



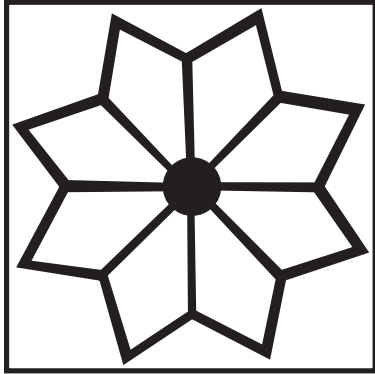
**CURRENT RESEARCH AT
KÜLTEPE-KANESH**

**An Interdisciplinary and Integrative Approach to
Trade Networks, Internationalism, and Identity**

**Edited by
Levent Atici, Fikri Kulakoğlu,
Gojko Barjamovic, and Andrew Fairbairn**

**THE JOURNAL OF CUNEIFORM STUDIES
SUPPLEMENTAL SERIES
Number 4**

CURRENT RESEARCH AT
KÜLTEPE-KANESH



Journal of Cuneiform Studies Supplemental Series

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 LOCKWOOD PRESS

(Published on behalf of the American Schools of Oriental Research)

2014

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Library of Congress Control Number: 2014931461

ISBN: 978-1-937040-19-2 (hardcover; Lockwood Press); 978-0-897570-09-1 (ASOR)

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ACP	Assyrian Colony period
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AKT	Ankara Kültepe tabletleri
AnSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
A/O	Affected/Observed
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
APSD	Automatic Panorama Shooting Device
ARMT	<i>Archives royales de Mari</i>
AS	Assyriological Studies
AuOr	<i>Aula Orientalis</i>
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
AST	<i>Arkeometri Sonuçları Toplantısı</i>
ATHE	B. Kienast, <i>Die altassyrischen Texte des Orientalischen Seminars in Heidelberg und der Sammlung Erlenmeyer</i> (= UAVA 1, 1960)
AuOr	<i>Aula Orientalis</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient
BIN	Babylonian inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies
BMECCJ	<i>Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan</i>
BW	bone weight
CCAC	Central Anatolian Crystalline Complex
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago</i>
CCT	Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum
CDOG	Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
cm	centimeter
CO	<i>cribra orbitalia</i>
CS	H. Frankfort, <i>Cylinder Seals</i> (London, 1939, repr. 1965)
D	dominance index
DBH	Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie
EBA	Early Bronze Age
eMBA	early Middle Bronze Age
ENES	B. Buchanan, <i>Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection</i> (New Haven, 1981)
Ep.	<i>Epistle</i>
FAOS Beihefte	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien Beihefte: Altassyrische Texte und Untersuchungen

GNSS	Global Navigation Satellite System
Gol.	W. Golenischeff, <i>Vingt-quatre tablettes cappadociennes</i> (St. Petersburg, 1891)
GPR	ground penetrating radar
GPS	global positioning system
H	Shannon diversity index
HANE/M	History of the Ancient Near East (/M = Monographs)
HO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HSOA	Heidelberger Studien zum alten Orient
IA	Iron Age
ICK	<i>Inscriptions cunéiformes du Kültepe</i> , I: B. Hrozný; II: L. Matouš (Prague, 1952/1962)
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht van het Voor-Aziatisch-Egyptisch-Gezelschap Ex Oriente Lux</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JFA	<i>Journal of Field Archaeology</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
Ka	tablet in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums (Turkey)
KAYAP	Kayseri Arkeolojik Yüzey Araştırması Projesi
KEL	Kültepe Eponym List
KIM	Kültepe International Meeting
Kt	inventory numbers of Kültepe texts
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LEH	linear enamel hypoplasia
LRF	Laser Range Finder
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
mm	millimeter
MNE	minimum number of elements
MNI	minimum number of individuals
n	number
NF	number of fragments
NISP	number of identified specimens
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OA	Old Assyrian
OA	osteoarthritis
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications
OIP	The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications
PH	porotic hyperostosis
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul
PRAK	H. de Genouillac, <i>Premières recherches archéologiques à Kich. Mission d'Henri de Genouillac 1911–1912</i> , I/II (Paris, 1924/1925)
PRST	periosteal reactions
PSD	<i>Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary</i>
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
REL	Revised Eponym List
RHA	<i>Revue hittite et asianique</i>
SCCNH	Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians

sd	standard deviation
SMEA	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici</i>
sp.	species, indicating that the genus is known but the species cannot be determined
TC	<i>Tablettes cappado-ciennes du Louvre</i> (Paris)
TPAK	C. Michel and P. Garelli, <i>Tablettes paléo-assyriennes de Kültepe</i> , Vol. 1 (Kt 90/k) (Paris, 1997)
TTKY	Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der (Königlichen) Museen zu Berlin
WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>

CONCLUDING REMARKS: KANESH, THE CITY

Norman Yoffee, University of Michigan

Moses Finley wrote, dyspeptically, about the archaeology of ancient cities (by which he meant, of course, Greek and Roman cities) and the archaeologists who study ancient cities: “It is difficult, perhaps impossible to catch the ‘feel’ of an ancient city. What we see is either a ruin or a shadow overlain by centuries of subsequent habitation. Nothing can be deader than the models or reconstructions of ancient buildings and districts: they may serve to recreate the formal interactions of the architects but they mislead badly in recreating the living reality within a living community (Finley 1987–1989, 309).

He might as well have been talking about ancient historians, especially historians of the ancient Near East. Their data are similarly fragmentary, only shedding disparate points of life on ancient lifeways, and historians are challenged to connect these points into a picture of a living community (although many are content to avoid the problems of speculation entirely). Moreover, if we have urban textual lampposts and “reconstructions of ancient buildings and districts,” can we know how ancient cities came to be, how people lived and understood their lives in ancient cities, and how cities flourished, changed, and collapsed?

This volume reflects on these kinds of questions by bringing together historians, archaeologists, bioarchaeologists, ethnobotanists, zooarchaeologists, and other specialists. The unassailable proposition is that by exchanging information from various datasets one can achieve a fuller picture of ancient life at Kanesh. For ancient historians and economic historians, Kanesh is mainly known from the work of the brave and talented Old Assyrianists who have studied the texts written by the Assyrian merchants at the site. The archaeological work of Tahsin Özgüç and his team has been critical, but in a Finleyian sense, mainly disconnected from the historical studies.¹ The team now led by Fikri Kulakoğlu is changing the structure of research on Kanesh, the Anatolian city, not simply the outpost of Old Assyrian merchants. This volume is a record of their progress.

There is, however, the warning of Finley that must be heeded: even if we have an enormous amount of data from the various disciplines of research on Kanesh, is there not a positivist trap? The new data, no matter how complementary and supplementary (and possibly also contradictory) from the various sources, will never yield a full or possibly even a satisfactory understanding of life at Kanesh. How, then, to proceed?

Thanks to Levent Atıcı for the invitation to discuss the ASOR panel in November, 2012 and to the participants who provided the material upon which this chapter is based. In addition to the comprehensive bibliographies supplied by the authors, one may add Veenhof 2013. I do not clutter this brief essay with copious references to data and studies by archaeologists and historians of Kanesh.

1. In addition to the references cited by the authors, see the superb catalogue with informative essays and superlative illustrations in Kulakoğlu and Kangal (2010). Many thanks to Fikri Kulakoğlu for the gift of this volume.

One avenue of research that is not represented in this volume is to examine what we know about ancient cities more generally. Can a comparative perspective on urbanism lead us to ask new questions about Kanesh, to imagine how the city was formed, how Kaneshites interacted, how the urban landscape reflected and shaped the conditions of social life?

There have been many excellent studies of ancient Near Eastern cities, such as the settlement pattern surveys of Adams and Nissen that reveal the growth and change in Mesopotamian urbanism (1981), the valuable overviews of city life by Stone (e.g., 2007) and the impressive synthesis of Van De Mieroop (1997), and perhaps the most detailed study of both textual and archaeological sources on cities by Keith (1998) as well as many other individual studies of cities that are too many to enumerate here.² And there are some recent books on early cities all over the planet, for example, Storey 2006, Smith 2003, Marcus and Sabloff 2008.³ And, in the interest of full disclosure, I am editing a volume on early cities and comparative history.⁴ Can we look at Kanesh in the perspective of the world history of early cities? Does the city of Kanesh have significance beyond the borders of ancient Near Eastern history?

First, is there a definition of a city? The sages have weighed in:⁵

- A city is a permanent settlement that is areally rather large and has quite a few people, in fact, thousands of them, who live quite closely together and are socially diverse.
- In a city there are leaders and their minions who keep track of people and things that enter and leave the city.
- A city has a center with impressive architecture that affords and/or restricts political, social, and/or ideological activity.
- A city depends on a surplus of foodstuffs that are produced in the related countryside for the benefit of those in the city.
- A city provides certain services and manufactured goods to people in the countryside and receives, through long-distance trade, luxury and utilitarian goods.
- A city promotes a sense of civic identity to the people living in the city and to those in its related hinterland.
- And, a city is characterized by a quality of social drama (to be polite about it) because of the various and competing cultural and economic groups in the city.

Naturally, there may be discontent with the smorgasbord-like “definition” of a city, whose parts are in fact gleaned from thinkers in many fields. Although I may be accused (rightly) of avoiding a single and tidy definition of “the city,” I submit that, *together*, these partial “definitions” are in fact variables in an ideal-typical model (in the Weberian sense) of cities. These variables can structure research. There will be many exceptions and qualifications to these variables. In any case, the search for a definition of early cities so that archaeologists can identify a city, as opposed to other forms of settlement, is a relic of disco-age archaeology. Modern social theory on early cities concerns how cities are structured, what leaders in cities do and also what they do not do, how people in cities worked and worshipped, why many early cities are fragile, resisted incorporation into territorial states, as well as a host of other activities and behaviors that can be studied in light of the variables of urban life that are posited above. The following review of ongoing research on Kanesh highlights the potential utility of the model.

Kanesh is large. It is larger than the city of Assur itself, perhaps much larger (according to Barjamovic and Hertel, this volume). It consists of a citadel, or “upper city,” with “early palaces,” an “administrative building,” then later the major “Warshama palace,” and two temples (Kulakoğlu 2013). Possible domestic structures and workshops remain to be explored. The “lower city,” formerly called the *kārum*, “encircles” or “surrounds the mound,” or

2. I cannot omit the pioneering study by Rivkah Harris (1975) and the newest book by Mario Liverani (2013).

3. See the review of these books by Yoffee (2009).

4. Yoffee in press.

5. The following is taken from Yoffee and Terrenato in press.

citadel, “from the north, east, and south ... in the shape of a crescent” (Kulakoğlu 2013, 40). Michel (this volume and in other essays) considers the *kārum* a socio-legal institution or “corporation” (Veenhof 2013, 35). That is, as Michel, Barjamovic, and Hertel emphasize (in this volume), the lower city includes many Anatolians who were formally not part of the *kārum*. Domestic structures in the lower city were dense (Hertel, this volume) and the extent of occupation seems to have encompassed around two hundred hectares (Barjamovic, this volume). Several tens of thousands of people lived in Kanesh in the early second millennium BCE.

The population of Kanesh was extremely diverse. There are Hattians, Assyrians, Hurrians, Hittites, Luwians, and others (Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen 2011; Michel 2011; Veenhof 2008). Michel (among others) writes about Anatolian merchants and families who lived in mixed residential sectors, how Anatolians learned Assyrian, and about the marriages of Assyrian men and Anatolian women (Michel 2008, 2009, 2013, in press). She has reconstructed sections of Anatolian kinship structures, especially the bilateral pattern of descent and property rights. In divorces, Anatolian women received compensation.

Tahsin Özgüç (1975) famously claimed that only because of the textual sources can one detect different ethnicities at Kanesh, because the material culture of the site does not reveal such social distinctions. However, as Topçuoğlu and Lassen have shown (in this volume), seals clearly show Assyrian as opposed to Anatolian design; furthermore the tablets themselves, inscribed in distinctive Old Assyrian script, are themselves items of material culture. Nevertheless, Özgüç’s observation does highlight an important aspect of the interactions between Assyrians and Anatolians. That is, some Assyrians had Anatolian wives, who used Anatolian cookware, and Anatolian architects were the ones who built Assyrian as well as Anatolian houses. The Assyrians, who were subject to Anatolian rule, in any case, had no interest in demonstrating their Assyrian-ness to Anatolians through their domestic material culture.

It is one of the goals of Atıcı’s zooarchaeological studies (this volume) to explore whether Assyrians and Anatolians had different food preferences. These studies can also contribute to our understanding of waste management in cities, since pigs and dogs would have played a large role in controlling waste.

The countryside of Kanesh consisted of many villages that were part of the hinterland of the city (Kontani et al., this volume). These villages and the agricultural countryside supplied fruits and nuts (Fairbairn, this volume) to Kanesh. A large amount of wood from outside the city was presumably needed to keep the inhabitants of Kanesh warm in winter and for cooking. More research may yield further results of the connection of Kanesh to the countryside. Likewise, a larger sample of material can provide Üstündağ the needed data to discuss health at Kanesh.

Kanesh, in turn, produced metal goods (Lehner, this volume) in workshops in the lower city, and some of these tools must have been used in agricultural tasks. It is not known how these goods were distributed, although the palace clearly had an interest in metallurgy since there was a “chief of the smiths.” Apparently, in the southern section of the lower city, there were “industrial installations” (Hertel, this volume). Early cities characteristically were also centers of ritual and performance, and people from the countryside came to early cities as pilgrims and for festivals and markets. Exploration of open spaces in the upper city might indicate the presence of feasts. Cities were, among other things, arenas of performance (Baines, Stark, and Houston in press).

Finally, studies of urban change at Kanesh are being pursued by the team of Kulakoğlu. Ezer, in this volume, discusses the Early Bronze city of Kanesh, which was important before the second millennium; this was presumably one of the things that attracted Assyrians to the city. Of course, Mesopotamians knew about Anatolia for millennia in prehistoric times as, for example, studies of obsidian distribution have shown. The “Uruk expansion” into Anatolia, and the stories of Sargon’s adventures in the region are also indications of long-standing Mesopotamian–Anatolian relations. Kulakoğlu reviews reasons for the collapse of the city because of tectonic activity, and this research, like the other technical reports in the volume, promises many new and important insights into the city.

In this brief discussion of the essays in this volume, I have, obviously, not attempted to synthesize the studies and have only adumbrated the many and excellent essays of the international mafia of Old Assyrian scholars. These brilliant studies have not only transformed the history of the ancient Near East, but also have forced revision of

the entire field of economic history. Is the Old Assyrian mercantile system a unique case, or is the entrepreneurial nature of trade, in which the state is an interested but not organizing agent, a feature of other periods of Mesopotamian history?

Debate on this last question may or not be resolved on the basis of new discoveries of textual data and/or new studies of existing data. In any event, research on the nature of Kanesh, the city, is certainly going to go forward, and the chapters in this volume are simply the prologue of an exciting future of work at Kültepe. If our understanding of ancient economies has been revolutionized from the study of Old Assyrian texts, research into Kanesh as a city, now with historians and archaeologists working together, is going to deepen significantly our knowledge of how ancient cities worked. This research will influence not only Near Eastern specialists, but also the wide, wonderful world of urban studies.

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