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Okada 1999: 11, Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Shimbo 2000: 4-7, Ohnuma/ Numoto 2001: 3-10。

9 Ohnuma/ Numoto 2001: 5 の図版を参照。

10 Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Okada 1999: 9-10 と Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Shimbo 2000: 6 を見よ。

11 タバトゥと呼ばれている事例も一点ある（文書 2, 第 1 行）。

12 Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Okada 1999: 11-12 並びに Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Shimbo 2000: 7。

13 Groneberg 1980: 243 を参照。

14 Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Shimbo 2000: 7。

15 Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Okada 1999: 5-7。

16 タル・ブデリ発掘の仮報告 Pfälzner 1989/ 90 並びに Maul 1992: 9 Anm 4 に挙げられている文献を参照。

17 Maul 1992。

査の期間中（このあとすぐ明らかになるように、歴史的に極めて重要な）タル・タバンの出土碑文を研究し、その楔形文字書写を作成する機会を筆者は得た。このような貴重な研究資料に携わることが出来たのは筆者にとってこの上ない名誉であり、シリア政府考古局、そして誰よりも大沼克彦教授と国士舘大学イラク古代文化研究所にこの旨心より深謝の意を表したい。

筆者の研究成果は、タル・タバンの発掘の続行が極めて重要な意義をもたらすであろう事に疑いの余地を与えない。城郭区域と市街地区域における更なる発掘によって即座に数多くの王碑文が出土し、アッシリアに任命された地方領主が中期アッシリア帝国の拡大と強化において果たしていた役割を知るための情報が得られる可能性があるだけではない。「マリ国」における属州経営に関する最初の文字資料と見なすことができる粘土板一枚の発見は、城塞区域の更なる発掘が巨大な粘土板文書庫を掘り当てる可能性の少なくないことを示唆するのである。そのような発見は、アッシリアの属州行政、就中、中期アッシリア時代におけるハブール川流域の行政管理に関する我々の知識を著しく拡大することになるだろう。「マリ国王」達の碑文より、中期アッシリアの城塞都市タベトゥが幾度も修復された防壁と（少なくとも）一つの城門によって守られ、都市の中には、王宮並びに天候神アダドと治癒女神グラの神殿があったことを我々は知っている。広くもある程度見通しのつくこのテルにおける更なる発掘は、おそらくそれほど大きな労力を投じることも無く、中期アッシリアの属州主都の構造に関する明確な形象を我々にもたらす可能性を有しているのだ。

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### タベトゥの王達と中期アッシリア時代におけるマリ国

1921年、すでに E. フォラ (Forrer) は、偉観を誇る居住丘タル・タバンの下に、ハブール川に隣接していた古代都市タベトゥの遺跡が埋もれているのではないかとの見解を発表した<sup>18</sup>。タベトゥとは、タバトゥという名で古バビロニア時代の文献資料に歴史上初めて登場し、その後、中期並びに新アッシリアの資料において頻繁に言及される都市である。フォラによって提案されたこの遺跡の同定は、当地において発見された中期並びに新アッシリア時代の土器によって論拠づけられ、タル・ブデリにおける碑文の発見によりついに確証された<sup>19</sup>。タル・ブデリにて出土した「マリ国王、アッシュル・ケティ・レシエル」の円筒碑文に、タル・ブデリ（古代名ドウル・アッシュル・ケティ・レシエル）がマリ国王達の居城であった「タベトゥの上方」に位置していた、という言及が見つかったのである<sup>20</sup>。この言及に従うと、古のタベトゥは、タル・ブデリからさして遠くはない場所にあっただけではなく、タル・ブデリの「下方」、すなわち遺跡が隣接するハブール川の川下に位置していたことになるのだ。そして、その候補地は、タル・ブデリ／ドウル・アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの南方 6 km に位置する大きな遺丘タル・タバンのしかなかった。ここに紹介するタル・タバンの出土した「マリ国王達」の数多くの建築碑文は、タル・タバンのこそがタベトゥの遺跡であることを最終的に証明した。

18 Forrer 1921: 144。

19 Maul 1992 を見よ。

20 Maul 1992: 22, 2。



「タベトゥとその周辺地域」が中期アッシリア時代において「マリ国」と呼ばれていたことは<sup>21</sup>、タル・ブデリから出土したアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの碑文によって初めて知られるようになった。この極めて限定された領地を、前12世紀から前11世紀の変わり目にアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルが支配していたのだ。もっとも、強力なアッシリア王ティグラトピレセル一世（前1114-1076年）の一代官としてではあるが。「我父たる前任の王達がタベトゥとその周辺地域を領有していた」というアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの証言が持つ歴史的信憑性も<sup>22</sup>、タル・タバンの出土したこの新しい碑文により鮮やかに証明された。同じくマリ国王であった、アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの父<sup>23</sup>や祖父<sup>24</sup>の建築碑文が発見されたばかりではない。ここに発表される新しい碑文の発見によって、遙かに古い年代、おそらくはトゥクルティ・ニヌルター一世の時代までマリ国王朝の家系を途切れなしに辿る事が出来るようになったのである。また他方では、アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの孫がまだタベトゥに居城を構えており、「マリ国王」という称号を名乗っていたことも示唆されるのだ。

上述のアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの父親であり同時にその前任の王がアダド・ベール・ガベという名前であったこと、さらに、彼の父であり前任の王がアダド・ベール・アプリという名前であったことは、タル・ブデリから出土したアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの碑文より既に知られていた。このアダド・ベール・アプリ—アダド・ベール・ガベ—アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルという王位継承の順番は、今回発見されたアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの碑文によっても確認された<sup>25</sup>。タル・ブデリから出土した円筒碑文により、アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルがアッシリア王ティグラトピレセル一世（前1114-1076年）の同時代人物であり、またベール・リプールが紀年職を務めた年である前1096年の時点においてマリ国王として統治していたことが明らかになっていた<sup>26</sup>。タル・タバンの出土したアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの祖父アダド・ベール・アプリの碑文は、さらにこの二代前の王の治世を年代的に位置づけるための手掛かりを提供する。当該の碑文には、イナ・イリヤ・アラクが紀年職を務めた年に文書が作成された旨が付記されているのである<sup>27</sup>。この年は、アッシリア王ティグラトピレセル一世の治世6年、すなわち前1109年であろうと考えられている<sup>28</sup>。祖父の治世の終わりと孫の治世の始まりの間には、最大で12年の開きがあった事になるのだ。無論、両王の治世の間に位置するアダド・ベール・ガベの治世がこの期間を超えることはない。

アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの祖父アダド・ベール・アプリの建築碑文も、期待通り、この王の前任者達についての情報をもたらす家系を記載している<sup>29</sup>。しかし、家系を記載している箇所は破損がひどく、アダド・ベール・アプリの父の名前と称号は欠損しており、祖父<sup>30</sup>についても部分的にしか残っていない。しかし、この三代前の世代は、「[...] エテル・ピ]—アダド、同じくマリ国王」と難なく補うことができる。何か明確ではない理

21 Maul 1992: 29, 4 を見よ。

22 Maul 1992: 29, 3-4。

23 文書 3。

24 文書 2。タル・ブデリからも、アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの祖父であったアダド・ベール・アプリの短い碑文の記された煉瓦が見つかっている (Maul 1992: 45, Ziegel 7 を参照)。

25 文書 4, 第 1 行並びに第 2 行。文書 5-8, 第 1 行並びに第 5 行。

26 Maul 1992: 15f. を見よ。さらに、文書 5-8, 第 21 行より、ティグラトピレセル時代に紀年職を務めたムダメク・ベール在職の年も、アッシュル・ケティ・レシエル在位時代に位置づけられる事が明らかになった。

27 文書 2, 第 1' 行。

28 Freydank 1991: 87 を見よ。

29 文書 2, 第 3 行。

30 欠損部分の大きさから言っても、当該の箇所にアダド・ベール・アプリの父ではなく祖父が言及されていることは確実。

由からアダド・ベール・アプリの建築碑文では、他では一般的な三世代の家系記載に四代前の世代が付け加えられており、そこに、アダド・ベール・アプリの曾祖父の名が言及されている。彼の名はアダド・ベール・ガベと言う。このように、アダド・ベール・アプリの碑文は、マリの地を支配していたアダド・ベール・ガベという王が一人ではなく、少なくとも二人はいたことを証言する。以後、アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの父であったアダド・ベール・ガベはアダド・ベール・ガベ二世（仮）と呼ぶことにするが、このアダド・ベール・ガベ二世（仮）はその高祖父（アダド・ベール・ガベ一世（仮））か、もしくは他の誰か、さらに古い同名をした開祖から名前を取ったのであろう。アダド・ベール・ガベ一世（仮）が上述の通りエテル・ピー・アダドの父であったことは、アダド・ベール・ガベをその父として言及するエテル・ピー・アダドのある煉瓦碑文によって証明される<sup>31</sup>。

今ここに確定されたマリ国王達の継承順番（アダド・ベール・ガベ一世（仮）— エテル・ピー・アダド— 某— アダド・ベール・アプリ— アダド・ベール・ガベ二世（仮）— アッシュル・ケティ・レシエル）には、まだエテル・ピー・アダドの息子であり同時にアダド・ベール・アプリの父親であった人物の名前が欠けている。しかし、年代的根拠から、この人物の名前がマヌ・ル・ヤーウであったに相違ない、と推定することができる。アッシリア王ニヌルタ・トゥクルティ・アッシュル（前1133年）の極めて短い治世に作成された行政文書が多数アッシュルに残っているのだが、そこにはマヌ・ル・ヤーウという名のタベトゥ領主からの物品の配達記録が記録されている。この文書によれば、マヌ・ル・ヤーウという人物が前1133年タベトゥにおいて王として君臨していたことになる。アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの治世に属する事が確定された日付である前1096年、そしてマヌ・ル・ヤーウの治世に属する事が確定されたこの日付前1133年の間、37年間に四世代の王達（マヌ・ル・ヤーウ— アダド・ベール・アプリ— アダド・ベール・ガベ二世（仮）— アッシュル・ケティ・レシエル）が在任していたと考えることは十分に可能であるが、五世代あるいはそれ以上の王達の在任は考えにくい。よって、マヌ・ル・ヤーウがアダド・ベール・アプリの父親であり、またエテル・ピー・アダドの息子であったと考えざるを得ない。さらに、アダド・ベール・ガベ二世（仮）のある碑文から、マヌ・ル・ヤーウの息子が [...] *-aplu* で終わる名前を所持していたことが明らかになっている<sup>32</sup>。上で当該の世代の王として仮定した人物の名前であるアダド・ベール・アプリ以外に、この名前に相当する候補はない。このマヌ・ル・ヤーウの碑文は既に見つかっているが<sup>33</sup>、彼の前任者に関しては残念ながら記述がないか、あるいは残っていない。

煉瓦の破片7点<sup>34</sup>と土製釘の破片1点<sup>35</sup>から再構成されるエテル・ピー・アダドのある碑文は、エテル・ピー・アダドには（マヌ・ル・ヤーウの他に）エンリル・アブラ・ウツルという名の別の息子がいた、という興味深い情報を提供する。しかし、このマヌ・ル・ヤーウの兄弟が王位に即いたことは無かった、と考えて良からう。

同一の碑文が記された数多くの煉瓦は、さらに別のあるマリ国王に由来する<sup>36</sup>。これまで中期アッシリア時代の資料に登場することがなかったその王の名をリーシュ・ネルガルと言う。かれは、アダド・ベール・ガベという名の王の息子であった。このリーシュ・ネルガルが前述のアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの兄弟であり、その父アダド・ベール・ガベ二世（仮）の第二の後継者として兄（弟）の王位を継承した可能性も排除することは出

31 文書18。

32 文書3, 第3行。

33 文書19, 文書58, さらにおそらく文書59。

34 文書11-17。

35 文書66。

36 文書20-36。

来ない<sup>37</sup>。しかし、可能性は低い。確実にアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルに帰属する碑文の断片がより上層の後代の層位から出土している一方で、確実にリーシュ・ネルガルの碑文が記された煉瓦の断片は、(唯一つの例外を除き<sup>38</sup>) 全てより下層の中期アッシリア層、8b層から9b層、から出土しているからだ。よって、リーシュ・ネルガルがアダド・ベール・ガベ一世(仮)の息子であった可能性は十分にある。もしその説が正しければ、彼はエテル・ピー・アダドの兄弟であり、父親の地位を継承したか、あるいはその兄弟の後に王位に即いた、と考えられる。第一のケースの場合、リーシュ・ネルガルは子を授かることなく若死にしたと推測される<sup>39</sup>。第二のケースの場合は、例えば早くに世を去ってしまったエテル・ピー・アダドの弟としてリーシュ・ネルガルが王位を継承し、その後、王位はエテル・ピー・アダドの息子達の上に戻った、と推測される。しかし当然全て憶測の域を出ない。何故なら、リーシュ・ネルガルが第三のアダド・ベール・ガベの息子であり、この第三のアダド・ベール・ガベは同名の王達の治世以前に君臨していたという可能性も排除できないからである<sup>40</sup>。

最後に挙げた解決案が正しい場合、アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルが前1096年にタベトゥの王位に君臨していた以前、少なくとも七世代に渡ってマリ国王位が父から息子へと継承されていたことになる。さらに、長期間で見た場合一世代の交代が平均して約25年周期に行われ、また前1096年の段階でアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの四半世紀が既にその半分を過ぎていた、と仮定した場合、リーシュ・ネルガルの父に相当する古い時代のアダド・ベール・ガベが前13世紀の中頃王位に即いていたと推測される。これは、アッシリア王トゥクルティ・ニヌルター一世(前1243-1207年)がその遠征を開始し、ハナヤラピクと並んでマリ国にもアッシリアに対する進貢の義務を負わせた時期である<sup>41</sup>。リーシュ・ネルガルの父親であったこの古い時代のアダド・ベール・ガベがタベトゥの王朝の開祖なのだろうか。この王朝がアダド・ベール・ガベと言う王名に抱いているかのように見える幾ばくかの愛着が、上述の仮説を支持する材料になり得るかもしれない。

奇妙なのは、マリ国の王達全員がトゥクルティ・ニヌルター一世の時代に遡るまで一人の例外もなくアッシリア風の名前を名乗っていたことである。この事実によって、「タベトゥ領主の王朝がアッシリア起源」であり、タベトゥの領主が「トゥクルティ・ニヌルター一世時代既にアッシリアの宗主権下に置かれていたかもしれない」、という Maul 1992: 49 にて慎重に検討された可能性の蓋然性が俄然増して来る。タベトゥの王朝の開祖がアダド・ベール・ガベという名前を名乗っていた可能性があり、またおそらくトゥクルティ・ニヌルター一世の時代に「マリ国」の支配権を獲得したと考えられるため、以下の仮説も否定できない。すなわち、タベトゥの王朝の開祖であったアダド・ベール・ガベが、おそらく「トゥクルティ・ニヌルター時代初期」に紀年職を務めていたアダド・ベール・ガベという名のアッシリア王子と同一人物であったのではなかろうか、という仮説である(フライダंक (Freydank) によれば「彼が(トゥクルティ・ニヌルター時代)後期に(紀年職を)務めていた可能性はない」と言う)<sup>42</sup>。この後者のアダド・ベール・ガベがトゥクルティ・ニヌルター一世の兄弟であったのか、あるいは息子であったと考えることが出来るのかは、目下の所分からない<sup>43</sup>。

帝国における高位の職、知事と外務大臣の位に王家の一員を就けることにより、それらの地位を「アッシリア

37 リーシュ・ネルガルがアダド・ベール・ガベ二世(仮)のすぐ後の後継者であった可能性は、年代的な理由より極めて低い。

38 文書28は表採。

39 これは、エテル・ピー・アダドの息子がマリ国王の位を継承していることに基づく。

40 この年代の問題に関し、碑文に用いられた文字の形体の分析から有用な材料を引き出す事は出来ない。

41 これについては Maul 1992: 53f. を参照。

42 Freydank 1991: 49。

43 Freydank 1991: 49-50 を見よ。

王家の傍系」に移譲するということがトゥクルティ・ニヌルタ時代において全く異例ではなかったことは、E. カンジク-キルシュバウム（Cancik-Kirschbaum）によって指摘されている通りである<sup>44</sup>。よって、おそらくアッシリアの王達の委託により「タベトゥとその周辺地域」を長い世代に渡って支配し<sup>45</sup>、また王の称号を名乗ることが許された王朝が、アッシリア王家と血筋において近い関係にあったということもあながち考えられないことではない<sup>46</sup>。もしこれらタベトゥの王達の開祖が本当にアッシリア王トゥクルティ・ニヌルター一世の息子（あるいはシャルマネセル一世（前1273-1244年）の息子）であったとしたら、*māt Māri*「マリ国」の独特な綴り方に関して全く別の説明ができるかもしれない。最も頻繁に使われた綴り方は、*māru*「息子」と読まれた文字 A を用いたものである。国を指す文字（KUR）と組み合わせられることによって作られた KUR A という文字の結合は *māt māri* と読まれたが、この語は「マリ国」の他に「息子の国」と解することも出来る。かつて強大な勢力を誇り、またその忘れ去られぬ伝統にこそタベトゥの領主達は自らを位置づけようとしたマリ市という名の妙なる響きに更なる意味が込められていたのかもしれない。マリ国の支配権を託されたのが、アッシリア王の「息子」であったという自負が。

Maul 1992: 51 における推測に反し、アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルはその王朝における最後の支配者ではなかったようだ。煉瓦の断片三つにわずか残部としてのみ残る碑文は、アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの孫がタベトゥに君臨していた可能性を示唆している。

締めくくりに、タベトゥのさらなる王の名前が記録に残っている可能性を指摘しよう。ニネヴェから出土したある中期アッシリアの行政文書には、「アダド・アブラ・イディナ、タベトゥの人」と呼ばれるある人物が言及されている<sup>47</sup>。彼は、アッシリアの高官達、カトムフの領主達、ニネヴェ、シャディカニ、カトニの知事達と並んで、数量のワインをアッシリアの王か、あるいは神殿に納めている。この文書の年代がまだ不確定であるため<sup>48</sup>、当該のアダド・アブラ・イディナがアダド・ベール・ガベール一世（仮）治世以前、あるいはアッシュル・ケティ・レシエル治世以後にマリ国を治めていたのかは、確言できない。

ハブール川流域にあったこの小さな王国がいかなる末路を迎えたのか、残念ながらまだ何も分かっていない。後代の文書においてタベトゥは、新アッシリア時代の王アダド・ニラリ二世（前911-891年）とトゥクルティ・ニヌルタ二世（前890-884年）の遠征において立ち寄られた場所として唯二度のみ言及されている。

ユーフラテス川流域のマリ（テル・アル・ハリリ）が滅亡した後、ハブール川流域あるいはユーフラテス川中流域における幾つかの地方領主がその支配下にあった地域を指すのにこの誉れ高い *māt Māri* という名を用いたようだ。中期アッシリア時代の王アッシュル・ベール・カラ（前1073-1056年）の年代記から、この王が「マリ国

44 Cancik-Kirschbaum 1999。

45 Maul 1992: 29, 4 を見よ。

46 マリ国王達の碑文によって、(中期) アッシリアの王達ではなく、その家臣に由来する碑文が初めて知られる所となった。中期アッシリア時代の他の知事達もまたそれぞれの州都に於いて王碑文を建築物の定礎に残したのだろうか。あるいは、アッシュルに宮殿を構えていたアッシリア王の碑文の文体を手本に作成された碑文を残す事をマリ国の王達に許したのは、その出自と王号なのであろうか。目下の所まだ明らかになっていない。

47 Millard 1970: 172-173 並びに Pl. XXXIII-XXXIV。

48 Millard 1970: 172-173 によると、この行政文書は前12世紀の中頃に作成されたと言う。それに対し、J. N. ポストゲイト (Postgate) はこの文書を「おおよそティグラトピレセル一世治世時代に」年代づけている (*Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 5, 487b s.v. Katmuhu)。

王トゥクルティ・メール」に対して二度遠征を行ったことが知られている<sup>49</sup>。この「マリ国」は、ハブール川流域のタベトゥに君臨した王達の「マリ国」と同一のものではないようだ。E. ワイドナー (Weidner) が指摘しているように、「マリ国王トゥクルティ・メール」は、「その国の平安とその命の守護のため」シッパルのシャマシュに石製の笏を献納した「ハナ国王トゥクルティ・メール」と同一人物であった可能性が高いからだ<sup>50</sup>。他、ユーフラテス川中流域に位置するスフを前8世紀に支配していたアッシリアの代官達の碑文が知られている。その家系はバビロンのハムラビまで遡ると言うこの代官達は「スフ国とマリ国の代官」を自称している。しかし、彼らは、ユーフラテス川流域のマリもタベトゥ周辺地域も支配下に置いていなかった<sup>51</sup>。アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルとその前任者達と同様、彼らも、自らをユーフラテス川流域におけるかつての強大なマリの伝統に位置づけるため *māt Māri* の名を用いたと考えられる。もっとも彼らの称号においてマリ国の名は時として欠落する物であったことが特筆されるが、少数ながら古バビロニア時代以降の文書に見つかっている *māt Māri* の事例は、ユーフラテス川流域に位置する有名なマリ (テル・アル・ハリリ) を指しているのではない。そもそもこのマリ市は、ハムラビによって破壊された後、二度と居住されることがなかったのだ。

以下に発表する王碑文は、マリ国王朝の時代における歴史的イベントに関して情報をもたらすものではない。我々は、アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルによる以下の証言で満足する他はない。曰く、彼の前任者達はただ「タベトゥとその周辺地域を領有していた」<sup>52</sup>。この状況に対し、アッシュル・ケティ・レシエル自身がマリ国の勢力範囲を拡大し始めた。この政治的決断がいかなる結末を引き起こしたのか、我々は知らない<sup>53</sup>。タル・タバノ出土の新しい碑文は、タベトゥの地誌に関し、無味乾燥ではあるものの、幾つかの情報を提供する。都市は、防壁、土塁、そして少なくとも一つの城門から成る防御施設によって守られており、この防御施設をマリ国の王達は何代にも渡って幾度も修復して来た。これに関するアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの建築碑文は、幾つものサンプルが残っている (文書 5-8)。都市の城壁の内側には、アダドの神殿があった。おそらくこの神がタベトゥの都市神であったのだろう<sup>54</sup>。文書 3 によると、アダド・ベール・ガベ二世 (仮) は朽ち果てたこの神の社を再建したと言う。その息子アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルは、タベトゥにおけるアダド神殿再建を続行し、当該神殿を拡大した (文書 9, 他おそらく文書 4)。天候神の神殿が存在していたことは、その他、漏斗型をした土製釘 2 点に記された保存状態の悪い簡潔な建築碑文も証言している (文書 64, 文書 65)<sup>55</sup>。前1109年に作成されたアダド・ベール・アプリの建築碑文 (文書 2) より、タベトゥにはグラの神殿も存在していた事がわかっている。この治癒女神の他の多くの神殿と同様、そのシュメル語尊称はエガルマフ<sup>56</sup>と呼ばれた。神殿は、朽ち果てた後、前12世紀末期に再建された。煉瓦の断片七点 (文書 11-17) と土製釘の断片一点 (文書 66) から再構成されるエテル・ピー・ア

49 Weidner 1935: 336-338, Borger 1964: 135-136, Grayson 1976: 46 並びに 49。

50 Weidner 1935: 336ff. 当該の碑文に於いてトゥクルティ・メールは、同じく「ハナ国王」の称号を持つイル・イキーシャという名の父親に言及している。

51 Cavigneaux/ Ismail 1990: 327。

52 Maul 1992: 29, 4。同 39, 3 も参照。

53 これについては Maul 1992: 50-51 を参照。

54 これを示唆するのは、王名の神名要素としてアダドが好んで選ばれたという事だけではない。多くの神々が呼び出される場合、アダドが常に最初に (マルドゥク, シン, シャマシュの前に) 言及されている事も見落としてはならない (Maul 1992: 29, 17f. 並びに同 37, 13 さらに文書 6, 第 2' 行を参照)。

55 両方の文書とも、建築主たる王の名前は残っていない。

56 「崇高なる社殿」

ダドの碑文のみが、この王が「彼の息子エンリル・アブラ・ウツルのために建立させた」建築物について伝える。この建築物が、王子あるいは皇太子の住居を指しているのか、あるいはエテル・ピー・アダドの若死にした息子の廟所か、それとも他の目的に作られた別の何かの建築物か、それは分からない。

中期アッシリア時代のマリ王国における王達の継承順番を概観する表を以下に挙げる。

治世	王 <sup>57</sup>
前1243-1207	*トゥクルティ・ニヌルタ, アッシリア王
	(不確定)
(年代不明)	アダド・ベール・ガベ, マリ国王
(年代不明)	*リーシュ・ネルガル, マリ国王
	(不確定)
	アダド・ベール・ガベ一世 (仮), マリ国王 <sup>58</sup>
	*エテル・ピー・アダド, マリ国王
前1133年前後	*マス・ル・ヤウ, マリ国王 — エンリル・アブラ・ウツル
前1109年前後	*アダド・ベール・アプリ, マリ国王
	*アダド・ベール・ガベ二世 (仮), マリ国王
前1096年前後	*アッシュル・ケティ・レシエル, マリ国王
	[ ], マリ国王
	*A [ ], マリ国王

### タル・タバンのタベトゥ出土文字資料

1997年から1999年に実施されたタル・タバンの発掘調査において出土した計71の文字資料全てを以下に発表する。資料は、例外なく中期アッシリア時代の瓦礫層から発見されたものである。なお以下に用いる文書番号は、161-182頁に掲載する各楔形文字書写の番号、並びに Maul 2005 における文書番号 (Text Nr.) に対応する。

### 中期アッシリア時代の粘土板文書 (文書1)

タル・タバンの地表、「トレンチ3」附近において粘土板文書の断片が発見された (発掘番号 T III-S-2)<sup>59</sup>。文書に使われている文字の形体から、当該粘土板文書が中期アッシリア時代に作成されたものであることに疑いの余地はない。粘土板断片の大きさは、縦最長 2,6 センチ、横最長 2,4 センチであり、厚さは最大 1,5 センチである。粘土板の元の形態を復元することは不可能。

57 王名の前に付記された星印 (\*) は、当該の王の碑文が発見されていることを意味している。王位は、見た所例外なく父から子へと継承された。

58 文書60と文書61は、おそらくこの王の碑文ではないか、と考えられる。

59 同じ区域の地表において、中期アッシリア時代に由来する文字資料がさらに3点発見されている。すなわち、円筒の断片二点 (T III-S-3=文書8並びにT III-S-1=文書10)、さらに煉瓦断片一点 (T III-S-4=文書37)。これら全てに、名前の知られている王の中では最も後代のマリ国王アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの碑文が残っている。

粘土板断片の保存状態は悪く、翻訳はもちろんのこと翻字を提示することも出来ない。しかし、残存している文字の痕跡は、中期アッシリア時代においてタベトゥにあった行政中枢部が経済活動を文書に記録していたことを証明する。タル・タバンの出土したこの粘土板に、タベトゥの王宮と密接な関係にあったに違いないマリ国地方行政に関する最初の証拠を見出すことが出来る。この中期アッシリアの粘土板断片は、その収支を几帳面に記録していた役人によって管理されていた穀物倉庫経営の存在を証言する。タル・タバンのさらなる発掘調査において巨大な粘土板文書アーカイフが発見され、中期アッシリア時代におけるハブール川流域のアッシリア行政に関する我々の知識を一新することが期待される。

粘土板 T III-S-2には、その名前が言及されたある人物<sup>60</sup>、さらに個々には言及されていない労働者達に配給された穀物の数量が記録されていたようだ。大半のケースにおいては、支給に際しての根拠も言及されていたことだろう。この断片 T III-S-2が、倉庫管理の脈絡に由来する書簡の断片であった可能性も排除できない。

## マリ国王の碑文（文書 2-71）

中期アッシリア時代の王都タベトゥの遺跡において1997年から1999年の間に実施された考古学調査によって、タベトゥを居城にしていたマリ国王達の碑文が記された遺物が計70点発見された。王碑文の記された9つの土製円筒の断片10点（文書 2-10）と並んで、文字の記された煉瓦の断片46点（文書11-56）、同じく文字の記された壁装飾土製釘の断片13点（文書57-69）が見つかった。さらに、簡潔な王碑文が付記された土器の断片が1点発見されており（文書70）、この他、王の資産であることを示す注記と考えられる痕跡が残っている土器の断片も1点ある（文書71）。

### 1. 円筒碑文（文書 2-10）

タル・タバンの発掘において九つの土製円筒の断片10点（小さな断片を含む）が発見された。これらの円筒は、作成方法、形態、そして大きさの点ではほぼ共通している。また、隣接する遺跡であるタル・ブデリから出土したアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの円筒碑文とも極めて類似している〔Maul 1992: 14-15〕<sup>61</sup>。タル・ブデリ出土の円筒と同様、文書の媒体は両端が若干細く窄まった筒型をしており、長さは20 cmほどになるものと考えられる。両端部の直径は5,2 cmから6,6 cmほどであり、最も太くなる円筒中央部における直径はその数値より若干大きくなる。タル・タバンの見つかった円筒は全て当時の段階で焼成されており、中期アッシリア時代の焼成された粘土板に特徴的な黄みがかかった象牙色をしている。タル・ブデリ出土のアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの円筒と同様、0,8 cmから1,3 cmの太さをした木製棒、あるいは葦、の回りに分厚い粘土を覆い被せ、形を整えることによって、円筒はまず形作られた。まだ未加工の円筒部材の両端からはみ出していた棒は、軸受けに固定された可能性がある。それによって、棒を回しながら、表面を平滑にする何かの道具を用いることにより円筒の最終的な形状を容易に仕上げ、なおかつ、刻まれた直後の文字を潰すことも指紋を残すこともなく碑文を刻み込むことができたのだろう。円筒が焼成された後、木製棒あるいは葦があった所には、円形の断面をした横軸に走る穴が

60 表面第5行には、おそらくアダド・ベール・[ ] という名の人物が言及されている。

61 ここで紹介する建築碑文の文体と字体は同時代の中期アッシリア王碑文のそれを指向したもののだが、マリ国王達によって選ばれた文字媒体「円筒」は、アッシリアではなくバビロニアの伝統に則っている（Maul 1992: 19-20を参照）。

残った。そこには、大抵、棒あるいは葦の筋目の跡を見て取ることが出来る<sup>62</sup>。

マリ国王の碑文の記された土製円筒は全て横軸に沿った行に文字が記された。各行の間には、区分線が大抵引かれた。ただ、一つの円筒碑文（T III-8-1=文書3）のみ、行間に区分線が引かれていない。最も短い碑文（文書4）は19行、最も長い碑文（文書3）でも多く見積もって25行の文章から構成される<sup>63</sup>。また、時として、一行が円筒の角を超え右側面部にまで書かれることもある。最初と最後の行の間に開けられた比較的大きな空白部、そして最初の行の直前に水平に引かれた線のおかげで、どの箇所から碑文が始まるのか読み手は一目で見分けることができる<sup>64</sup>。碑文が作成された日付並びに碑文の内容の簡潔な要約と解すことが出来る<sup>65</sup>、<sup>66</sup>、あるいは4行<sup>67</sup>からなる奥書が記されているが、これも小さな空白部<sup>68</sup>かあるいは二重線<sup>69</sup>によって王碑文本文から明確に区分されている。また、奥書は、碑文本文とは異なり各行間に線が引かれないことによってもすぐ識別できる<sup>70</sup>。全ての円筒断片に残る碑文は、幾ばくかの変種があるものの、概して同一の明確で端正な楔形文字書体で記されている。この書体は、中期アッシリア帝国時代後期、すなわちアッシリア王ティグラトピレセル一世（前1114-1076年）治世の時期に特徴的なものである<sup>71</sup>。

タル・タバンの発掘において発見された円筒碑文の断片は、原位置から出土したものではなく、全て、テル北西部に位置する急勾配の斜面に生じた瓦礫層の中から見つかったものである<sup>72</sup>。円筒は、各円筒碑文において建築もしくは再建されたことが報告されている建築物の壁部にもともとはめ込まれていた。この建築物が根本的に破壊された際、円筒碑文は破壊され、瓦礫の中に打ち捨てられたと考えられる。

タル・タバンの地表からも円筒の断片2点が採集されている。内1点（T III-S-3=文書8）は、タル・ブデリ出土の碑文より知られるアッシュル・ケティ・レシエル（前11世紀初頭）の碑文に帰属すると確証できる。この断片は、タベトゥの城壁と城門の修復を扱ったある同一の碑文を記した4点の謄本の一つである（文書5-8）。別の断片（T III-S-1=文書10）に関しては、あまりに小さいため、その碑文の内容について確かなことは何も言えない。もっとも、その外見が、アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの円筒に帰属する碑文断片に酷似していることから、同じくこの王の碑文に帰属する可能性が高い。あるいは、上述した断片T III-S-3=文書8を含むアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの同一の碑文の五つ目の謄本であるのかもしれない。この碑文に関しては、さらに、中期アッシリア時代の文化層に由来する瓦礫を含む瓦解（“Middle Assyrian drifted layer”<sup>73</sup>）の中からも謄本が三点見ついている（TI-23-1=文書5、TI-108,1とTI-108,2=文書7）。内2点は同一の円筒碑文謄本の断片である（文書7）。

62 以下の写真を参照。Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Okada 1999: Pl. 23, Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Shimbo 2000: Pl. 30 下, Ohnuma/ Numoto 2001: Pl. 25（特に鮮明）、Pl. 28, Pl. 30。

63 厳密な行数を突き止める事は出来ない。

64 これは、文書2、文書3、文書4、文書5、文書6、そして文書8に明瞭。

65 文書2、文書5、文書6。

66 文書4。

67 おそらく文書3。

68 文書2、文書4、文書5。

69 文書6。

70 例外は文書2と文書3。文書2の奥書は、その前後に開けられた空白部によって明確に区別されているものの、奥書の行間にも王碑文本文と同様に線が引かれている。文書3には、碑文本文第1行直前を除き、そもそも行間の線が引かれていない。

71 Weidner 1952/53: 201 並びに Maul 1992: 55-62 を参照。

72 Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Okada 1999: Fig. 6 並びに Ohnuma/ Numoto 2001: 4, Fig. 3。

73 Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Okada 1999: 9-10 と Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Shimbo 2000: 6 を見よ。



同層からは、他にも明らかに古い文字資料が数多く見つまっている。すなわち、アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの高祖父に当たるエテル・ピー・アダドの碑文が記された煉瓦1点<sup>74</sup>、漏斗型をした壁装飾土製釘の断片2点—内1点にはアダド・ベール・ガベという王名が称号と共に記されている—<sup>75</sup>、そして土器片1点である (T II-148-1=文書71)。第6層からは<sup>76</sup>、碑文の記された煉瓦の断片1点<sup>77</sup>、漏斗型をした土製釘—内1点には碑文が有り<sup>78</sup>、3点には碑文がない—が見つまっているが、それらと並んでやはりアッシュル・ケティ・レシエル王のある碑文が記された円筒断片が1点発見されている (文書4)。この碑文では、ある重要な建築物を修復し拡張したという報告がなされている。あるいは、この建築物とはタベトゥ市の聖所、すなわち天候神アダドの神殿のことなのかもしれない。第8a層からは<sup>79</sup>、発掘溝 T II において更なる円筒断片2点が発見されている。内1点 (T II-25-1=文書6) は、上述の表採された断片と同様、タベトゥの城壁と城門の修理に際して作成されたアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの碑文に帰属する。もう一つの断片 (T II-28-1=文書9) に関しては、第6層から出土した円筒断片と同様、アダド神殿の修復工事を扱ったアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの碑文断片に帰属する可能性もある。第8a層からは、他、碑文の刻まれた煉瓦の断片4点が見つまっている。内少なくとも2点には、アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの高祖父エテル・ピー・アダドの資産である事を示す注記が記されている<sup>80</sup>。他二点は保存状態が劣悪であり、どの王に由来するのか突き止めることが出来ない。第8b層からは<sup>81</sup>、これまで見つかったタベトゥに由来する円筒碑文の内でも最も古い碑文が発見されている。円筒断片 T III-2-1 (文書2) には、アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの祖父アダド・ベール・アプリの建築碑文の一部が残っており<sup>82</sup>、タベトゥにおけるグラ神殿エガルマフの一部、あるいはその境内の根本的な改修工事がこの王によって施行されたことが報告されている。第8b層にて発見された二つ目の円筒断片 (T III-8-1=文書3) には、アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの父アダド・ベール・ガベの建築碑文が記されている。この碑文では、ある男神、おそらく天候神アダド、に献堂されたタベトゥの神殿の改修工事が取り扱われている。同じ層位からは、さらに碑文入り煉瓦の断片8点が出土している<sup>83</sup>。内5点には、アダド・ベール・ガベという名の王の息子であり、また、層位から判断するにアッシュル・ケティ・レシエル治世以前に在位していたに違いないリーシュ・ネルガルの碑文の一部が残っている<sup>84</sup>。第8b層からは、他にも以下のような文字資料が見つまっている。皿形土器の断片が1点<sup>85</sup>。壁装飾土製釘の断片が4点<sup>86</sup>。土製釘の断片の内1点には、アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの高祖父エテル・ピー・アダドの名前が言及されている<sup>87</sup>。別の1点には、アダド・ベール・ガベという名の王の碑文が刻まれているが<sup>88</sup>、これが

74 T II-146-1 (=文書14)。

75 T II-105-1 (=文書61) と T II-117-1 (文書64)。

76 Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Shimbo 2000: 6 と Ohnuma/ Numoto 2001: 3 を参照。

77 T III-27-1 (=文書42由来不明)。

78 T II-11-1 (=文書62)。

79 Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Shimbo 2000: 6 並びに Ohnuma/ Numoto 2001: 3 を参照。

80 T II-23-1 (=文書15) と T III-38-10 (=文書17)。

81 Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Shimbo 2000: 6 並びに Ohnuma/ Numoto 2001: 3 を参照。

82 タル・ブデリにおいてもアダド・ベール・アプリの碑文が記された煉瓦が一点知られている (Maul 1992: 45, 77 並びに Tafel 8, Ziegel 7 を見よ)。

83 文書23, 文書24, 文書27, 文書35, 文書36, 文書41, 文書44, 文書46を見よ。

84 文書23, 文書24, 文書27, 文書35, 文書36。

85 T III-7-1 (=文書70)。

86 文書57, 文書60, 文書65, 文書69。

87 T III-47-1 (=文書57)。

88 T III-66-1 (=文書60)。

何れのアダド・ベール・ガベに相当するのか、古い時代のか、新しい時代のか、あるいは同じ名前をした更なる別の王なのか、判断することは出来ない。第9a層からは、中期アッシリア時代の碑文付き煉瓦の断片多数と碑文付き壁装飾土製釘の断片3点が見つかった。しかしながら、文字資料が発見されているタル・タバンの層位の内では最も古いこの層位から円筒碑文の残部は発見されなかった。

タル・タバンの見つかった円筒碑文の断片10点は全てあるマリ国王の名の下に作成された建築碑文に属する。これまでに継続して位に即いた三人の王達の碑文が発見されている。最も古いものは、アダド・ベール・アプリに由来し、前1109年に書き記された(T III-2-1=文書2)。この碑文では、「タバトゥ」と表記されているタバトゥにおけるグラ神殿エガルマフの一部、あるいは境内の根本的な改修工事が言及されている。神殿の改修工事は、アダド・ベール・アプリの息子に当たるアダド・ベール・ガベ二世(仮)の碑文の主題でもある。この碑文(T III-8-1=文書3)は、前12世紀末期に作成されたと考えて良からう。他の円筒碑文は全てアダド・ベール・アプリの孫のアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルに由来する(文書4-10)<sup>89</sup>。これらの碑文においては、神殿の改修工事(T II-14-1=文書4, T-28-1=文書9)、そしてタバトゥにおける防御施設の再建(文書5-8)が主題化されている。

マリ王の円筒碑文には、中期アッシリア時代の王碑文の重要な要素が全て含まれている。すなわち、アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの碑文は、本文の始めに王の資産である事を示す注記が記されている<sup>90</sup>。もっとも、これは、タル・タバンの出土のより古い時代の王碑文には欠落している。全ての円筒碑文には、実質的な建築工事に関する報告の前に、まず、*enūma*「...した頃」に始まる時勢文の文体で歴史的背景を語る簡潔な導入部が記されている<sup>91</sup>。これに続き、建築主たる王の名前、称号、家系<sup>92</sup>、そして実質的な建築工事の報告が言及される<sup>93</sup>。建築工事の報告は、建築物<sup>94</sup>と建築主<sup>95</sup>の祝福で幕を閉じる。王碑文の末尾を飾るのは「後の領主達への呼びかけ」であり<sup>96</sup>、それに祝福<sup>97</sup>と呪い<sup>98</sup>の言葉が続く。

マリの王達の円筒碑文には、数行からなる奥書が付記されている<sup>99</sup>。そこに、文書の作成年代、建築主たる王の名前、碑文が作成される契機となった建築計画が言及される。

## 文書2 アダド・ベール・アプリの碑文が記された土製円筒断片(写真:141頁 Fig.1-2)

内容:前1109年に作成されたアダド・ベール・アプリの建築碑文の断片。当該碑文においては「タバトゥ」と表記されているタバトゥ市におけるグラ神殿エガルマフの一部もしくは境内の根本的な改修工事について報告する。

89 文書9と文書10に関しては、この碑文に帰属する可能性は高いもの、確実ではない。

90 文書4, 第1行, 文書5-8, 第1行。文書9には残っていない。

91 文書2, 第1-2行, 文書3, 第1-2行, 文書4, 第2-4行, 文書5-8, 第2-4行。

92 文書2, 第3行(四世代からなる家系), 文書3, 第2-4行(治世年代に関する付記が追加), 文書4, 第4行(家系の記述なし), 文書5-8, 第5行。

93 文書2, 第4行, 文書3, 第4-5行, 文書4, 第4-6行, 文書5-8, 第6-9行, 文書9, 第3'-4'行。

94 文書2, 第4-5行, 文書3, 第5-6行, 文書4, 第6-7行, 文書5-8, 第10-14行。文書9には欠如(?)。

95 文書2, 第5-6行(?)。文書3, 第8行を参照。文書4, 第7-10行。文書5-8には欠如。文書9, 第4'-5'行。

96 文書2には残っていない。文書3, 第6-9行, 文書4, 第11-13行。文書5-8, 第15-17行, 文書9, 第5'-8'行。

97 文書2には残っていない。文書3, 第9行, 文書4, 第13-14行, 文書5-8, 第17-18行, 文書9, 第9'-10'行。

98 文書2と文書3には残っていない。文書4, 第15-16行, 文書5-8, 第19-20行, 文書9, 第10'-12'行。

99 文書2, 第1'-2'行, 文書3, 第0'-1'行, 文書4, 第17-19行, 文書5-8, 第21-22行, 文書9, 第13'行。

翻訳<sup>100</sup>：

- 1-2 [アッシリア王、我が主、ティグラトピレセル（一世）の御代に（？）....] [我が父祖である前任の王達が  
 建立し] た、タバトゥ市における [エ・ガル]・マフ、畏敬の念を抱かせる御堂、[の....] が、荒れ果てて  
 しまった [頃]、
- 3 マ [リ] 国王アダド・ベール・ガベの息子であったマリ国王 [エテル・ピ]ー・アダド [の息子であったマ  
 リ国王マヌ・ル・ヤーウの息子であるマリ国王、(我,) アダド・ベール・アプリ] は、
- 4 [その荒れ果てた姿を目にし、この社殿（？）を新築した（？）(....) そ] の [礎] をエアと黄泉の神々が  
 [慈しむ] ように。
- 5 [その壁冠をシンとシャマシュが庇護す] る [ように]。偉大なる女主グラが [....] 頃、
- 6 [ ..... ].... [ ..... ]  
 (以後欠損。最大で12行に及ぶ欠落部が続く)

1' [某月某日紀年職イナ・イリ] ヤ・アラク (の年) [に。] マリ国王アダド・ベール・アプリが

2' [(社殿) エ・ガル・マフの (？).... の礎を] 築いた。

### 文書3 アダド・ベール・ガベ二世 (仮) の碑文が記された土製円筒断片 (写真：142頁 Fig.3)

内容：アダド・ベール・ガベ二世 (仮) がおそらく前12世紀末頃に作成させた建築碑文の断片。タベトゥにおけ  
 るある神殿の根本的な改修工事について報告する。この神殿は、ある男神、おそらく天候神アダドに献堂された。

翻訳：

- 1-2 [我が父祖である前任の王達が建立し] た、我が主であるタベトゥ市の [神某の社殿某] が、荒れ果ててし  
 まった [頃]、
- 3 [アッシリア王、我が主、ティグラトピレセル（一世）(？)] の御代に、[マリ国王] マヌ・ル・ヤーウの息  
 子であったマリ国王 [アダド・ベール・アプ] リの [息子であるマリ国王、(我,) アダド・ベール・ガベが]
- 4 [その荒れ果てた姿を目にし、この社殿を (／の.... を) 新築] した。我が父の [....] の為、
- 5 [ ..... ]。その [礎] をアヌと黄泉の神々が
- 6 [慈しむように。(....) その壁冠、(....) をシンとシャマ] シュが庇護するように。
- 7 [将来、無数の年と日 (が過ぎ去った後) (？),] マリの神社境内において
- 8 [神某の社殿が荒れ果て、老朽し、その壁が崩れ落ちた (？)] 時には、(王座に) 即く [将来の領主] が (？)、
- 9 [その朽ち果てた姿を目にし、(これを) 新築するように。そうすれば、神某はタベトゥ市に (／マリの神社  
 境内に)] 住み (続ける) であろう。
- 10 [ ..... ]...  
 (以後欠損。最大で11行に及ぶ欠落部が続く)

100 疑問符 (？) を付与した一節は、文書全体をより良く理解するため欠損部に補ったものであり、必ずしも確実ではない。

- 0' [アッシリア王我が主ティグラトピレセル（一世）の御代，某月某日紀年職某（の年）に]
- 1' マリ国王 [マヌ・ル]・ヤーウの [息子であったマリ国王アダド・ベール・アプリの息子であるマリ国王アダド・ベール・ガベ] が
- 2' 勇士たる [タベトゥ市の神某（／神）の社殿某の礎を（？）<sup>101</sup>]
- 3' [定め] た。

文書4 アッシル・ケティ・レシエルの碑文が記された土製円筒断片（写真：142-143頁 Fig.4-5）

内容：アッシル・ケティ・レシエル（ここではアッシル・ケタ・レシエルと表記されている）が前11世紀初頭に作成させた建築碑文の断片。タベトゥにおけるある建築物を根本的に改修し，拡張した工事について報告する。ここで言及されている建築物とは，タベトゥにあった神殿のことであろう。あるいは天候神アダドを祀った主神殿かもしれない。

翻訳：

- 1 マリ国王アダド・ベール・アプリの息子であったマリ [国王アダド・ベール・ガベの息子であるマリ国王アッシル・ケタ・レシエルの王宮（の資産）。]
- 2 [昔，我が父祖である前任の王達が....（=建築物，社殿？）を建立したが，それは（やがて）荒れ果て（？）]，マリ国王 [アダド・ベール・アプ] リが
- 3 [(....) その荒れ果てた姿を目にし（？）]，[(....)]（これを）（再）建したものの，
- 4 [(再び) 荒れ果ててしまった（？）] 頃，マリ国王，（我，） [アッシル・ケタ]・レシエルは，その荒れ果てた姿を
- 5 [目にした。自ら熟慮した末（？）]，[....] を [拡張] した。三十（？）層の煉瓦を積み上げた。
- 6 [（建築報告の続き） その [礎] をエアと黄泉の神々が慈しむように。
- 7 [その壁冠をシンとシャマシュが庇護するように。(....) アダド，（そして）] マルドック，シン，シャマシュ，
- 8-9 [タベトゥ市の偉大なる神々（？）が.... 時<sup>102</sup>，彼らは] [マリ国王アダド・ベール・アプリの息子であったマリ国王アダド・ベール・ガベの息子である] マリ国王 [アッシル]・ケタ・レシエルを [.... ように<sup>103</sup>。]
- タベトゥ市 [に住] む [神々某，....（神名と称号），我が主（？）]，が]
- 10 [我を.... するように。長寿（？）を] 我が享受する（lit. 満ち足りる）ように。
- 11 [将来，無数の年と日（が過ぎ去った後）（？）]，....（=建築物，社殿？）が荒れ果て]，老朽し，
- 12 [その壁が崩れ落ちた時には（？）]，（王座に）即く [将来の領主] が，その朽ち果てた姿を目にし，（これを）新築するように。
- 13 [彼は，（ここに）記された我が名（i.e. 碑文）を彼の名（i.e. 碑文）とともにその（元にあった）場所に戻すように。]（ここに）記された我が名をその名とともにその（元にあった）場所に戻す [者] については，
- 14 [その祈りを我が主たる偉大なる神々（？）が（確かに）聞き] 届けるであろう。

101 もしくは「タベトゥ市の神某（／神）の社殿，社殿某を」など。

102 欠損部中「....」と記した箇所には，「彼らの社殿に嬉々として入る」などといった文句を補える可能性がある。

103 欠損部中「....」と記した箇所には，「好意の目で見つめる」などといった文句を補える可能性がある。

- 15 [(ここに) 記された我が名を取り除き, 我が名の (記された) 碑文を破壊する (?) 者は, 二度と光を見る事がないように (?). その種と] その子孫を
- 16 [アダド, シン, シヤマシュ, そしてマルドゥク, 天と地の偉大なる神々がマリ国から] 滅ぼし去るように。  
(空白部)
- 17 [その主であるアッシリア王ティグラトピレセル (一世) の御代, 某月] 28 [日], 紀年職
- 18 [某 (の年) にマリ国王アッシュル・ケタ・レシエルが] タベトゥ市の [神某の社殿 (の基礎) (?)] を定め  
た<sup>104</sup>。

#### 文書 5-8 アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの円筒碑文 (写真: 143-145頁 Fig.6-10)

内容: 前11世紀初頭に作成されたアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルのこの建築碑文は, 4点の謄本をもとに大概を再構成できる。この4点は, 同一の王碑文を写した4点の異なる謄本に帰属する。この碑文は, タベトゥにおける城壁と城門の根本的な改築工事を報告する。

翻訳:

- 1 [マリ国王アダド・ベール・アプリの息子であったマリ国王] アダド・ベール・[ガベ] の息子であるマリ国王 [アッ] シュル・ケティ・レシエルの王 [宮] (の資産)。
- 2 我が祖父である [前任の] 王達 [の御代, (タベトゥの) 城壁と城門が荒れ果てた頃]
- 3 [ ..... ]
- 4 [彼は, 城壁と城門を] 建 [て, [その] 門には扉を [備え付けた (が,)]
- 5 [その頃,] [マリ国王アダド・ベール・アプリの息子であったマリ国王] アダド・ベール・ガ [ベ] の息子であるマリ国王, [(我,) アッシュル・ケティ]・レシエルは,
- 6 [その荒れ果てた姿を目にし], 自ら熟 [慮した末, ]
- 7 [ ..... ]
- 8 [ ..... ]
- 9 [我は,] (城壁を) 以 [前の] ものよりさらに [立派にした (?). その礎からその壁冠に至まで我は建築し, (城壁を) 完成させた (?).]
- 10 アダド, そしてマル [ドゥク, シン, (そして) シヤマシュ, タベトゥ市の (?)] 偉大なる神々が [ ..... ]
- 11 将 [来, ]
- 12 [ ..... ]... ヌスカと [神某が, ]
- 13 我 [が都市] タベトゥ [において ( / のために / の)], ... [ ..... ] のために [ ..... ]
- 14 [城] 門と土塁 (?) が末 [ ..... ]
- 15 (この) 城壁とこ [の] 城門が荒れ果 [て, 老朽した] 時には
- 16 (王座に) 即く将来の領主が, [その] 荒れ果てた [姿を目] にし, (これを) 新築 [する] ように。
- 17 彼は, (ここに) 記された我が名 (i.e. 碑文) を彼の名 (i.e. 碑文) とともにその (元にあった) 場所に戻すよ

104 もしくは「[タ] ベトゥ市の [神某の社殿を定め] た」など。

- うに。(ここに)記された我が名をその名とともに[その](元にあった)場所に[戻す]者については、
- 18 その祈りをタベトウ市の偉大なる神々が確かに聞き[届けるであろう。]
- 19 (ここに)記された我が名を取り除き、我が[名の代]わりにその名を記す者は、シン、そして[シャマシュ、アダド、(そして)マルドゥク]、
- 20 天と地の[偉大なる神々が]その種とその子孫をマリ国から[滅ぼし去るように。]
- 21 アラフサムナ月(第8月)20日紀年職ムダメク・[ベール(の年)]に、[アッシュル・ケティ・レシェル、マリ国王は、]
- 22 (この)城壁とこの城門を堅固[にした。]

### 文書9 あるマリ国王の碑文が記された土製円筒断片(写真:146頁 Fig.11-12)

内容:おそらくアッシュル・ケティ・レシェルに由来すると推測される建築碑文の残部。タベトウにおけるアダド神殿の再建並びに改築工事が取り扱われている。

#### 翻訳

- 1' [ ]...
- 2' [ ]...
- 3' [ ]を我は建]築した。[我が主(?)]ア[ダド]の社殿については、
- 4' [(その施設と調度品を)我は以前のものよりもさらに立派にした(?)。アッシュル・ケティ・レシェル(?),マリ国王,...]その[主]の[...],その主の社殿を建立した者、
- 5' [(祝福の祈願)]
- 6' [将来、無数の年と日(が過ぎ去った後)(?),...]この社殿の[...]が老朽し、
- 7' [その壁が崩れ落ちた]時には、[(王座に)即]く[将来の領主]が、その朽ち果てた姿を目にし、
- 8' [(これを)新築するように。彼は、(ここに)記された我が名(i.e.碑文)を彼の名(i.e.碑文)とともに]その(元にあった)[場]所に戻すように。
- 9' [(ここに)記された我が名をその名とともにその(元にあった)場所に戻す者については]、我が主である偉大なる[神]々が
- 10' [その祈りを確かに聞き届けるであろう。(ここに)記された我が名]を取り除き、
- 11' [我が名の(記された)]碑文を[破壊する(?)]者は、二度と光を見]る事がないように(?)。[その]種と
- 12' [その子孫をアダド、シン、シャマシュ、そしてマルドゥク、天と地の偉大なる神々が]マリ国から滅ぼし去るように。
- 13' [(日付)]

## 文書10 あるマリ国王の碑文が記された土製円筒断片（写真：147頁 Fig.13）

内容：おそらくアッシュル・ケティ・レシュルに由来すると推測される建築碑文の極めて小さな残部。状態があまりに劣悪であり、翻訳は不可能。

## 2. 煉瓦碑文（文書11-56）

タル・タバンの発掘において、碑文の刻まれた煉瓦断片46点が発見された。煉瓦は、粗い切りわらを混入した泥土によって作成された後、決して高くはない温度で焼成された。原位置より出土した碑文付きの煉瓦はない。碑文付き煉瓦の断片8点から、二種類の異なるエテル・ピー・アダドの碑文が再構成される（文書11-18）。彼の息子であり後継者であったマヌ・ル・ヤウについても、一つの煉瓦碑文が知られているが、この碑文のサンプルについては、煉瓦の断片一点のみが見つまっている（文書19）。これに対し、アダド・ベール・ガベを名乗る王の息子であったリーシュ・ネルガルのある碑文については、合計17点にのぼる碑文付き煉瓦の断片が知られている（文書20-36）<sup>105</sup>。他にも、20点の碑文付き煉瓦断片が見つまっているが、これらは保存状態が余りにも劣悪であるため、碑文に言及されている王の名前を突き止める事が出来ない（文書37-56）。

### 2.1. エテル・ピー・アダドの煉瓦碑文（文書11-18）（写真：147-148頁 Fig.14-15）

エテル・ピー・アダドに関しては、これまで二種類の異なる煉瓦碑文が確認されている。

第一のタイプの碑文は、合計7点を数える主として小さく保存状態も悪い碑文付き煉瓦断片から再構成される（文書11-17）。この中に、原位置から出土した物はない。煉瓦は各辺33cmの正方形をしており、厚さは6,0cmから6,5cmである。碑文は、エテル・ピー・アダドがその息子エンリル・アブラ・ウツルのために建てさせた建築物に用いるため当該の煉瓦が作成されたことを伝える。この建物が、王子あるいは皇太子の住居を指しているのか、あるいはエテル・ピー・アダドの若死にした息子のために建てられた廟所、もしくは全く別の目的の建築物を指しているのかは分からない。奇妙な事に、当該のエテル・ピー・アダドの碑文には、このマリ国王の家系が言及されていない。二行書きで記されたこの碑文の文面は以下の通り。「マリ国王エテル・ピー・アダドが／（この建物を）その息子エンリル・アブラ・ウツルのために建立させた」。表採されたある漏斗型をした壁裝飾土製釘（文書66）にも同様の碑文が刻まれている。上述煉瓦碑文（文書11-17）が言及している建築物にこの碑文も由来している事に疑いはあるまい。

第二のタイプの煉瓦碑文に関しては、目下の所唯一つのサンプルのみが知られている（文書18）<sup>106</sup>。上述した第一タイプの碑文とは異なり、この碑文にはエテル・ピー・アダドの父親の名前が言及されている<sup>107</sup>。二行書きで記されたこの碑文の文面は以下の通り。「マリ国王 [アダド・ベール・ガ] への [息子], / [マリ国] 王 [エテル]・ピー・アダドの [王宮]。」この碑文は、エテル・ピー・アダドがその居城タベトゥに王宮を建築したか、あるいはその前任者の王宮を改修した可能性を示唆する。エテル・ピー・アダドの王宮について言及するこの煉瓦が、厳密には王宮の一部とは言えない公的建築施設の建造に使用された可能性ももちろん排除できない。

105 ただし内7点（文書30-36）に関しては、この同定はまだ不確実。

106 無論、保存状態が極めて劣悪な煉瓦断片、文書30-36並びに文書46、が当該碑文の謄本である可能性も捨てきれない。

107 当該王の父親は文書2、第3行にも言及されている。

## 2.2. マヌ・ル・ヤーウの煉瓦碑文（文書19）

マヌ・ル・ヤーウの煉瓦碑文に関しては、これまで唯一点のみサンプルが確認されている。この碑文付き煉瓦も原位置より発見された物ではない。二行書きで記されたこの碑文の文面は以下の通り。「マリ国 [王] [エテル・ピー・アダドの息子] / マリ国王 [マヌ・ル]・ヤーウの [王宮]」<sup>108</sup>。この碑文は、マヌ・ル・ヤーウがその居城タベトゥに王宮を建築したか、あるいはその前任者の王宮を改修した可能性を示唆する。マヌ・ル・ヤーウの王宮について言及するこの煉瓦が、厳密には王宮の一部とは言えない公的建築施設の建造に使用された可能性ももちろん排除できない。

マヌ・ル・ヤーウの簡潔な建築碑文は、他にも、漏斗型をした壁装飾土製釘に刻まれた物が残っている（文書58）。

## 2.3. リーシュ・ネルガルの煉瓦碑文（文書20-36）（写真：147-148頁 Fig.14-15）

アダド・ベール・ガベの息子、リーシュ・ネルガルに関しては、一つの碑文しか知られていない。この碑文は、煉瓦断片10点に残存している（文書20-29）。さらに極めて小さな煉瓦断片7点にも、同じ碑文が刻まれているようだ（文書30-36）<sup>109</sup>。リーシュ・ネルガルという名の王がマリ国を支配していたという我々の知識は、二行書きに記されたこの碑文にのみ基づいている<sup>110</sup>。文面は以下の通り。「マリ国王アダド・ベール・ガベの息子、 / マリ国王リーシュ・ネルガルの王宮」。この碑文は、リーシュ・ネルガルがその居城タベトゥに王宮を建築したか、あるいはその前任者の王宮を改修した可能性を示唆する。リーシュ・ネルガルの王宮について言及するこの煉瓦が、厳密には王宮の一部とは言えない公的建築施設の建造に使用された可能性ももちろん排除できない。正方形をしたこの煉瓦の各辺は33 cm であり、厚さは5,6 cm から6,5 cm である。

## 2.4. 由来不明の煉瓦碑文

何れの王に由来するのか厳密には分からない碑文が残っている煉瓦断片20点のうち、唯6点のみが、それぞれの煉瓦の由来する建築主たる王をある程度推測できる保存状態にある。断片2点（文書37と文書38）には、既に知られているアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの碑文が記されているようだ。文面は以下の通り。「[マリ国王アダド・ベール・アプリの息子であった] / [王アダド・ベール・ガベの息子である] / [王] [アッシュル・ケティ]・レシエルの [王宮]」<sup>111</sup>。

別な断片3点（文書39、文書40、文書50）には、アッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの孫に相当するマリ国王の碑文の一部が残っている可能性がある<sup>112</sup>。この王の名前はまだ不明だが、前11世紀に在位していた事に相違ない。碑文の文面は以下の通り。「マリ国王アッシュル・[ケティ・レシエル] の / [息子であったマリ国王某の息子である] [(マリ国)] / 王 [アッシュル (?)・.... の王宮]」。

108 保存状態が極めて劣悪な漏斗型壁装飾土製釘（文書59）が当該碑文の平行本である可能性もある。

109 無論、文書30-36がエテル・ピー・アダドの碑文の残存部である可能性も排除できない。

110 一行書きに記された碑文も文書26に確認する事が出来る。

111 Maul 1992 : 42-44, Ziegel 1-3 を参照。

112 Maul 1999 : 52-53 を参照。文書40より、この王がAという文字から始まる名前をしていた事が明らかになっている。これは、当該王名がアッシュル (A-šur) という神名要素を伴っている事を示唆する。煉瓦の断片3点（文書39、文書40、文書50）は、マリ国の王国がアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの後にも引き続き存在していた事を示す唯一の（ただし確実とは言えない）論拠。



さらに別の煉瓦断片（文書46）は、エテル・ピー・アダドの碑文の残部である可能性がある。無論、断片に残る数少ない文字の跡は、この断片があるアダド・ベール・ガベを名乗る王の碑文の一部とする解釈も排除しない。

### 3. 王碑文付き壁装飾土製釘（文書57-69）

タル・タバンの北西傾斜面に位置する瓦礫層からは<sup>113</sup>、煉瓦並びに円筒碑文の断片と並んで、碑文の記された壁装飾土製釘の断片<sup>114</sup>、さらに、碑文は記されていないものの同様の壁装飾土製釘頭部の平面な断片が見つまっている<sup>115</sup>。これらの土製釘が取り付けられていた場所に関して、出土状況からは何も分からない。

遺跡地表においても、碑文の記された壁装飾土製釘断片3点が採集されている<sup>116</sup>。中期アッシリアの文化層の瓦礫を含む瓦解（“Middle Assyrian drifted layer”）からは<sup>117</sup>、2点見つまっている<sup>118</sup>。第6層からは、碑文の記された壁装飾土製釘の断片1点<sup>119</sup>、碑文のない断片3点が発見されている。他の壁装飾土製釘の断片は、全て、第8b層<sup>120</sup>と第9a/8b層<sup>121</sup>に由来する。

碑文の記された断片の内、11点は、漏斗を思い起こさせる形をしたこれまで知られていないタイプの壁装飾土製釘に帰属する。このタイプに属するタベトゥ／タル・タバン出土の壁装飾土製釘はロクロの上で回しながら作成された後、高温で焼成された<sup>122</sup>。張り出した平板な漏斗型の深皿が柄の上に乗せられているわけだが、柄は筒型をしており、元々長さ40cmから50cmはあったに違いない。下に行くに従って細くなり、先端部は尖っていたと考えられる<sup>123</sup>。内部が空洞になっているこの筒の直径は、漏斗型の深皿が付けられている所で、7cmから8cmになる。発見されているサンプルの漏斗型深皿は、直径16,0cmから19,5cmになる。漏斗型深皿の内面には、一行書きで円を描くように楔形文字碑文が刻まれている。多くのサンプルにおいて、碑文は柄の付け根部分のすぐ近くに記されているが<sup>124</sup>、幾つかのサンプルにおいては、漏斗型深皿中部<sup>125</sup>、あるいは縁近くに記されている<sup>126</sup>。円を描くように記された碑文一行の直径は、5,9cm<sup>127</sup>から14,6cm<sup>128</sup>になる。碑文を構成する文字の底部は、外側を向いている事もあれば<sup>129</sup>、内側を向いている事もある<sup>130</sup>。楔形文字の大きさは、基本的に縦0,7cm程度になる。ただ例外的に文字が幾ばくか小さい<sup>131</sup>、あるいは大きいこともある<sup>132</sup>。

113 Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Shimbo 2000: 6を参照。

114 古代オリエントに於ける壁装飾土製釘に関してはHemker 1993を参照。

115 Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Okada 1999: 15とPl. 21を参照。

116 文書63, 文書66（エテル・ピー・アダド）、文書67。

117 Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Okada 1999: 9-10とOhnuma/ Numoto/ Shimbo 2000: 6を参照。

118 文書61（アダド・ベール・ガベ）と文書64。

119 文書62。

120 文書57（エテル・ピー・アダド）、文書60（アダド・ベール・ガベ）、文書65、文書69。

121 文書58（マヌ・ル・ヤウ）、文書59（マヌ・ル・ヤウ、あるいはその息子アダド・ベール・アプリ）、文書68。

122 使用された粘土は、上質の砂に極めて微細な切りわら（1-4mm）が混入されたもの。

123 先端部が残っているサンプルはない。

124 文書57, 文書59, 文書60。

125 文書58, 文書61, 文書63, 文書64, 文書65。

126 文書62, 文書66, 文書67。

127 文書60。

128 文書62。

129 文書57, 文書59, 文書60, 文書62, 文書64, 文書66。

130 文書58, 文書61, 文書63, 文書65, 文書67。

131 0,4cmから0,6cmの間。

132 0,8cmから0,9cmの間。

タベトゥ／タル・タバンにて見つかったような漏斗型をした壁装飾土製釘は、我々の知る限り、アッシリア帝国の首都アッシュルにおいては用いられなかった。しかし、碑文は記されていないものの、類似したより小型の遺物が、エマル／メスケネにおいて知られている。これらは、いわゆる神殿「M」の入り口付近において発見されており<sup>133</sup>、J. マルゲロン（Margueron）によれば神殿建築外側正面部の装飾として使われていた。

タベトゥ／タル・タバンにて発見された他の断片2点は、壁装飾土製釘の別なタイプに帰属するが、このタイプはアッシュルにおいてもよく知られている<sup>134</sup>。これは、ドアの把手握り部分のような形をしている。その外見は、アッシュルの発掘者ワルター・アンドレの言葉を借りると「首が長く、球形の腹部をした瓶」のようにも見える<sup>135</sup>。「瓶」の「底部」（実際には土製釘の頭部）に穴が開けられ、その穴の回りに円を描くように碑文が一行書きで記されている。このタイプの壁装飾土製釘も、ロクロの上で回しながら作成され、高温で焼成された。

より保存状態の良いサンプルにおける穴の開けられた「瓶腹部」（すなわち、土製釘頭部）は<sup>136</sup>、直径 15,6 cm であり、高さ 4,2 cm である。その中心部に開けられた穴は、直径 4,0 cm である。もう一つのサンプルは、これよりも幾ばくか大きい。

第三のタイプの壁装飾土製釘は、碑文の記されていないサンプル1点のみが知られている<sup>137</sup>。これは、中期アッシリア文化層の瓦礫を含む瓦解（“Middle Assyrian drifted layer”）から見つかった遺物である。土製釘頭部は、平面で円形をしており、最大 2,0 cm にもなる厚みを持っている。この頭部が、筒型をした軸の上に乗っている。軸は、下に行くにつれて細くなり、その先端部は尖っていたと考えられる。土製釘頭部の直径は、9,0 cm である。太い軸の方は、長さ 2,0 cm しか残っていない。軸の長さは、元々 18 cm ほどもあったのではないかと考えられる。この土製釘も高温で焼成されている。

これら土製釘に記された碑文に話を移そう。まずアダド・パール・ガベを名乗るマリ国王の碑文が付記された漏斗型壁装飾土製釘が2点知られている<sup>138</sup>。他、2点にエテル・ピー・アダドの碑文<sup>139</sup>、1点にマヌ・ル・ヤーウの碑文<sup>140</sup>がそれぞれ記されている。同じくマヌ・ル・ヤーウ、あるいはその息子アダド・パール・アプリに由来する土製釘も1点知られている<sup>141</sup>。残りの土製釘碑文は破損がひどく、どのマリ国王に帰属するのか断定する事が出来ない。

土製釘碑文8点は、ある建築物を改修した（「新しくした」）際に作成された<sup>142</sup>。天候神アダドの神殿の改築工事は、アダド・パール・ガベ二世（仮）の円筒碑文1点<sup>143</sup>とアッシュル・ケティ・レシエルの円筒碑文2点<sup>144</sup>に

133 Margueron 1982: 32-33 並びに同 Abb. 9 を見よ。

134 文書68と文書69。

135 Andrae 1977: 208。同210並びに同210, Abb. 187 も参照。

136 文書69。

137 Ohnuma/ Numoto/ Okada 1999: 15 並びに Pl. 21 を参照。

138 文書60, 文書61。

139 文書57, 文書66。

140 文書58。

141 文書59。

142 文書57, 文書58, 文書60, 文書63, 文書64, 文書65, 文書68, 文書69。

143 文書3。

144 文書4, 文書9。

において言及されていると考えられるわけだが、さらに、土製釘碑文2点のテーマでもある<sup>145</sup>。同じくアダド神殿のことではないかと考えられるある神殿をマヌ・ル・ヤーウが新築したという記述が、土製釘碑文1点に見出す事が出来る<sup>146</sup>。壁装飾土製釘碑文2点においては、改修された建築物の名前が言及されていない<sup>147</sup>。別な碑文3点には建築物の名前が残っていない<sup>148</sup>。土製釘碑文2点には、宮殿を言及することによって王の資産である事を示す注記が付記されている<sup>149</sup>。ある土製釘に記されているエテル・ピー・アダドの碑文は<sup>150</sup>、煉瓦碑文にも見つける事が出来る<sup>151</sup>。この碑文の文面は次の通り。「[マリ国王エテル・ピー・アダドが（この建物を）] [その息子] エンリル・[アプラ・ウツルのために建立させた。]」当該の建物が、王子もしくは皇太子の住居を指しているのか、あるいはエテル・ピー・アダドの若死にした息子のために建てられた廟所、もしくは全く別の目的の建築物を指しているのかは分からない。

文書57：エテル・ピー・アダドの漏斗型土製釘

翻訳：[マリ国] 王エテル・ピー・アダドが（この建物を）新しくした。

文書58：マヌ・ル・ヤーウの漏斗型土製釘（写真：149-150頁 Fig.18-19）

翻訳：[(タベトウ市の) 神某の] 社殿をマリ国王 [マヌ・ル]・ヤーウが新しくした。

文書59：マヌ・ル・ヤーウもしくはその息子アダド・ベール・アプリの漏斗型土製釘

翻訳：[神某の社殿を、マリ国王マヌ・ル・] ヤーウの [息子、マリ国王アダド・ベール・アプリが新しくした。]

文書60：アダド・ベール・ガベの漏斗型土製釘

翻訳：[マリ国] 王アダド・ベール・ガベが [(この建物を) 新しくした。]

文書61：アダド・ベール・ガベの漏斗型土製釘

翻訳：マリ [国王] アダド・[ベール]・ガ [ベ] の王宮

注釈：この碑文がどのアダド・ベール・ガベに由来するのかは、不明。

文書62：アダド・ベール・[ガベ/アプリ] の息子、あるいは孫の漏斗型土製釘（写真：148-149頁 Fig.16-17,5）

翻訳：[                    マリ国王] アダド・ベール [ル・ガベ/アプリ] の息子、[マリ国王某                    ]

文書63：漏斗型土製釘（写真：148-149頁 Fig.16-17,3）

翻訳：マリ [国王某が]（この建物を）新し [くした。]

145 文書64, 文書65。

146 文書58。

147 文書57, 文書60。

148 文書63, 文書68, 文書69。

149 文書61, 文書67（補われた箇所）。両土製釘は、必ずしも王宮に取り付けられていたとは限らない。マリ国王の命によって建設された他の建築物に由来する可能性もある。

150 文書66。

151 文書11-18。

文書64：漏斗型土製釘（写真：148-149頁 Fig.16-17,4）

翻訳：アダドの社殿を [マリ国王某が新しく] した。

文書65：漏斗型土製釘

翻訳：アダドの社殿を [マリ国王某が新しくした。]

文書66：エテル・ピー・アダドの漏斗型土製釘（写真：148-149頁 Fig.16-17,2）

翻訳：[マリ国王エテル・ピー・アダドが（この建物を）] [その息子] エンリル・[アブラ・ウツルのために建立させた。]

注釈：破損部の補完は、エテル・ピー・アダドの同一の碑文であると考えられる煉瓦碑文に基づく。この煉瓦碑文は、保存状態の悪い極めて小さな煉瓦断片七点に残っている（文書11-17）。

文書67：漏斗型土製釘（写真：148-149頁 Fig.16-17,1）

翻訳：[マ] リ [国王某の息子であったマリ国王某の息子であるマリ国王某の王宮]

文書68：土製釘頭部

翻訳：[マリ国王某が]（この建物を）新しくした。

注釈：ここで提案した破損部の補完は、文書57と文書60にある文書類型に基づいている。しかし、この碑文の破損している冒頭部に（文書58、文書64、文書65と同様）改修された建築物の名前が言及されていた可能性も否定できない。後者の場合、言及されていた建築物がタベトゥのアダド神殿である可能性もある。

文書69：土製釘頭部

翻訳：[マリ国王某が]（この建物を）新し] くした。

注釈：ここで提案した破損部の補完は、文書57と文書60にある文書類型に基づいている。しかし、この碑文の破損している冒頭部に（文書58、文書64、文書65と同様）改修された建築物の名前が言及されていた可能性も否定できない。後者の場合、言及されていた建築物がタベトゥのアダド神殿である可能性もある。

#### 4. 碑文入り土器（文書70-71）

タル・タバンの発掘によって発見された碑文入りの土器に関しては、おそらくアダド・パール・アプリの資産である事を示す注記が付記されていたと考えられる貯蔵容器(?)の断片一点が発見されている他<sup>152</sup>、内側にあるマリ国王の建築碑文が一行書きで記された平らな鉢の断片が見つまっている（文書70 写真：150頁 Fig.20）。この鉢の直径は、18,4cm。碑文は円を描くように記されており、その直径は11,8cmになる。文字の底部は、内側を向いている。角度230度になる欠損部には、最大で25文字ほどの楔形文字を補える余地がある。碑文は、その一部のみが残っている。そこでは、荒れ果てたある建築物をあるマリ国王 — その名前は残念ながら分からない — が改修したことが報告されている。おそらく、ある神殿の改修工事ではないかと考えられる。碑文の文面は次の通

152 文書71 写真：148-149頁 Fig.16-17,6。

り。「我が父祖たる前任者達が建立 [した]... 殿が [荒れ果てた] 際, マリ国王某の息子であったマリ国王某の息子であるマリ国王某が (これを) 新しくした。」]

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Fig. 1 (文書 2)



Fig. 2 (文書 2)



Fig. 3 (文書3)



Fig. 4 (文書4)



Fig. 5 (文書4)



Fig. 6 (文書5)





Fig. 7 (文書6)



Fig. 8 (文書7)



Fig. 9 (文書7)



Fig. 10 (文書8)



Fig. 11 (文書9)



Fig. 12 (文書9)



Fig. 13 (文書10)

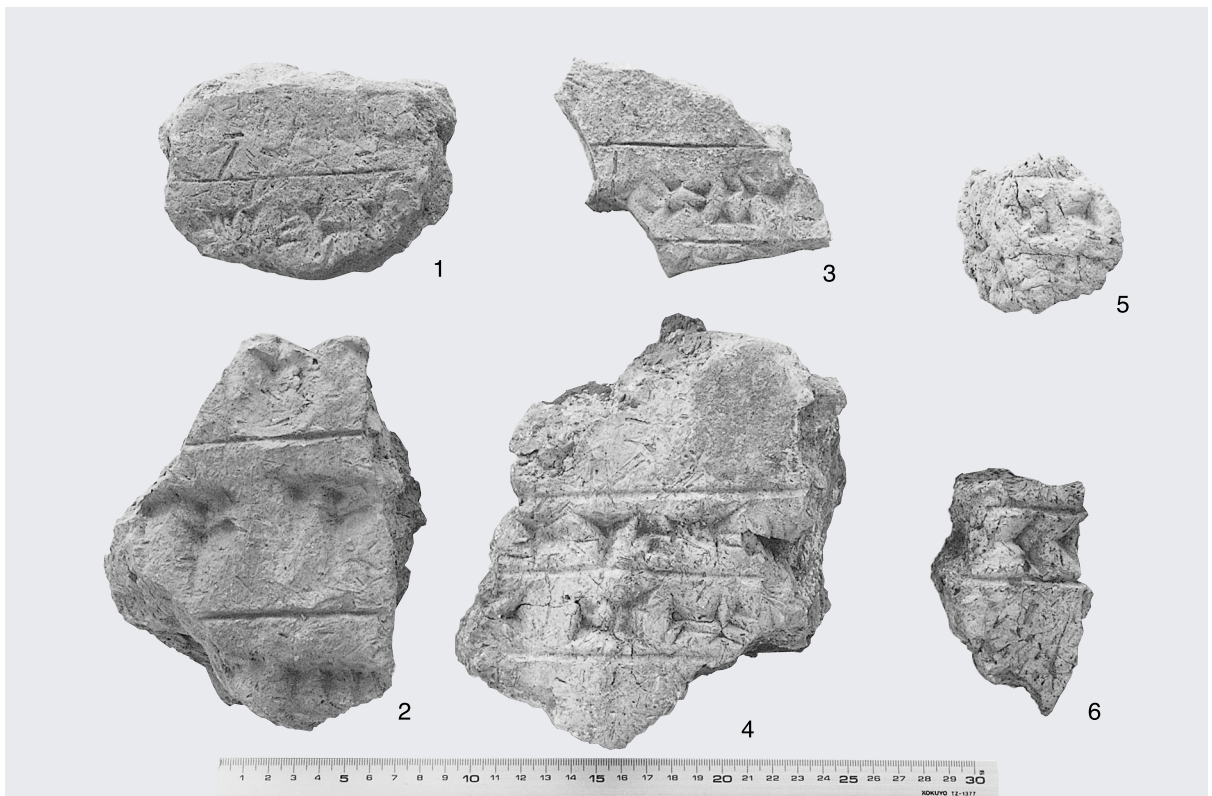


Fig. 14 (1: 文書32 2: 文書40 3: 文書28 4: 文書24 5: 文書13 6: 文書52)



Fig. 15 (1: 文書53 2: 文書54 3: 文書15 4: 文書25 5: 文書14 6: 文書38 7: 文書16 8: 文書29)

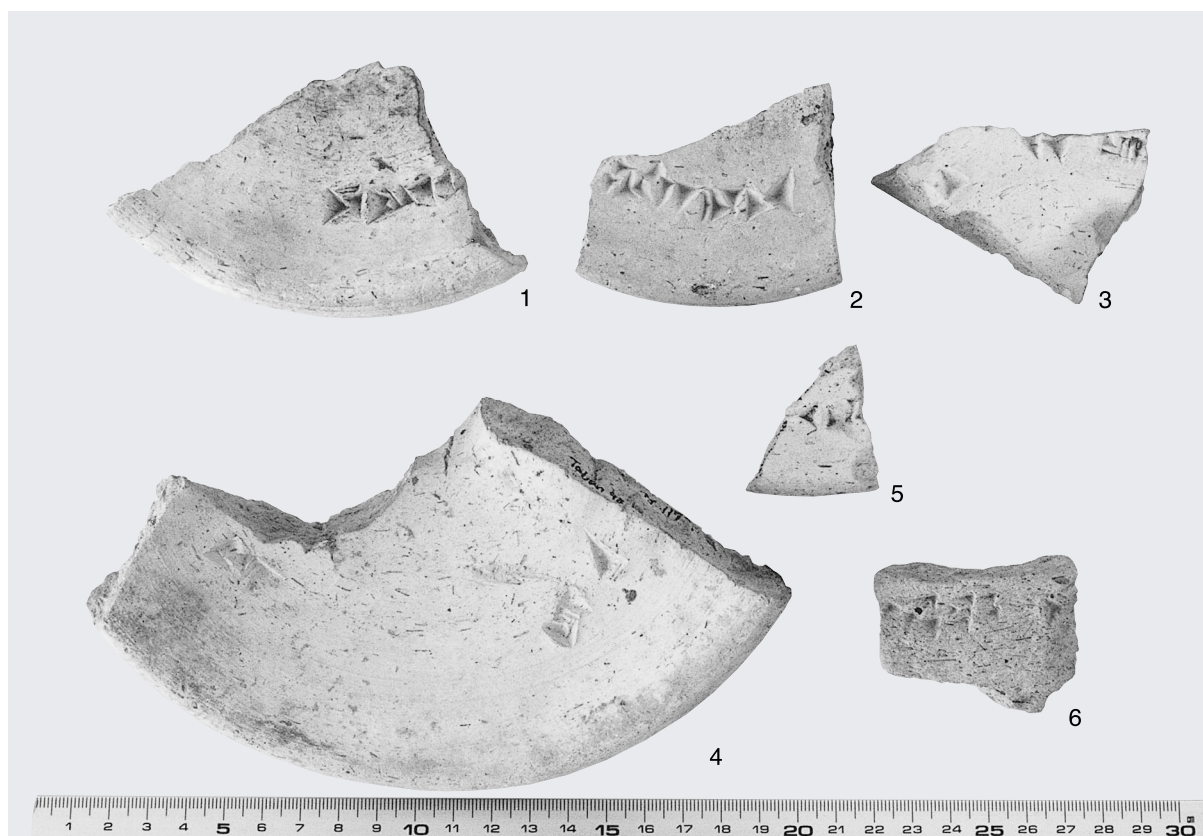


Fig. 16 (1: 文書67 2: 文書66 3: 文書63 4: 文書64 5: 文書62 6: 文書71)

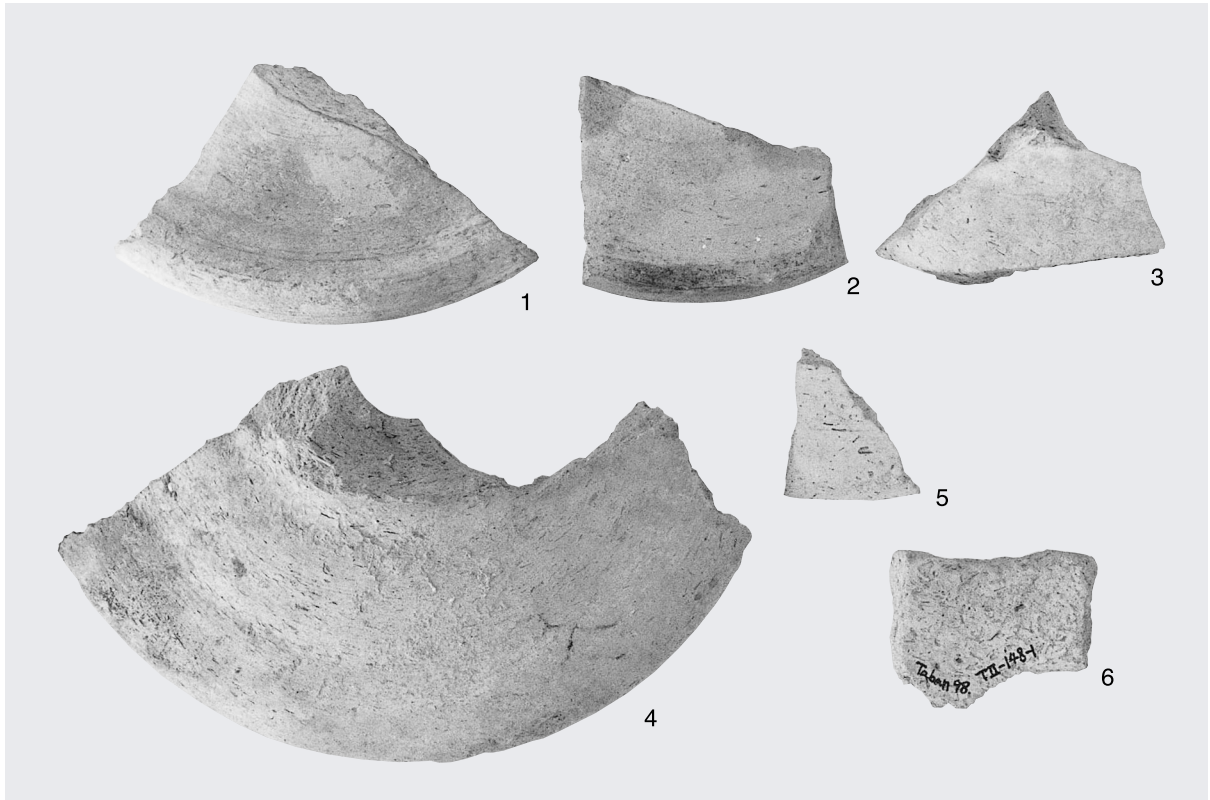


Fig. 17 (1: 文書67 2: 文書66 3: 文書63 4: 文書64 5: 文書62 6: 文書71)



Fig. 18 (文書58)

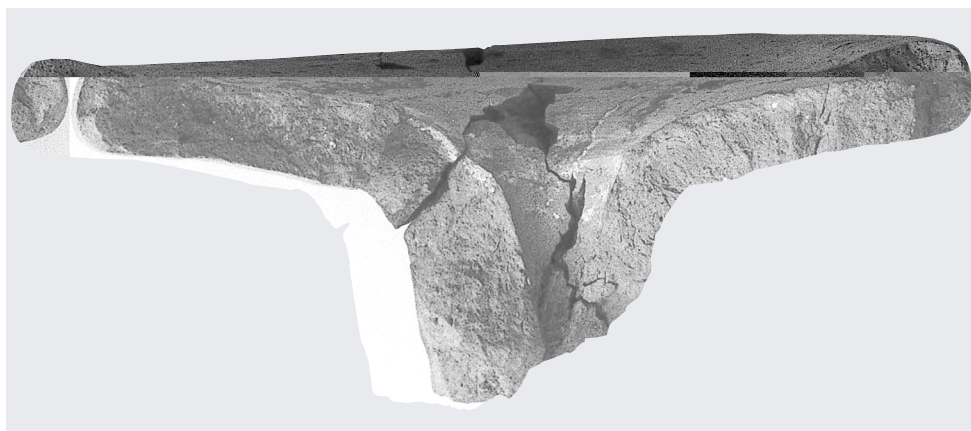


Fig. 19 (文書58)



Fig. 20 (文書70)


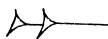

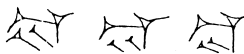


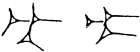


## マリ国王碑文楔形文字表



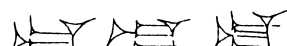




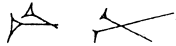

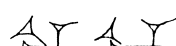
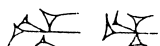


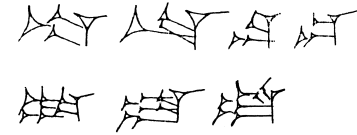







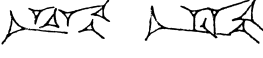

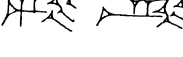

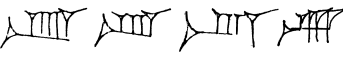
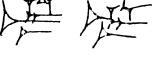



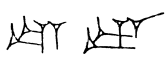

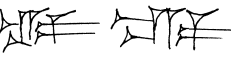

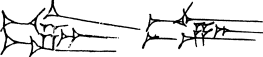
## マリ国王碑文楔形文字表



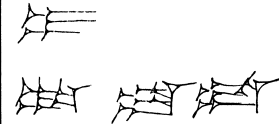
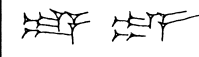
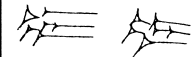








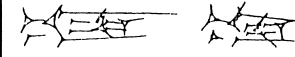
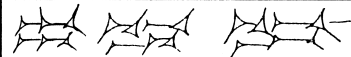
中期アッシリア時代に作成されたマリ国王碑文にて用いられている楔形文字の書体全てを以下に表にしてまとめる。本論文において取り扱われているタル・タバン出土碑文の他、タル・ブデリ出土碑文も考慮に入れてある。

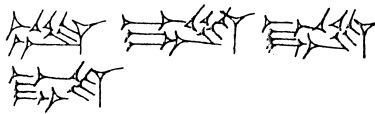
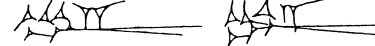


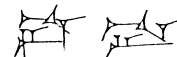

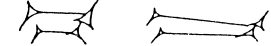

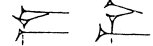
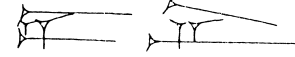


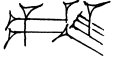

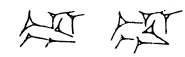

訳注) 技術的な問題から、表中に用いられている独語表記は和訳していない。

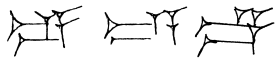

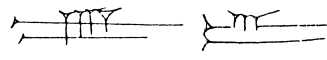



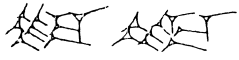
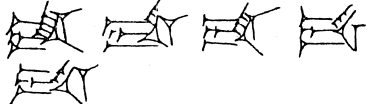
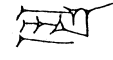
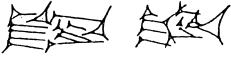
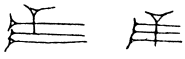

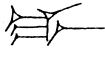


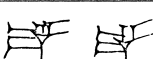
ABZ-Nr.	Zeichename	Silbenwert	logographische Lesung	Zeichenformen
1	DIL	<i>aš; ina</i>	AŠ = <i>Aššur</i>	
2	ḪAL	<i>ḫal</i>		
3	MUG	<i>muq</i>		
5	BA	<i>ba</i>		
7	SU	<i>su</i>		
9	BAL		<i>ikribu</i>	
12	TAR	<i>tar</i>		
13	AN	<i>an</i>	DINGIR = <i>ilu</i> ; Det. vor GN <sup>(d)</sup> ; AN = <i>šamû</i> ; in der Ligatur <sup>d</sup> +EN  in der Ligatur <sup>d</sup> +A	
15	KA	<i>ka</i>	<i>pû</i>	



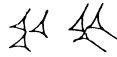

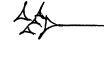
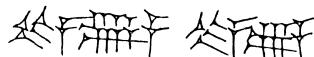




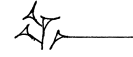






38	URU		<i>ālu</i> ; Det. vor ON ( <sup>uru</sup> )	
52	ITI		Det. vor MN ( <sup>iti</sup> )	
55	LA	<i>la</i>		
56	APIN		in: <sup>iti</sup> APIN = <i>araḥsamna</i>	
57	MAḤ		in: É-gal-maḥ	
58	TU	<i>tu</i>		
59	LI	<i>li</i>		
60	PAP		PAP = <i>našāru</i> ; KÚR = <i>nakāru</i>	
61	MU	<i>mu</i>	<i>šattu</i> ; <i>šumu</i>	
62	QA	<i>qa</i>		
63a	KÁT	<i>kát</i>		
68	RU	<i>ru</i>		
69	BE	<i>be</i> ; <i>bat</i> ; <i>bít</i> ; <i>tel</i>		
70	NA	<i>na</i>  in: <i>i+na</i>		
72	NUMUN		<i>zēru</i>	

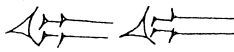

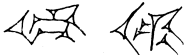


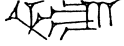
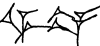

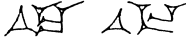

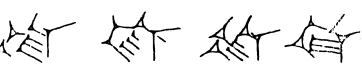


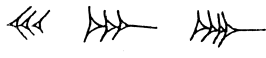


73	TI	<i>ti</i>		
74	BAR	<i>bar; maš</i>		
75	NU	<i>nu</i>		
78	ĤU	<i>ĥu</i>		
80	IG	<i>ik; iq, eq</i>	in: <sup>gi</sup> IG = <i>daltu</i>	
83	ŠĪTA	<i>rat</i>		
84	ZI	<i>zi, ze</i>	<i>kettu</i>	
86	RI	<i>ri, re</i>		
87	NUN	<i>nun</i>	<i>rubû, rubâ'u</i>	
97	AG	<i>ak</i>		
99	EN		<i>bêlu</i> ; in <sup>d</sup> EN.KI = <sup>d</sup> Ea; in der Ligatur <sup>d</sup> +EN	 
101	ŠUR	<i>šur</i>		
111	GUR		<i>târu, tuâru</i> in: <sup>d</sup> U.GUR	
112	SI		in: SI.SÁ = <i>ešêru, ešâru</i>	
115	SAG	<i>riš</i>		
122	MÁ	<i>má</i>		
131	AZ	<i>as, aš</i>		

133	KÁ		<i>bābu</i> ; in: KÁ.GAL = <i>abullu</i>	
139	TA	<i>ta</i>		
142	I	<i>i</i>  in: <i>i+na</i>		
142a	IA	<i>ia</i>		
143	KÁM		.KÁM (nach Ordinalzahlen)	
144	TUR		DUMU = <i>māru</i> ; in: IBILA = <i>aplu</i>	
147	ZÍ	<i>ši, še</i>		
148	IN		in: IN.SAR	
151	LUGAL		<i>šarru</i>	
152,8	BÀD		<i>dūru</i>	
164	SUM	<i>šúm</i>		
167	GAB	<i>gab</i>		
170	AM	<i>am</i>		
183	ÁG		<i>rāmu, ra'āmu</i>	
191	KUM	<i>qu</i>		

201	SUḪUŠ		<i>uššū</i>	
205	IL	<i>il</i>		
208	ANŠE		<i>emāru</i>	
209	EGIR		<i>arkû, urkû</i>	
211	UŠ	<i>uš</i>		
212	IŠ	<i>iš</i>		
214	BI	<i>bi</i>		
215	ŠIM	<i>šem</i>		
230	GAG	<i>qaq</i>	DÛ = <i>epēšu, epāšu</i>	
231	NI	<i>ni</i>		
232	IR	<i>ir, er</i>		
237	AMA		DAGAL = <i>rapāšu</i>	
2951	NUSKA		in: <sup>d</sup> <i>Nuska</i>	
296	GIŠ	<i>iš</i>	<i>ešēru, ešāru;</i> Det. in: <i>gišTukul-ti(-); gišIG</i>	
298	AL	<i>al</i>		
307	MAR	<i>mar</i>		

308	E	<i>e</i>		
314	ŠID	<i>lak</i>		
318	Ú	<i>ú; šam</i>		
319	GA	<i>ga</i>	in: <sup>uru</sup> DÙG.GA-belba-taltelti; in: ŠE.GA = <i>šemû, šamā' u</i>	
324	É		<i>bītu</i> ; in: É.GAL = <i>ekallu</i> ; in: É-šár-ra	
328	RA	<i>ra</i>		
331	SAR		SAR = <i>šaṭāru</i>	
334	ID	<i>it; eṭ</i>	Á = <i>aḫu</i>	
335	DA	<i>da</i>		
336	LIL	<i>lil</i>		
339	ÁŠ	<i>áš</i>		
342	MA	<i>ma</i>		
343	GAL		GAL= <i>rabû, rabiû</i> ; in: É.GAL = <i>ekallu</i> ; in: KÁ.GAL = <i>abullu</i>	
344	BÁRA		<i>parakku</i>	
346	GIR	<i>piš</i>		
349	BUR	<i>bur</i>		

353	ŠA	ša		
354	ŠU	šu		
366	KUR	šaṭ, šeṭ <sub>x</sub> <sup>?</sup>	mātu; šadû	
367	ŠE	še	in: ŠE.GA = šemû, šamā'u	
371	BU	bu; pu		
375	TIR	tir, ter		
376	TE	te		
377	LIŠ	liš		
381	UD	ud; ut	ûmu; in: <sup>d</sup> UTU = <sup>d</sup> Šamaš	
	UD		in: <sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU = <sup>d</sup> Marduk	
383	PI	pi, pe		
384	ŠÀ	lib		
393	ERIM		ÉRIN = šābu	
396	ĦI	ĥi, ĥe; šár; řé	DÛG = řābu; in: uru <sup>d</sup> DÛG.GA-belba-tal'telti	
398	AĦ	aĥ		
399	IM		in: <sup>d</sup> IŠKUR = <sup>d</sup> Adad	
411	U	u	X = Adad; UMUN = bēlu; in: <sup>d</sup> U.GUR	

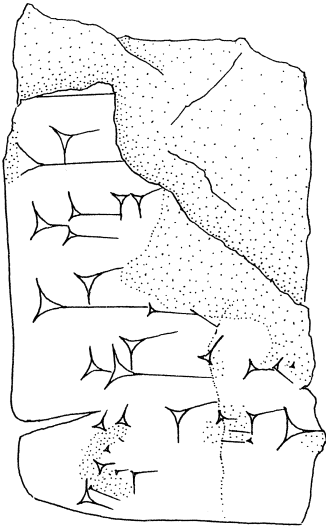
427	MI	<i>mi</i>		
437	AMAR		<i>zēru</i> ; in: <sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU = <sup>d</sup> Marduk	
441	UL	<i>ul</i>		
449	IGI	<i>li</i>	<i>amāru</i>	
451	AR	<i>ar</i>		
452	GISKIM		<i>tukultu</i>	
454	SIG <sub>5</sub>		<i>damāqu</i>	
455	Û	<i>ù</i>		
457	DI	<i>di, de</i>	in: SI.SÁ = <i>ešēru, ešāru</i>	
459	DU <sub>6</sub>		in: <sup>iti</sup> DU <sub>6</sub> = <i>tašritu</i>	
	DU <sub>6</sub>		<i>tillu</i>	
461	KI	<i>ki, ke</i>	<i>ašru; eršetu; itte</i> ; in: <sup>d</sup> EN.KI = <sup>d</sup> Ea	
471	MAN	<i>šar<sub>4</sub></i>	MAN = <i>šarru</i> ; Zahl 20	
472	EŠ	<i>eš</i>	in: <sup>d</sup> XXX = <sup>d</sup> Sin; Zahl 30	
480	DIŠ	<i>ana</i>	Personenkeil; Zahl 1	
532	ME	<i>me</i>		



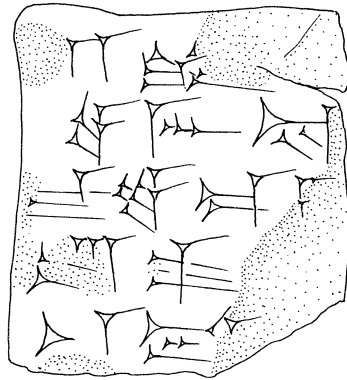
533	MEŠ		Pluralzeichen	
536	KU	<i>ku; tukul</i>		
537	LU	<i>lu; dip</i>	DAB = <i>šabātu</i>	
545	ŠÚ	<i>šú</i>		
554	MUNUS	<i>šal</i>		
559	GU	<i>gu</i>		
564	EL	<i>el</i>		
570	MIN		Zahl 2	
574	TUKU		<i>rašû, rašâ'u</i>	
575	UR	<i>lik</i>		
579	A	<i>a</i>	<i>aplu; māru;</i> <i>Māri (ON)</i> in: A.A = <i>Māri (ON)</i>	
579	ÍD		Det. vor FN ( <i>íd</i> )	
586	ZA	<i>za; ša</i>		
589	ĤA	<i>ĥa</i>	in: ZÁĤ (ĤA.A) = <i>ĥalāqu</i> ; in: ĤA<.A> = <i>ĥalāqu</i>	
597	NÍG	<i>gar; šá</i>	GAR = <i>šakānu</i> ; in: NÍG.BA = <i>qiāšu, qāšu</i>	
598d	USSU		Zahl 8	

1

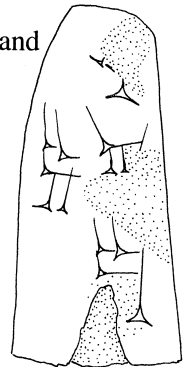
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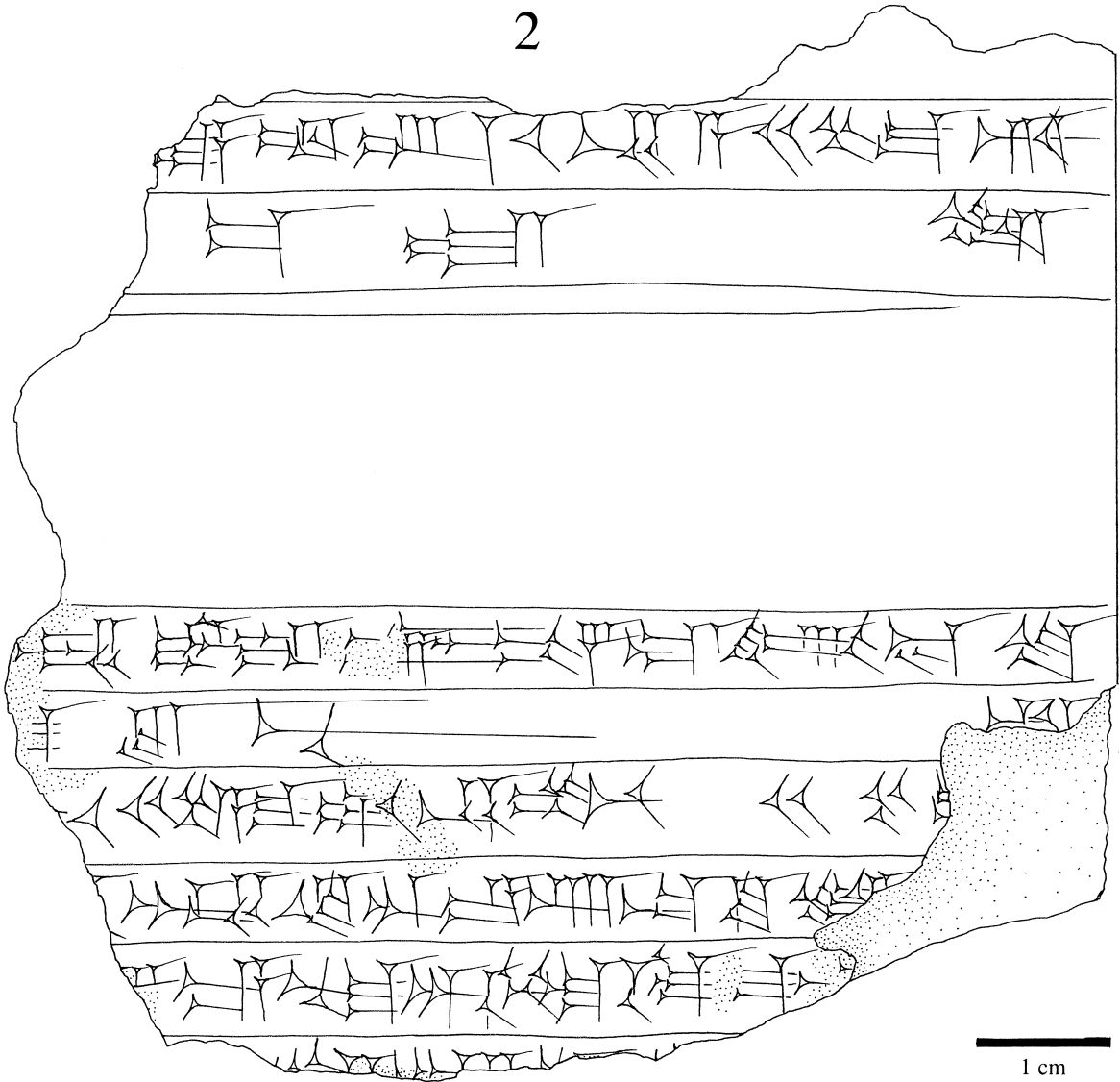
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linker Rand

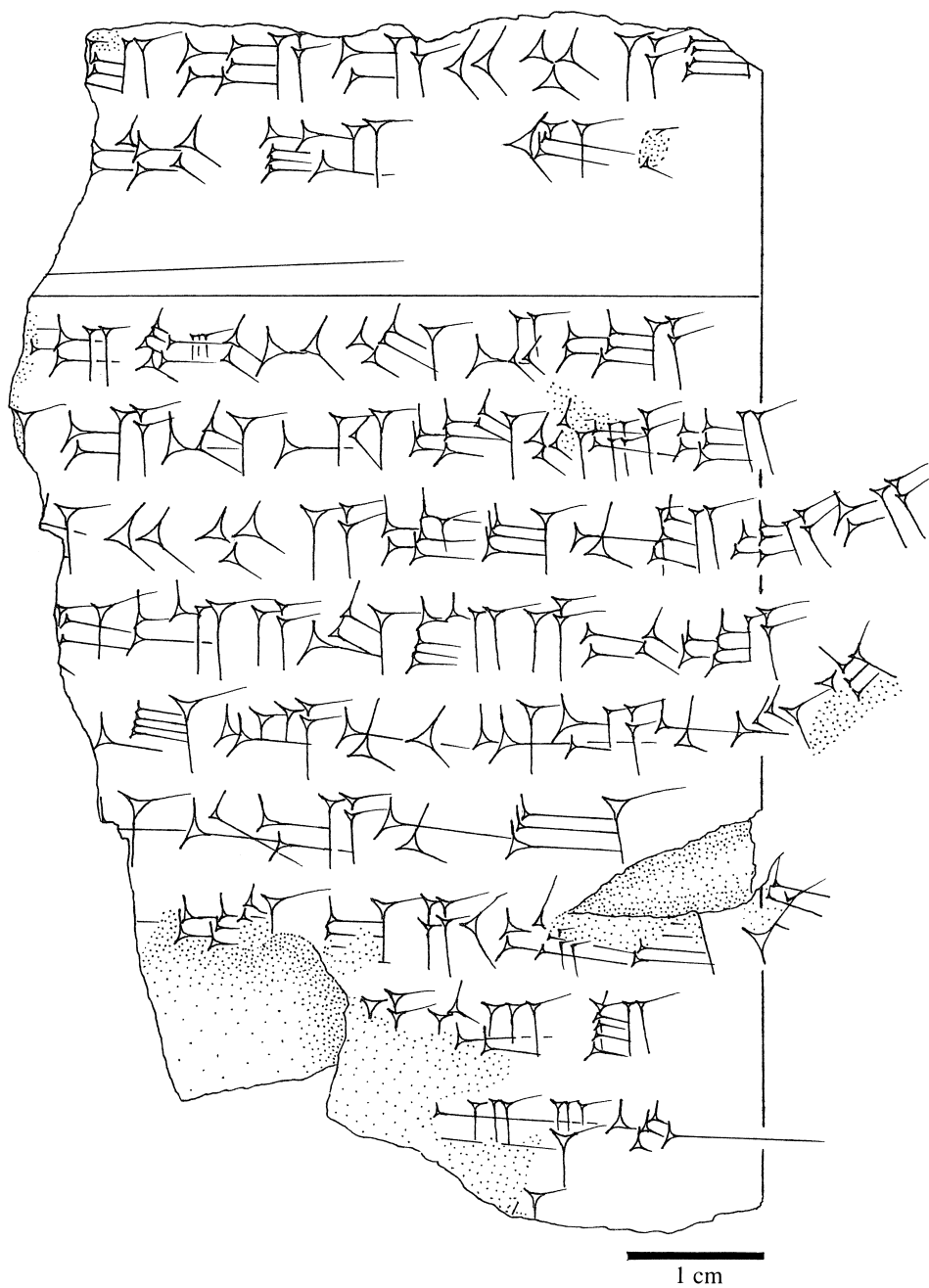


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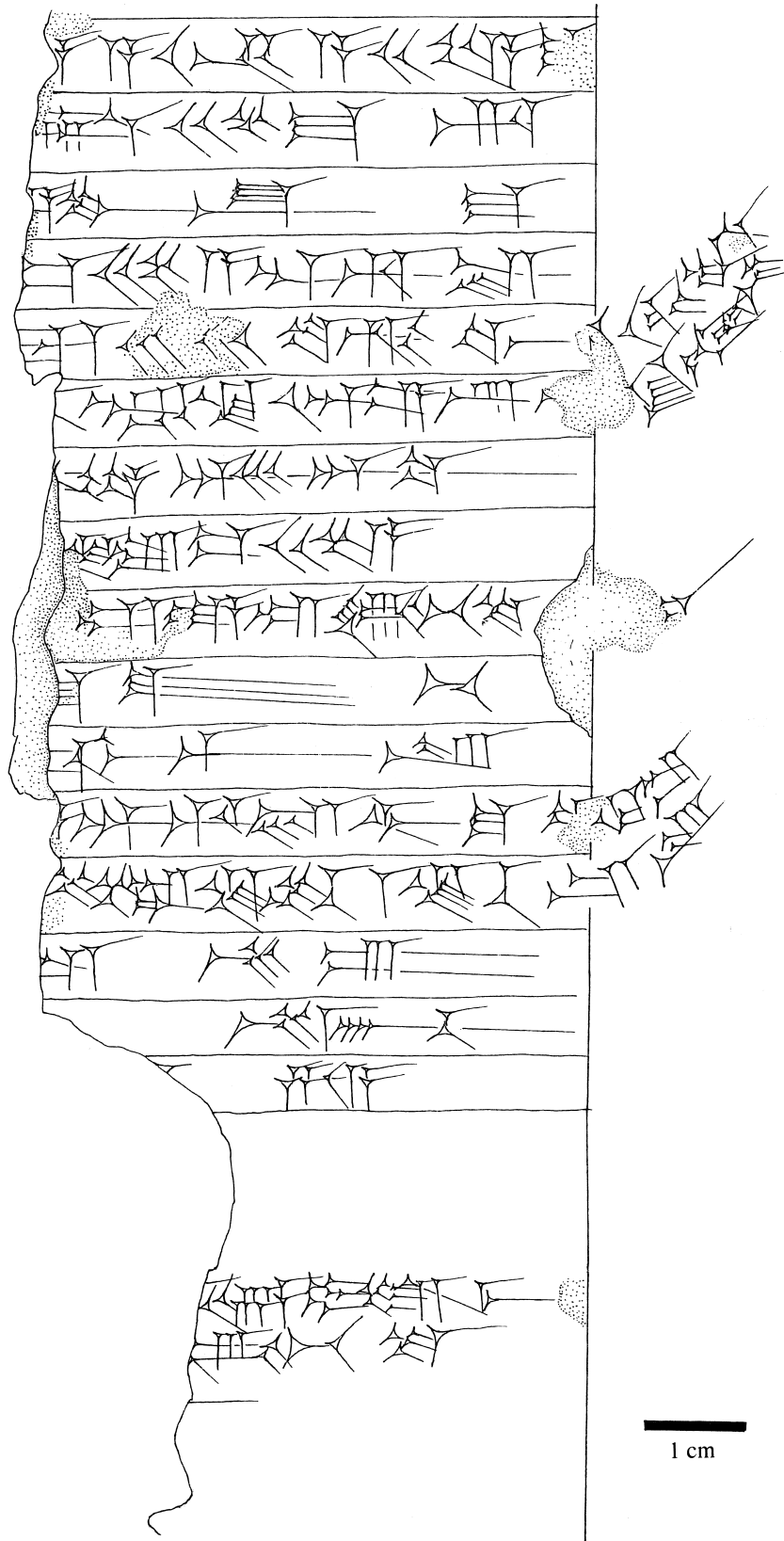


1 cm

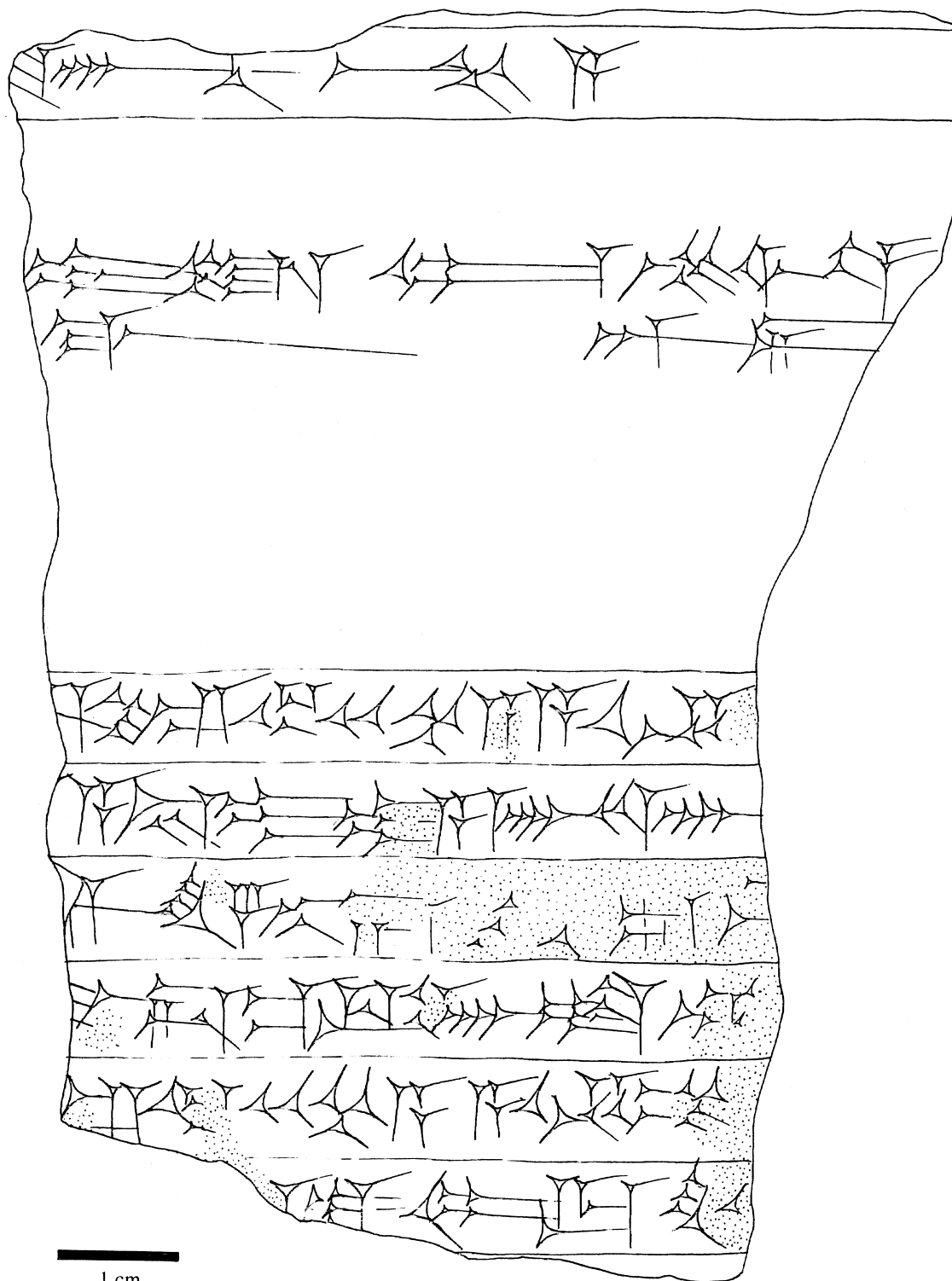
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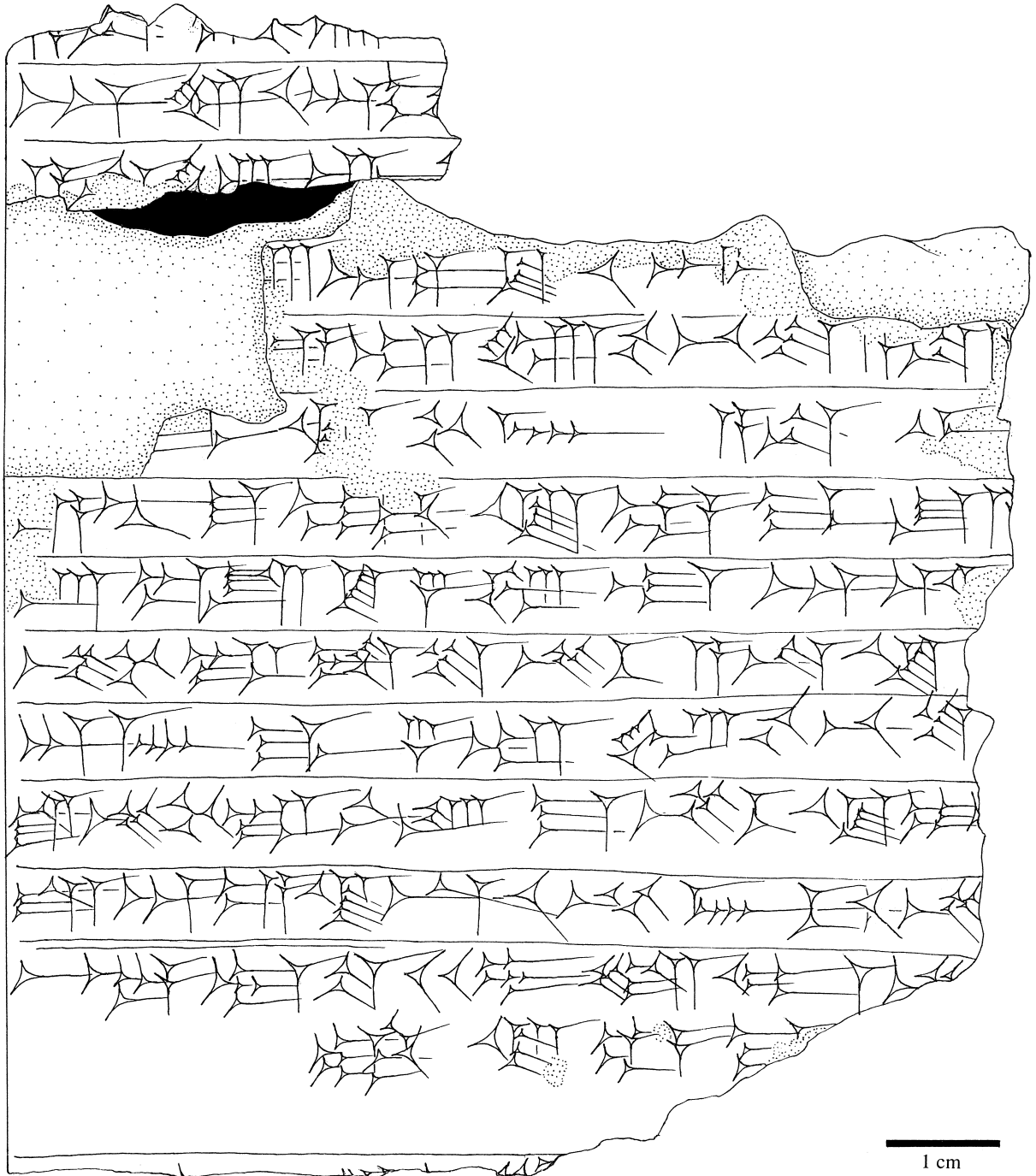
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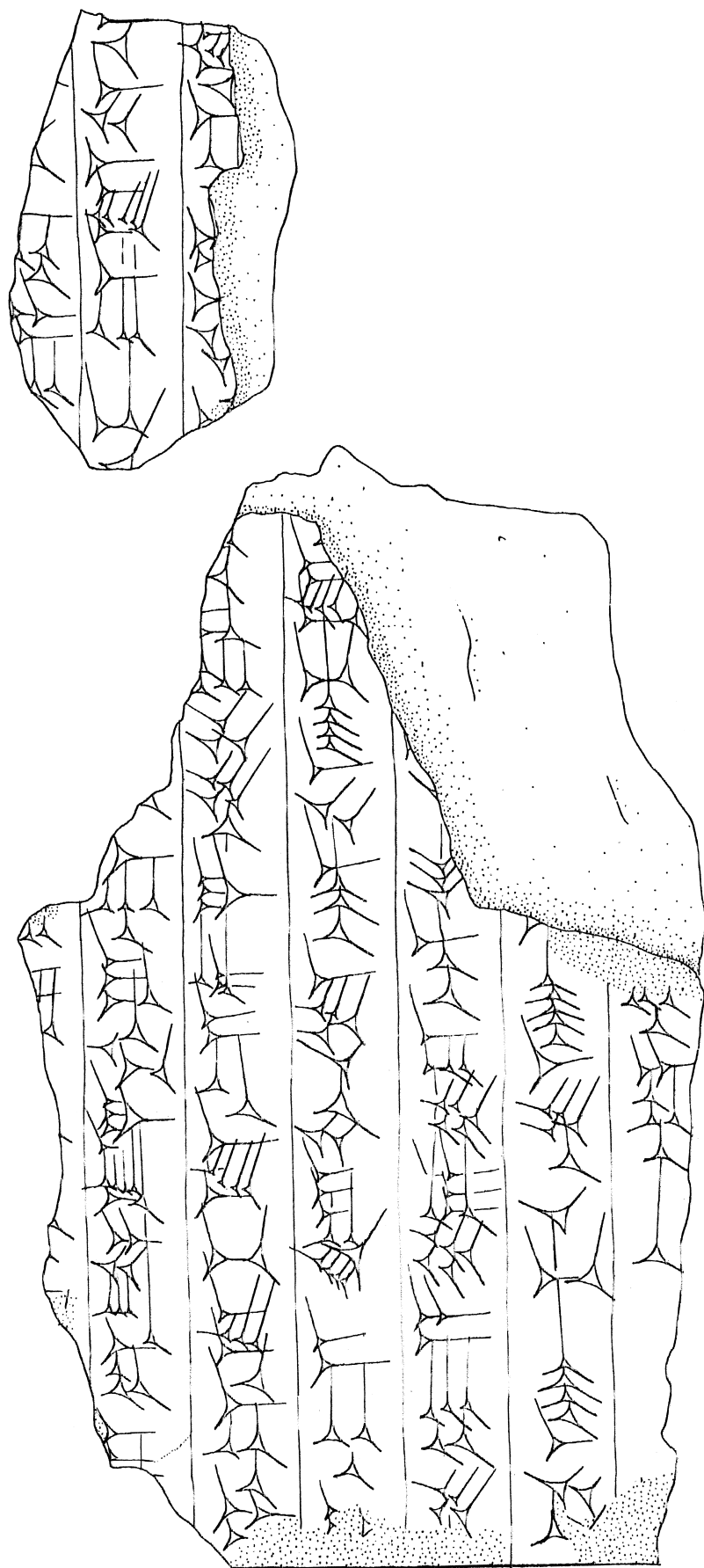
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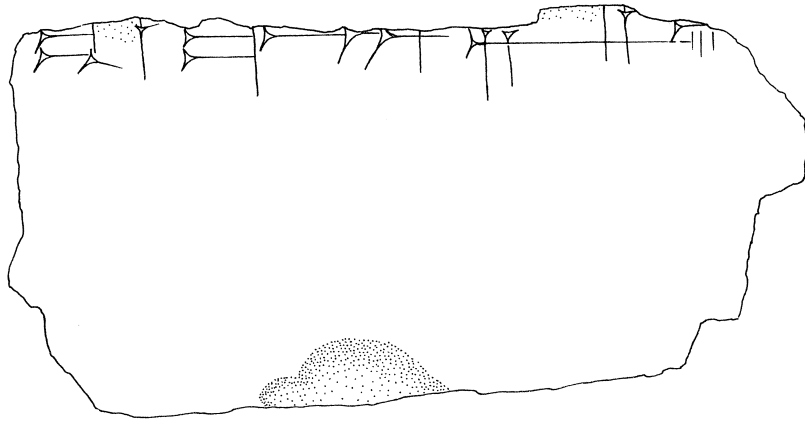
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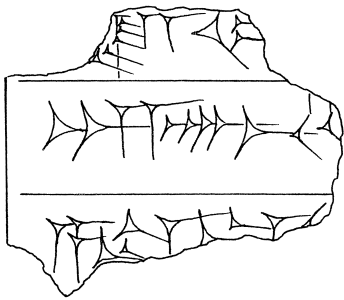
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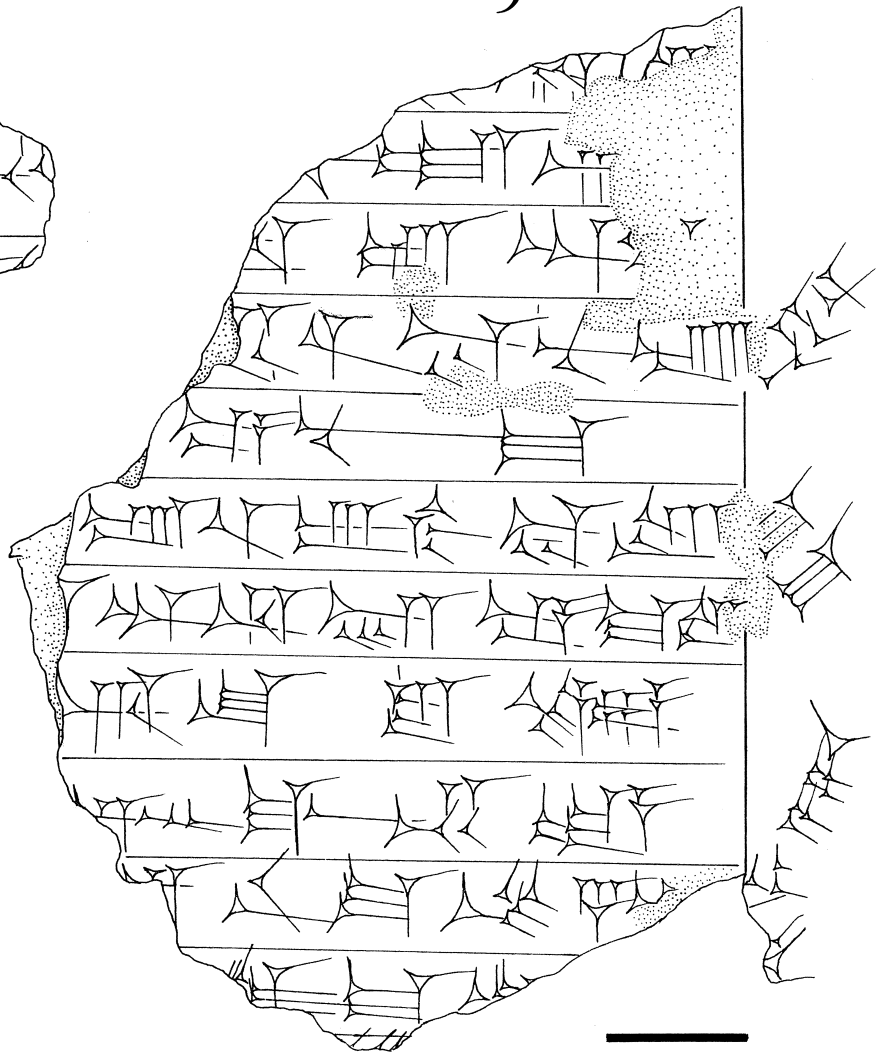
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10



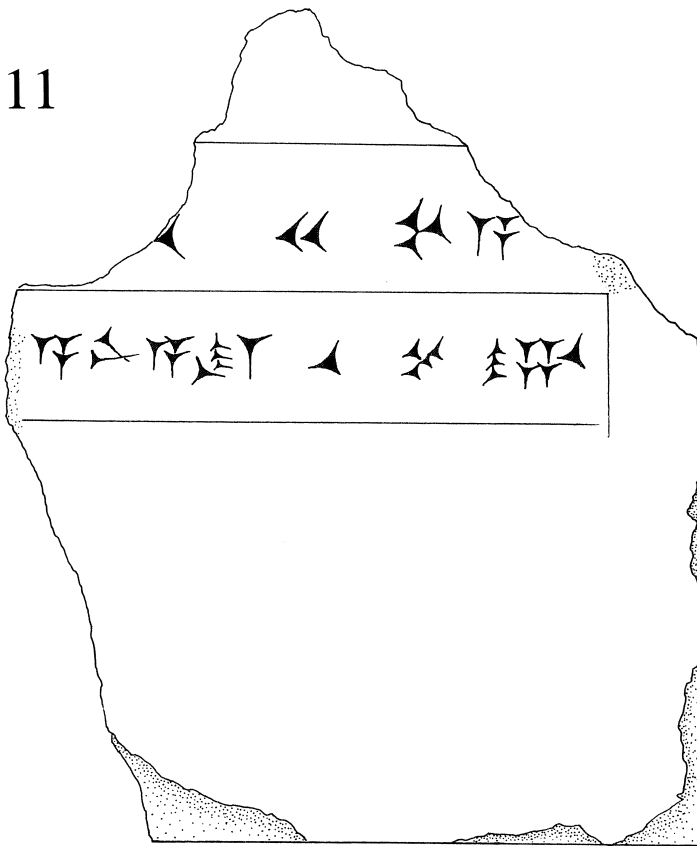
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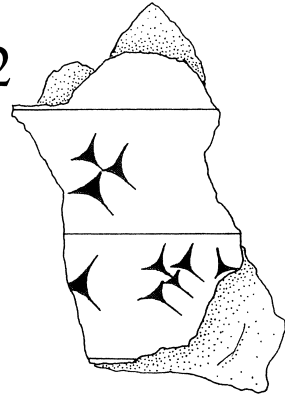
1 cm



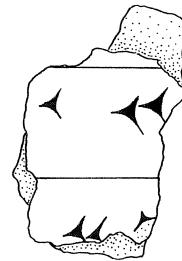
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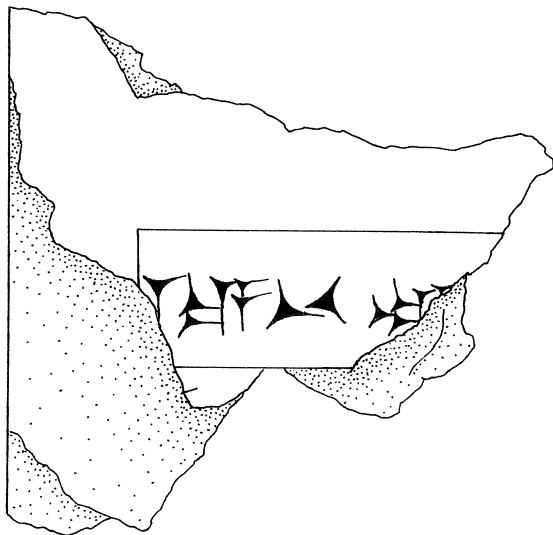
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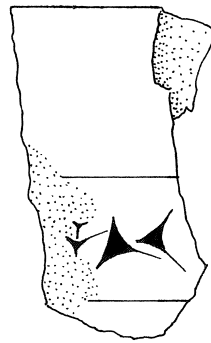
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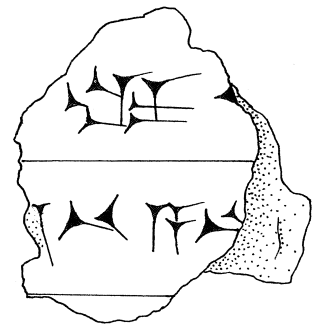
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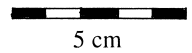
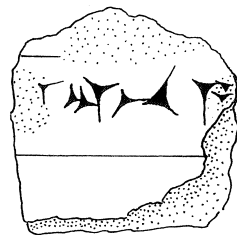
15



16

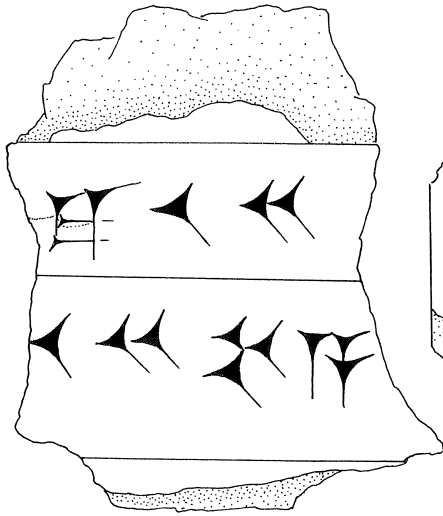


17

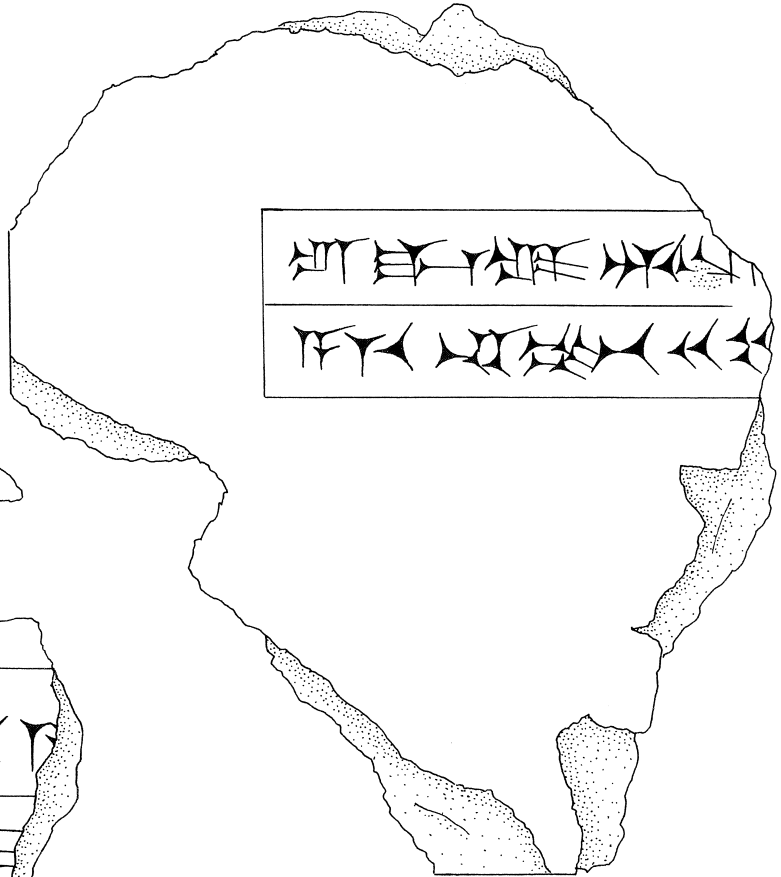


5 cm

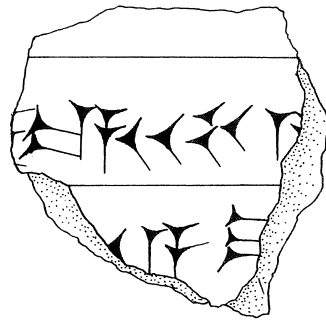
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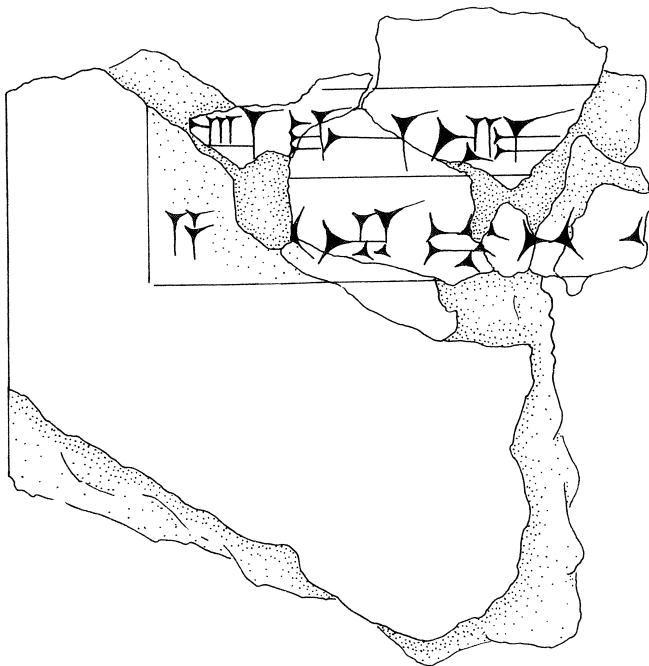
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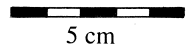
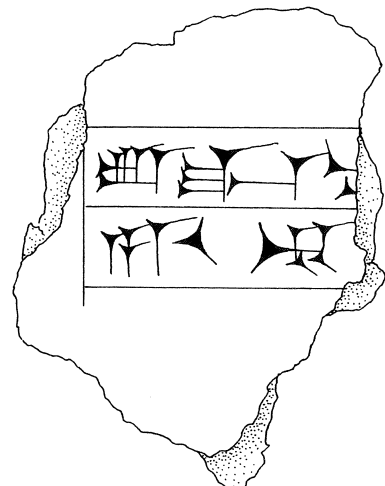
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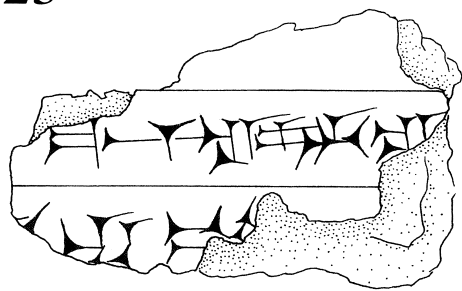
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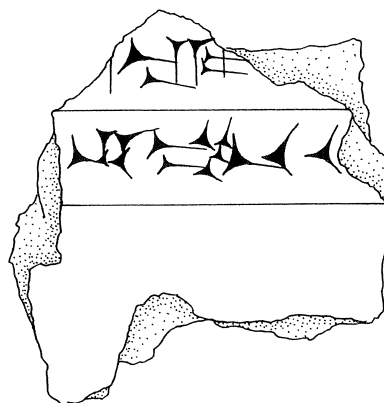
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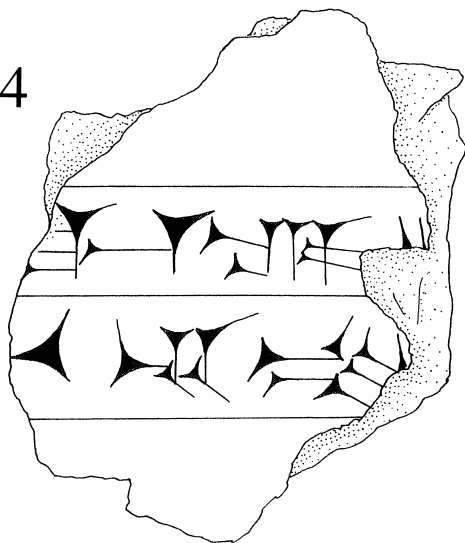
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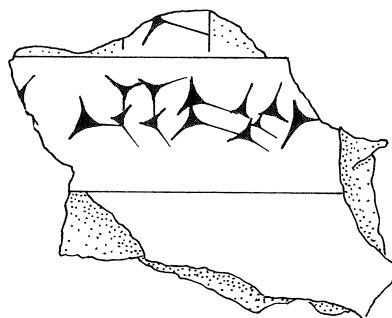
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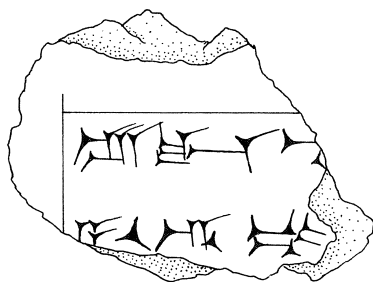
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28



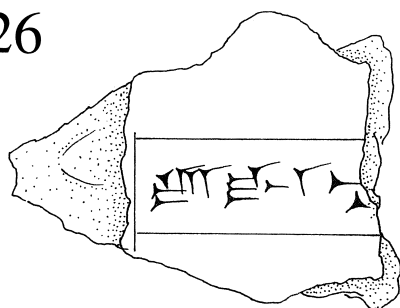
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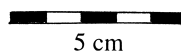
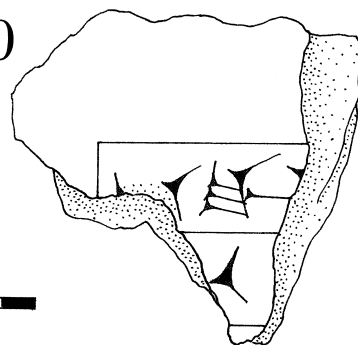
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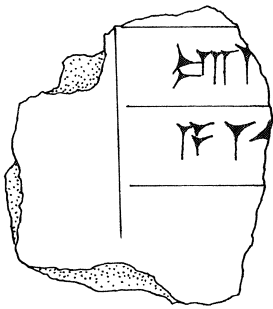
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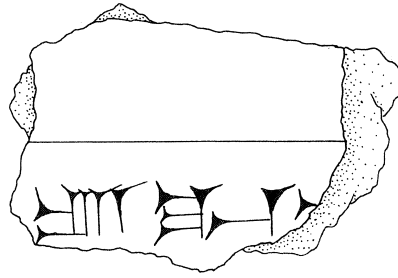
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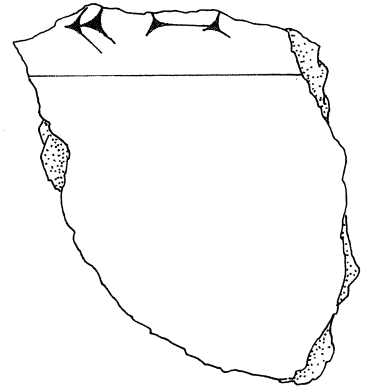
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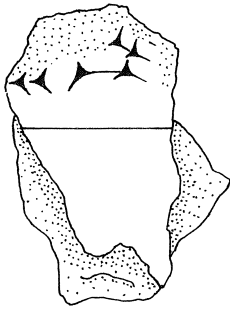
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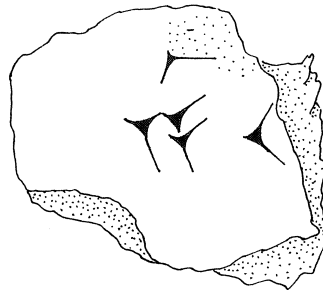
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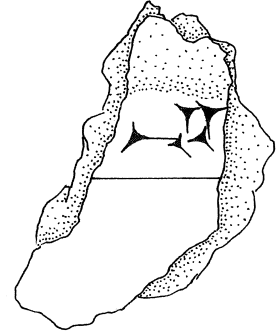
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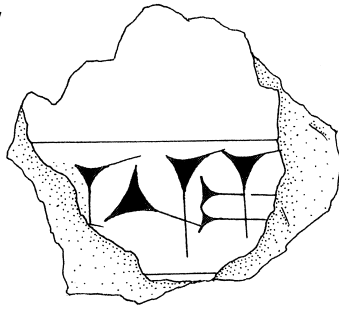
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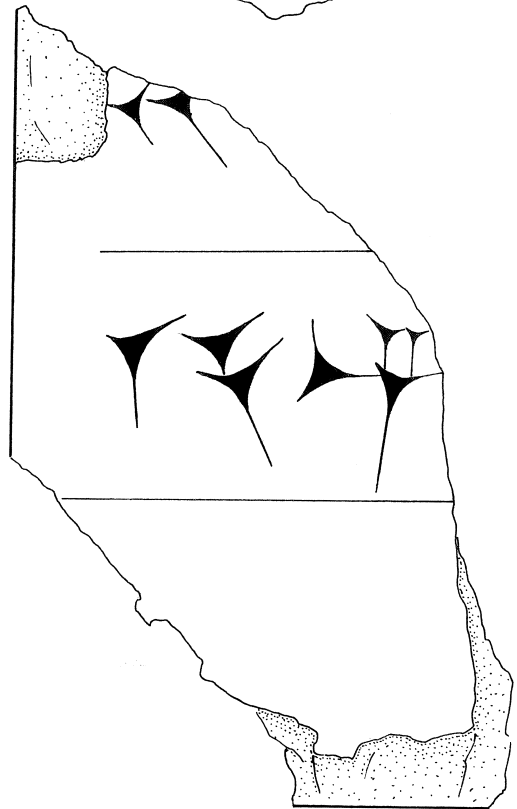
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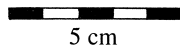
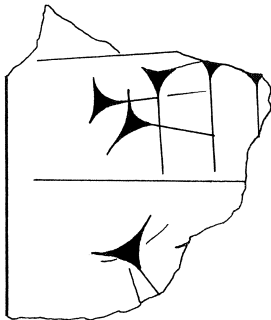
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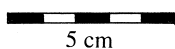
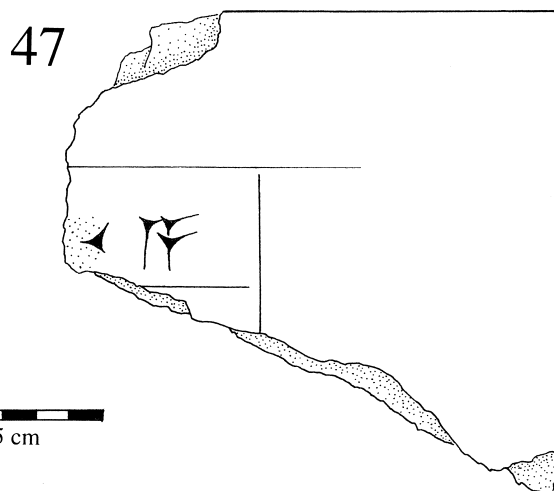
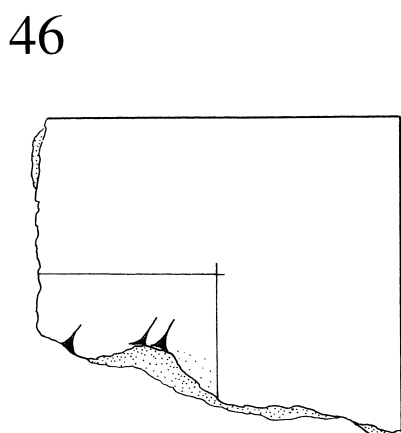
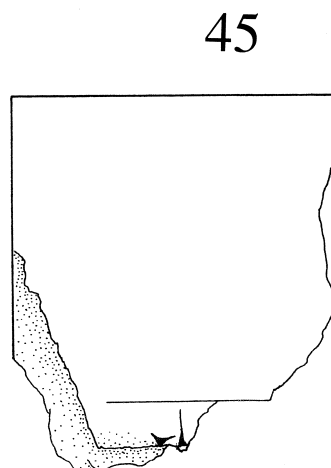
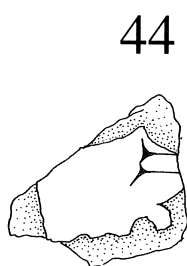
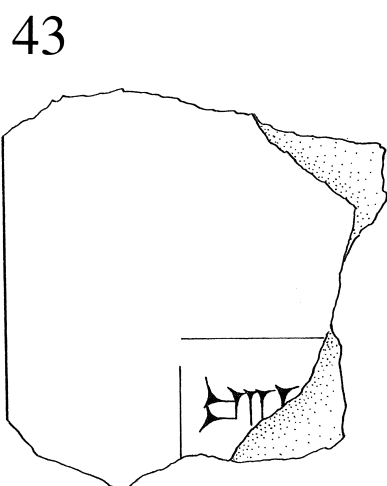
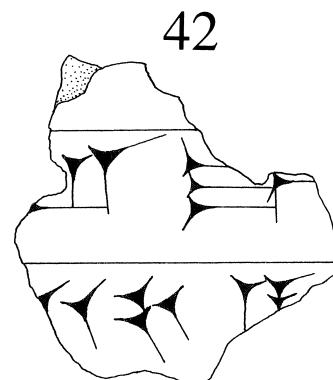
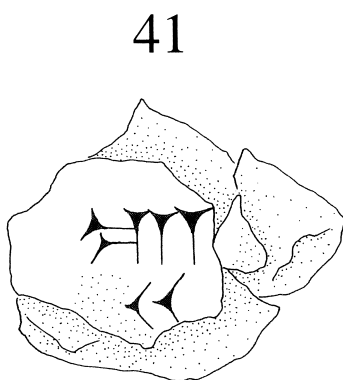
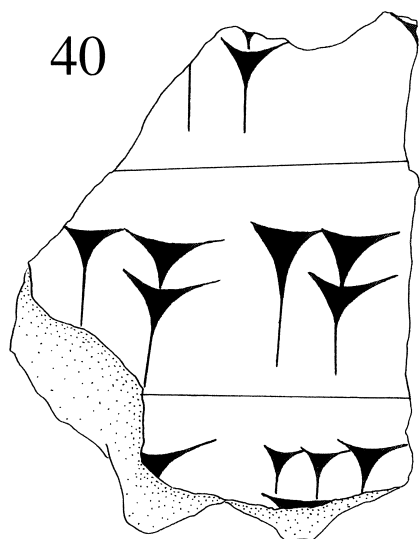


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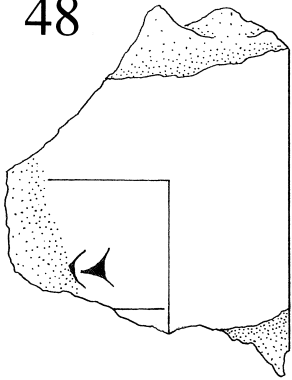


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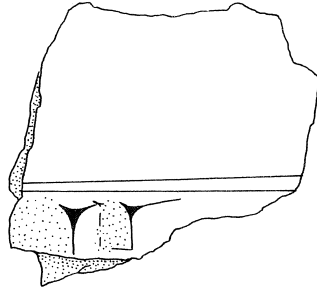




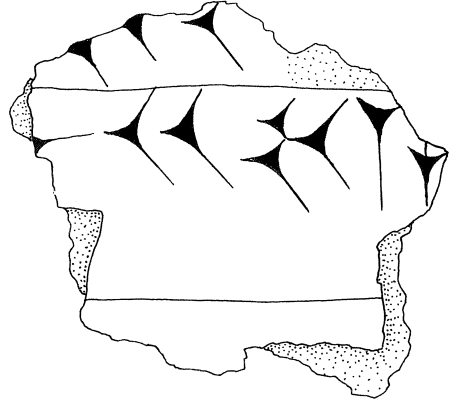
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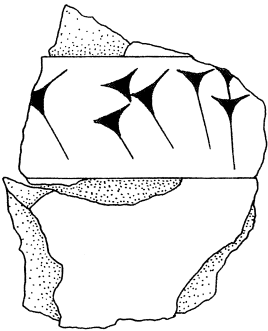
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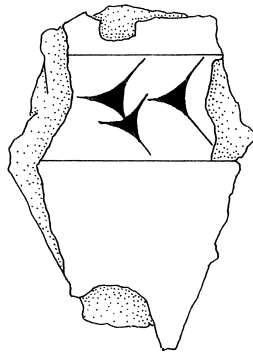
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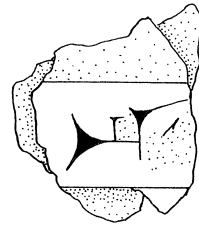
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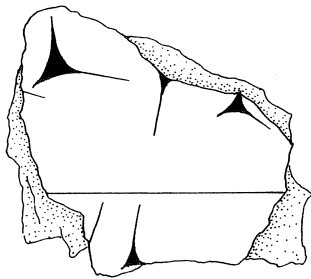
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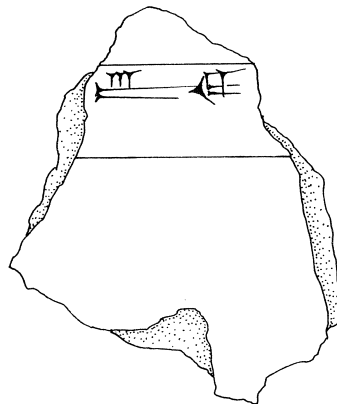
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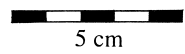
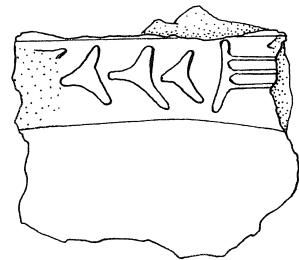
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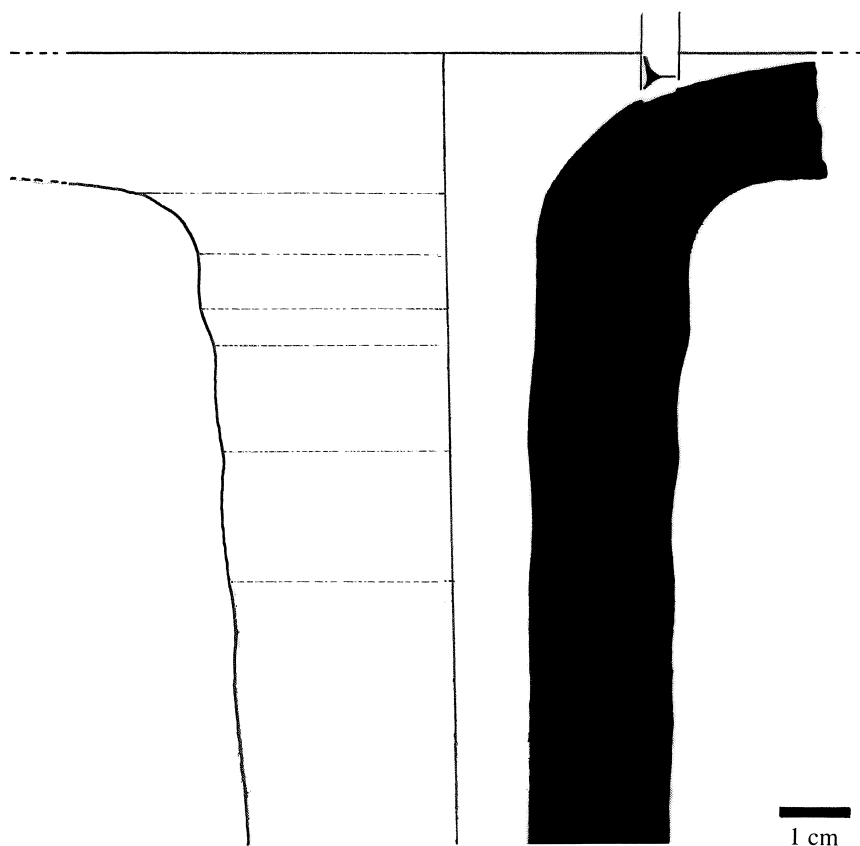
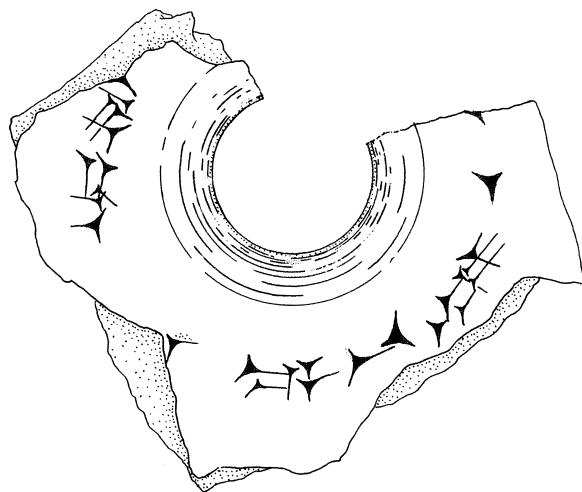
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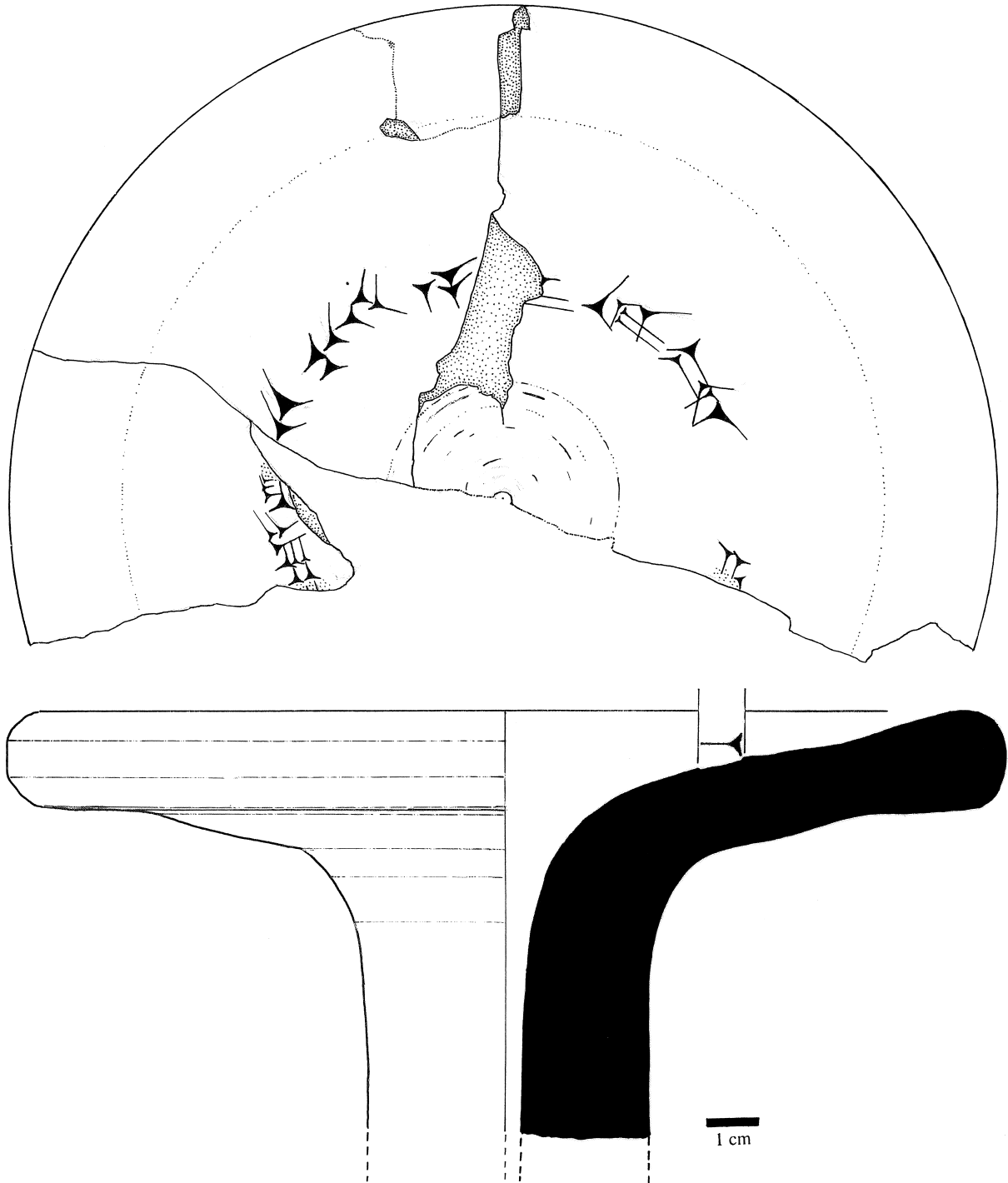


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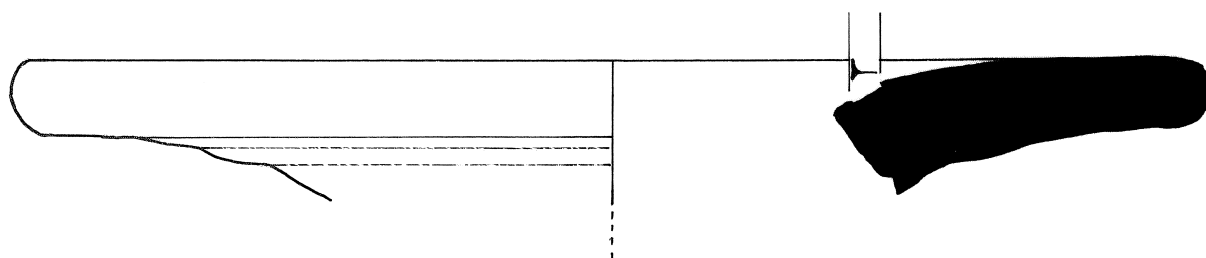
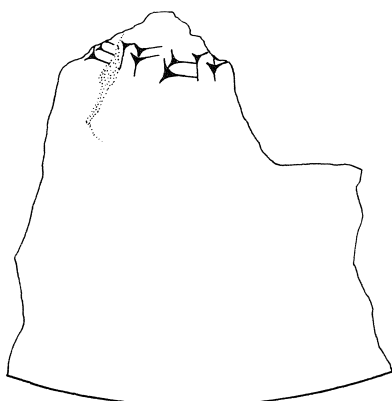
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58

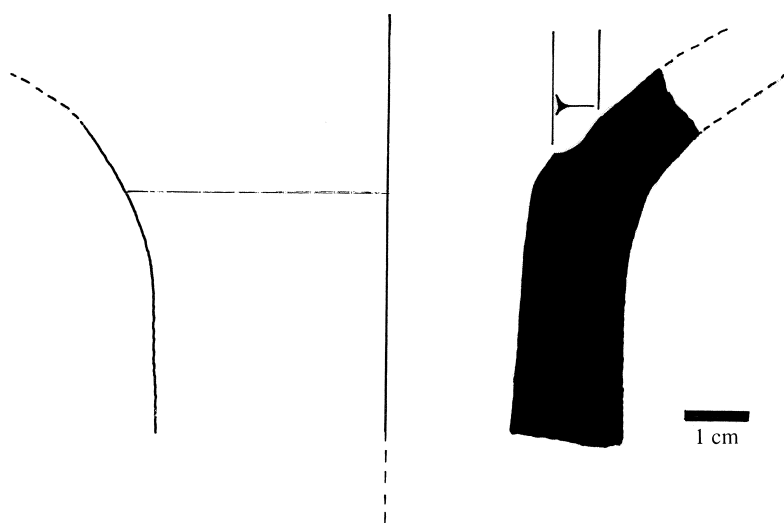
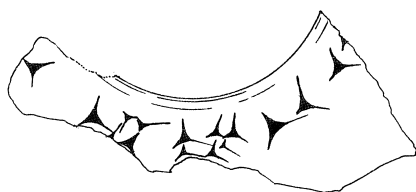


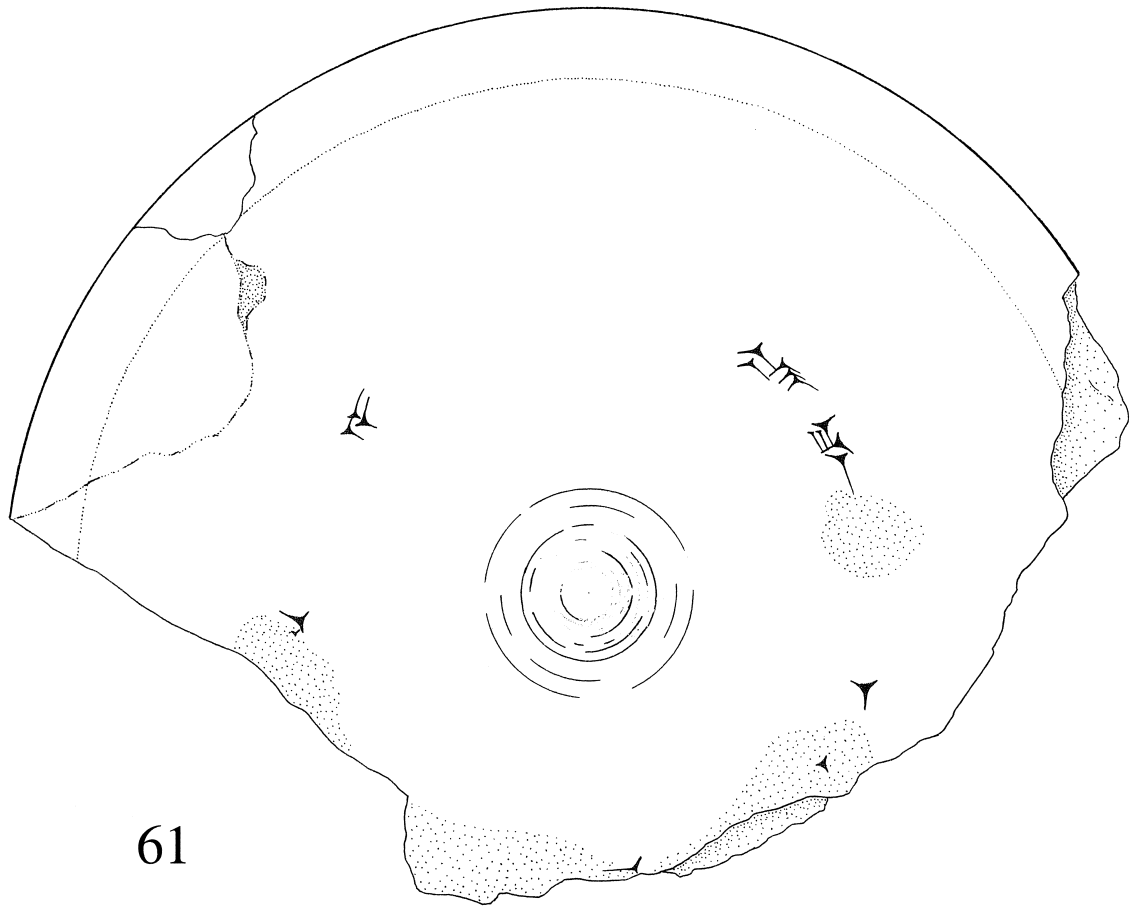


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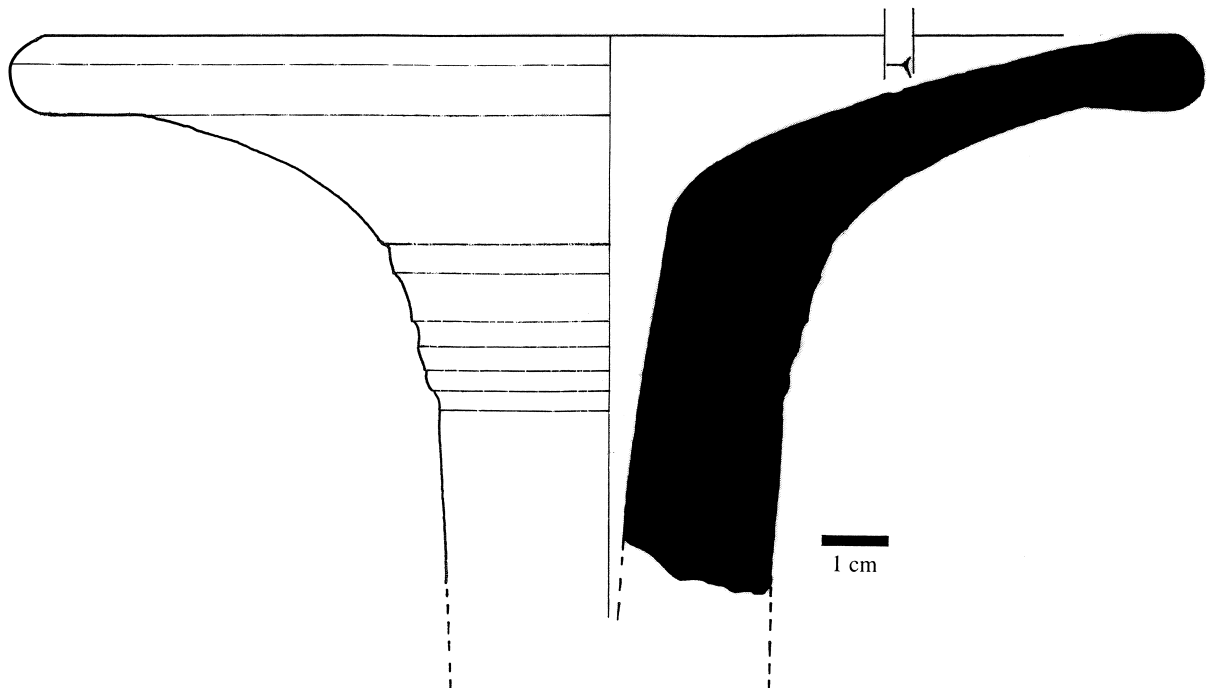


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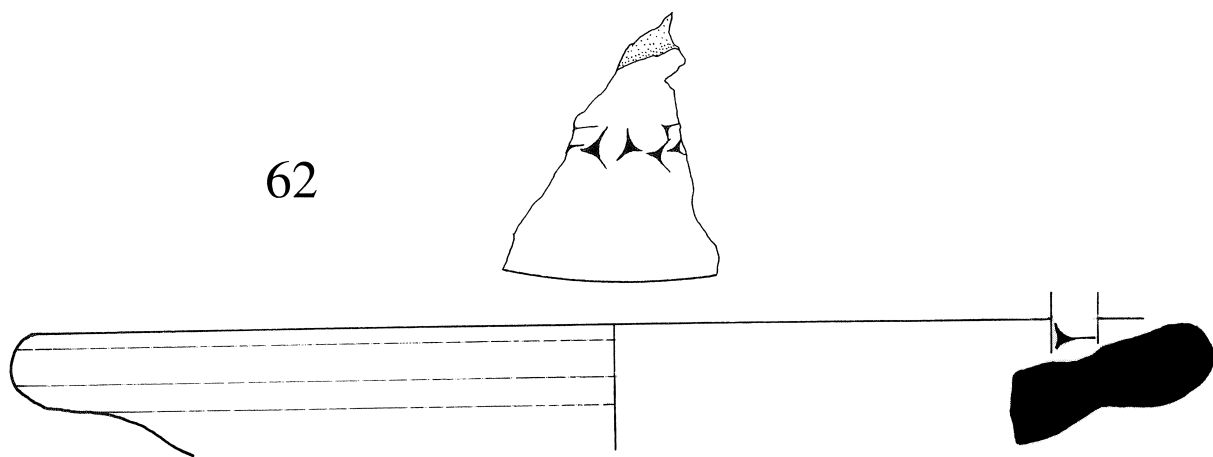


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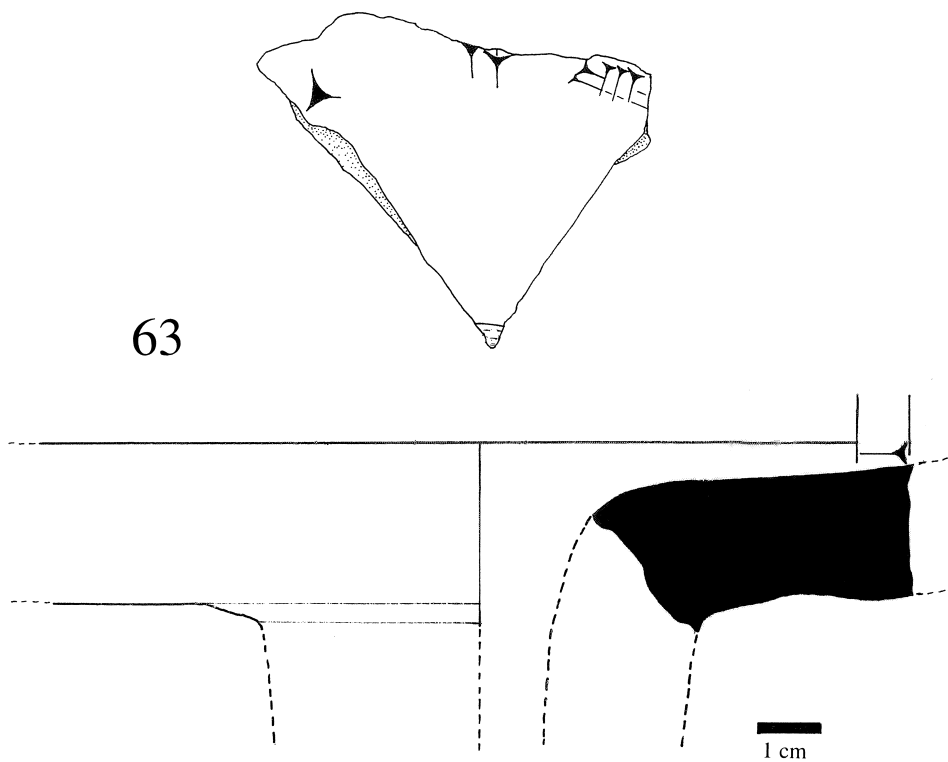


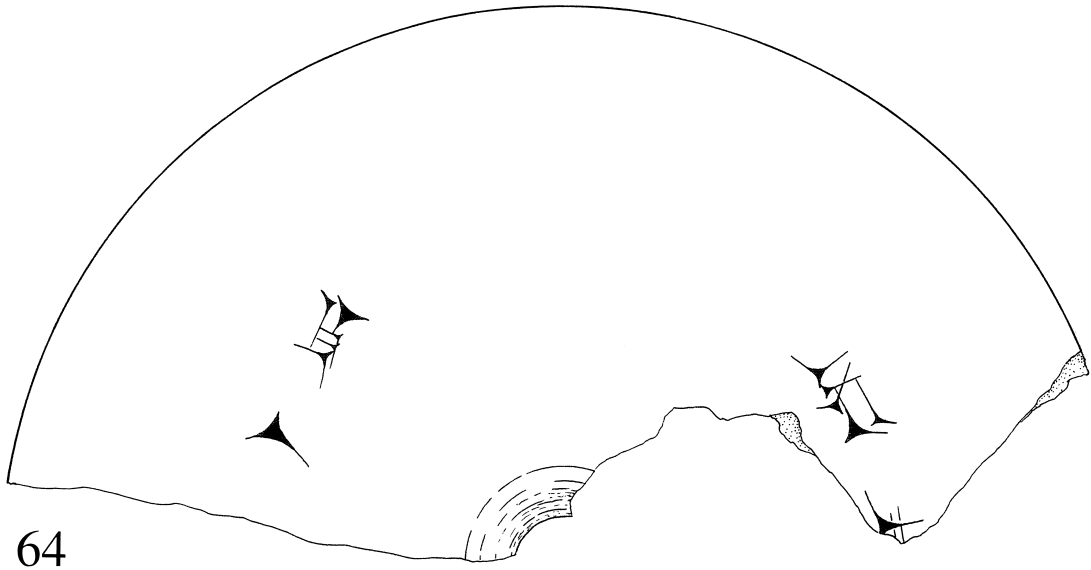
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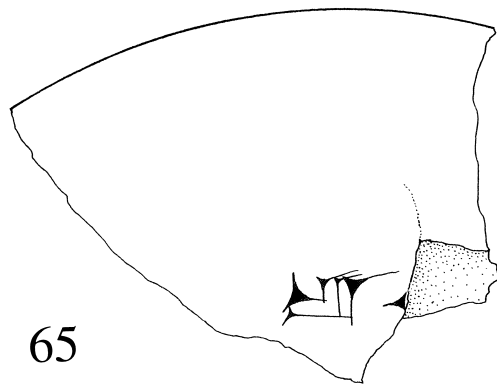
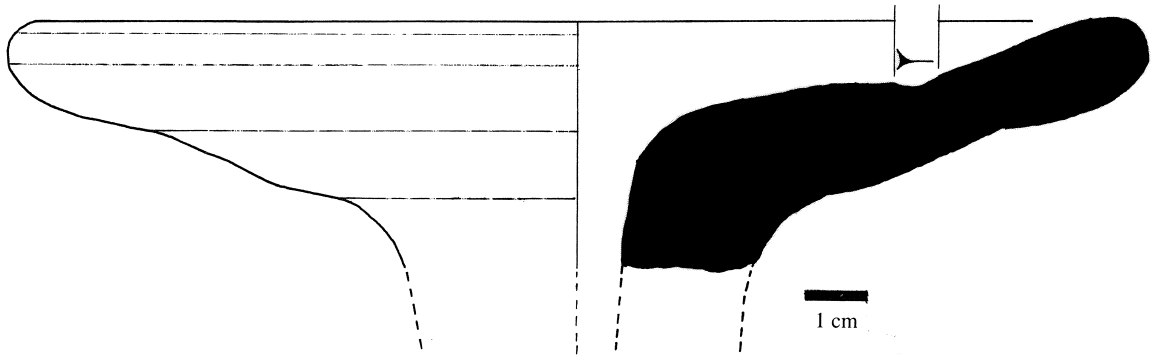


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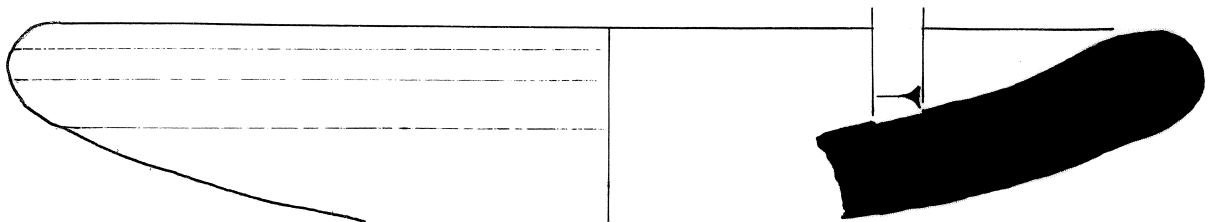




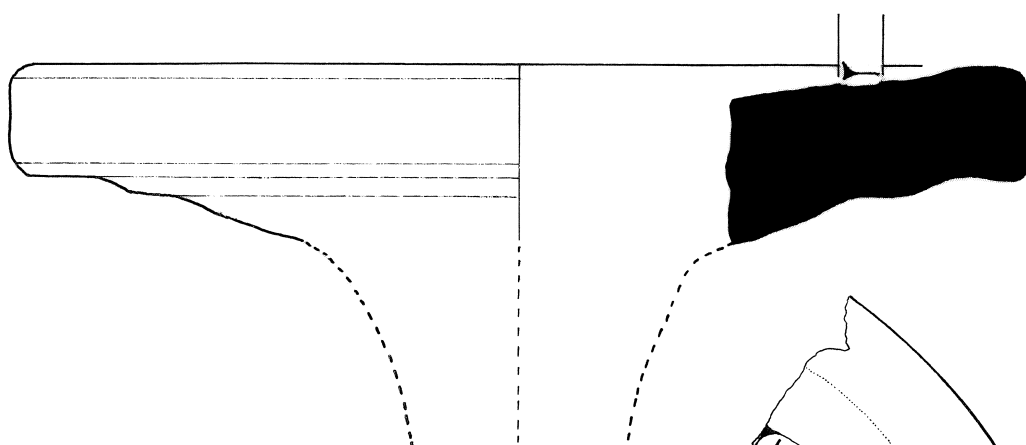
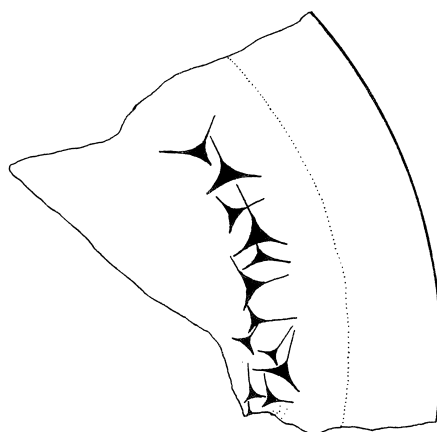
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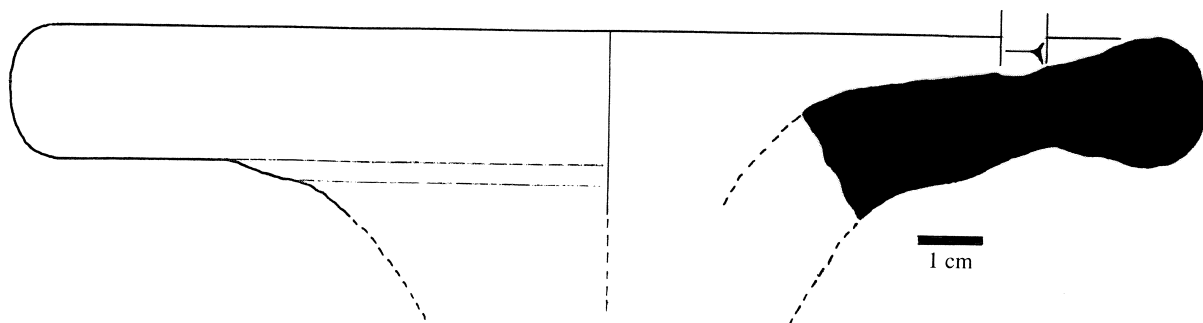
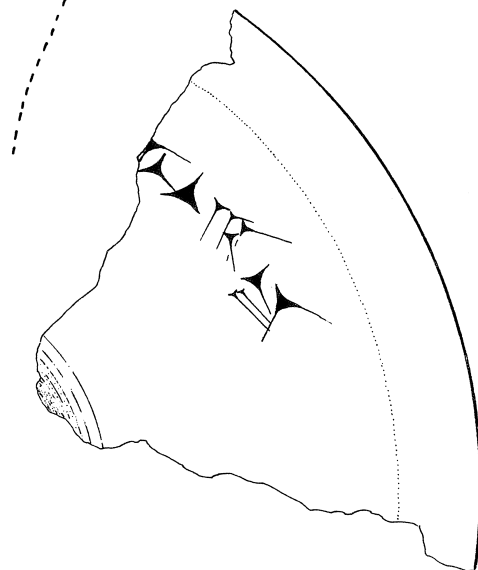
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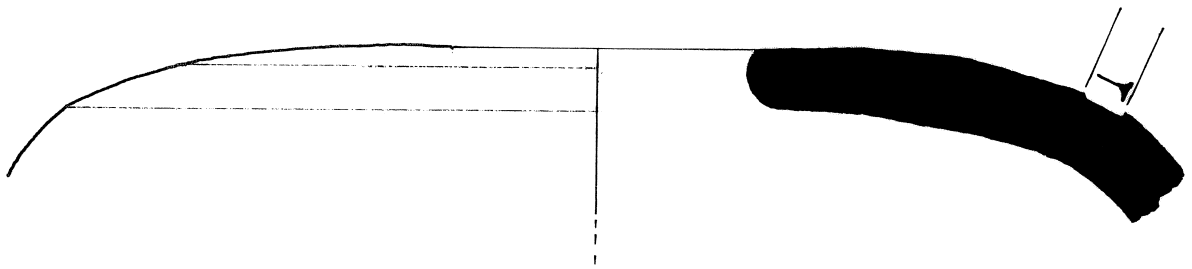
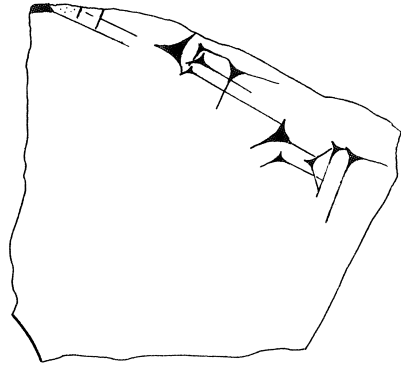


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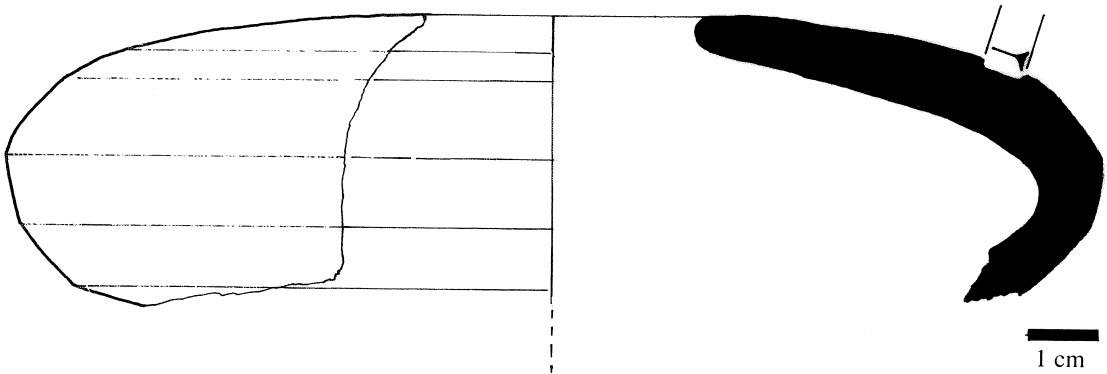
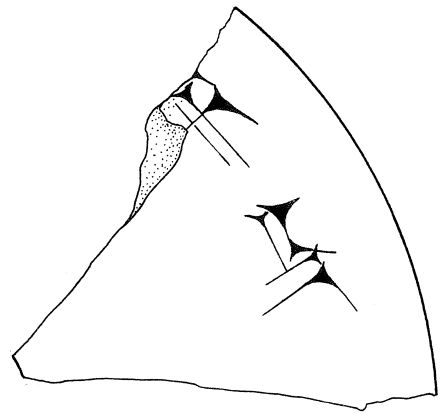


1 cm

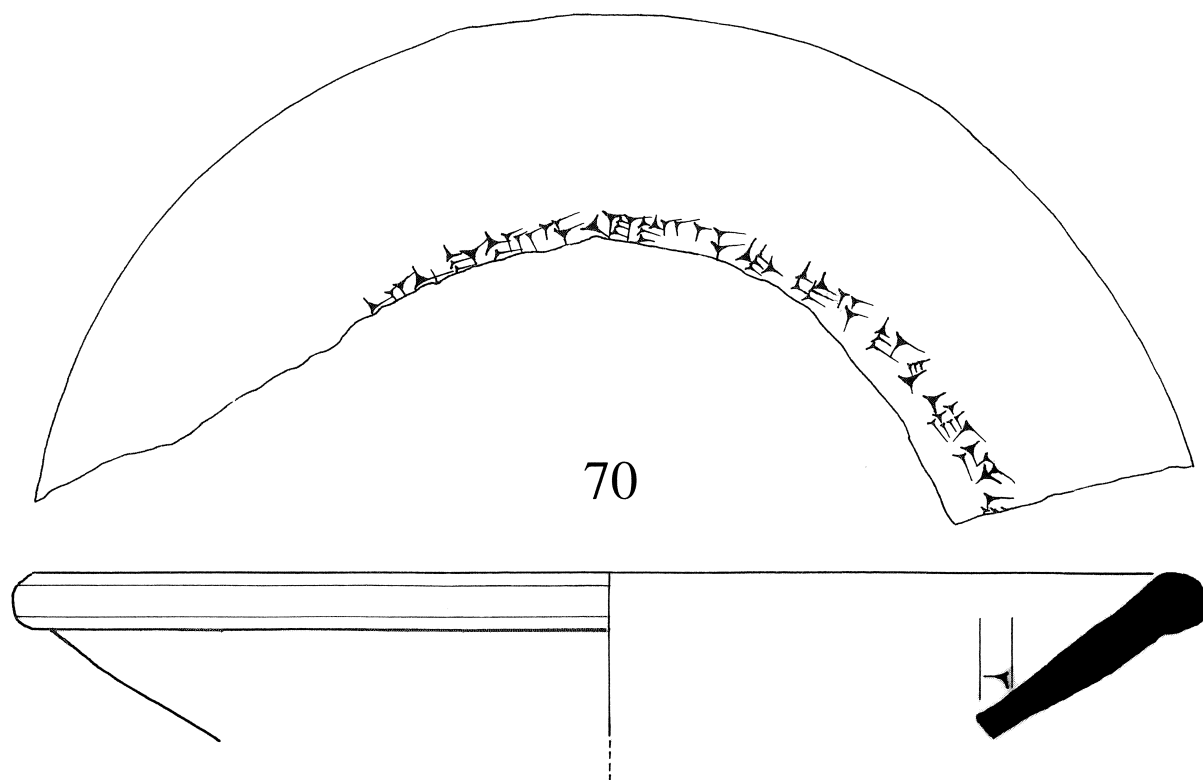
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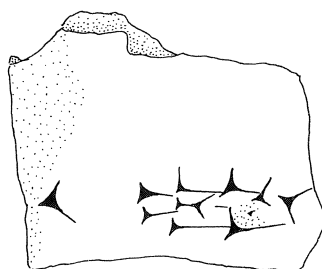
69



1 cm



71



1 cm

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1. The manuscript should be typed on one side only of A-4 size paper. To be accompanied with the computer disk is advisable.
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3. Please be sure to prepare necessary drawings and tables on separate papers one by one (less than 23.5 × 16.0 cm each in size of completion of printing), with explanations and consecutive numbers respectively, and compile them aside from the text. In addition, designate, on the margin of the text, where each one should be inserted.
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9. As a rule, the first proofreading shall be done by the original author.

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1976年3月、国士舘大学イラク古代文化研究所が藤井秀夫教授（初代所長）を中心に設立されました。そして皆様のご支援のもと、おかげさまで30周年を迎えることができました。近年はイラク・イラン戦争、湾岸戦争・経済制裁、イラク戦争とイラクの厳しい情勢が続いています。そうした中で、平成18年4月からは国士舘大学大学院にグローバルアジア研究科文化遺産分野の専攻を設け、今まで培ってきた経験を活かして若手研究者を育成していく計画です。そしてさらに「ラーフィダーン」の内容を充実させて、アジアの人々の思いを発信していきたいと思っています。

(編集・松本 健)

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