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Palaces at Kaneš during the Old Assyrian Period

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9. Colloquium, Frankfurt am Main 2016

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Der Palast im antiken und islamischen Orient

Herausgegeben von
Dirk Wicke

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Der Palast im antiken und islamischen Orient

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Im Auftrag des Vorstands
der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
herausgegeben von
Dirk Wicke

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Palaces at Kaneš during the Old Assyrian Period

Cécile Michel*

The site of Kültepe, the ancient city of Kaneš, near Kayseri in Anatolia, includes several monumental structures on its mound. Current excavations are concentrated on a large complex that dates to the Early Bronze Age.¹ This contribution focuses on the Middle Bronze Age palaces whose archaeological data were published by T. Özgüç in 1999. Our knowledge on these structures, and especially of the ‘Waršama Palace’, is incomplete because the ruins suffered much during the explorations in the early 20th century and the phase-out period which followed. As a consequence, no complete plan of these buildings is available.

Among the forty cuneiform tablets found on the mound, only a dozen were located near the Old Palace and ‘Waršama Palace’; we do not have any local official archives, if they ever existed. Nevertheless, the numerous tablets, excavated in the houses of the Assyrian merchants who were settled in the lower town, document the Anatolian palace and its administration from an outsider’s point of view.

Reconstructing the organization of the Anatolian palaces requires us to integrate the archaeological remains with the textual data, even though they do not overlap chronologically. After a summary of the history of the excavations on Kültepe mound and the resulting archaeological data for level 8 and 7 palaces, a discussion of the cuneiform tablets excavated on the mound will follow. The study of the tablets unearthed in the merchants’ archives in the lower town show the Anatolian palace both as a building housing the royal couple and its court, but also as a political symbol of royal power. An inventory of about fifty Anatolian officials mentioned in the Old Assyrian tablets provides some insight into the organization of this Anatolian power structure.²

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1 See Kulakoğlu 2015 and 2017.

2 The commercial relationships between the Anatolians and the Assyrians will not be taken into account here since this topic has already been addressed often elsewhere; see the bibliography given by Veenhof 2008, 147–218 and Michel 2014a.

Kültepe Middle Bronze Ages Palaces

The excavators of Kültepe have distinguished eight inhabited levels, from Early Bronze Age to the Roman Empire, on the Kültepe mound. Levels 8 to 6 date to the Middle Bronze Age. The lower town,³ northeast of the mound, has its own stratigraphy (Tab. 1):⁴

Tab. 1: Stratigraphy of Kültepe mound and lower town.

Mound	Lower town	Corresponding periods
10	IV	Second half of the 3 rd mill.
9	III	End of the 3 rd mill.
8	II (OA archives)	Middle 20 th cent. – 19 th cent.
7	Ib (OA archives)	End 19 th cent. – 18 th cent.
6	Ia	Beginning of the 17 th cent.

Monumental buildings on Kültepe mound

Three palaces, dating to Middle Bronze Age, were excavated on the Kültepe mound; only portions of their foundations remain. The Old palace and the palace of the southern terrace, dating to level 8, are poorly preserved. Artifacts discovered in the ‘Waršama Palace’, dating to level 7, provide a glimpse into the organization of this building and the function of some of its rooms.

In his publication of the Kültepe palaces, T. Özgüç provided a detailed description of the previous explorations of the mound.⁵ At the end of the 19th century, several French and German scholars traveled to Kültepe in order to find the source of the cuneiform tablets sold in the antiquities markets. E. Chantre began explorations on the top of the mound in 1893 and 1894; he was followed by W. Belck in 1901, and H. Winckler and H. Grothe in 1906.⁶ B. Hrozný, a scholar from Prague, undertook extensive excavation work on top of the mound in 1925. He hired many workers to dig in the huge square official building of level 7, located in the center of the mound,

³ Until recently, Kültepe lower town has been referred to as “the *kārum*”. However, this designation is incorrect, see Michel 2014a.

⁴ Kulakoğlu 2010, 41.

⁵ Özgüç 1999, 73–77. See also Kulakoğlu / Michel 2015, ix–xi. For a summary of the Kültepe excavations under the direction of T. Özgüç from 1948 to 2005, see Emre 2015.

⁶ Emre 2010.

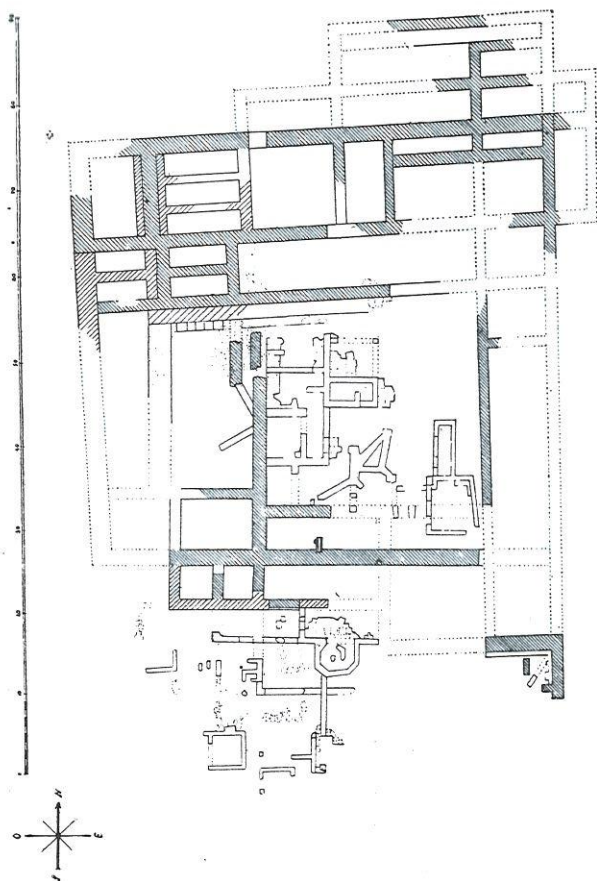


Fig. 1: Plan of Waršama Palace according to B. Hrozný.

in order to find cuneiform tablets. He left Kültepe with a huge hole in the center of this building later to become known as the ‘Waršama Palace’ (Fig. 1).⁷

T. Özgüç first visited Kültepe with his class at the end of the 1930s when he was a student at Ankara University. He came back in 1948, with his wife N. Özgüç, in order to re-open archaeological excavations at the site. Since then, Kültepe has been excavated without interruption until today.⁸ T. Özgüç began work in the lower town and started to excavate on the main mound in 1955, the same year K. Emre, his assistant, joined the team. The newly excavated earth was used to fill up the huge pit left by Hrozný’s workers on the center of the level 7 palace. The mound

7 For visual testimonies of the excavations lead by B. Hrozný on the top of Kültepe mound, see Hrozný 1927; Jean 2001, 96; Özgüç 1999, pl. 3. The orientation of B. Hrozný’s plan does not match the one of T. Özgüç and it is impossible to correlate both plans.

8 In 1951–1952, T. Özgüç was visiting professor in Great Britain; his wife N. Özgüç replaced him on the site in 1951, there was no excavation in 1952.

was excavated, with some interruptions, until 1983, followed by some restorations at the site.⁹ The excavations revealed unknown rooms of level 7 palace, part of the palace of level 8, two identical ‘temples’, a storage building, another monument identified as a palace and few private houses. During all these years and into the first decade of the 2000s, excavations were mainly conducted in the houses of the lower town that produced tablets every year. When F. Kulakoğlu resumed the Kültepe excavations in 2006, and since 2009 he has re-opened new areas on the mound and excavates, exposing an Early Bronze Age monumental building.¹⁰ The history of the archaeological explorations of Kültepe’s mound explains the absence of a complete plan of the Kültepe palace level 7.¹¹

Palaces of level 8

According to the archaeological reports, there were two palaces built on the Kültepe mound level 8, which corresponds to the first phase of the Assyrian merchants’ settlement in the lower town (level II): i.e. the Old Palace and the Palace of the Southern Terrace, both excavated by T. Özgüç.

The Palace of the Southern Terrace includes a long corridor, which was covered by wooden planks and paved with large stones.¹² This corridor leads to a paved court and allows access to service and store rooms. The living areas were also located on the same level. It is almost impossible to reconstruct the relationship between this building and the Old Palace.

The Old Palace is located below the ‘Waršama Palace’ of level 7 and was damaged by its foundations, by the mound’s wall, and by B. Hrozný’s trenches.¹³ Only part of it has been exposed. It forms a complex made of several sectors: its main entrance facing south. There are two large halls in the north (1–2) that, with their adjacent rooms, would form the administrative sector. A fibula with a lion’s head was unearthed in the southern wing; it was presumably imported from Syria, perhaps from Ebla. According to textual data, merchants from Ebla visited Kaneš.¹⁴

9 Özgüç 1986 and 1999.

10 Ezer 2014 and Kulakoğlu 2017. F. Kulakoğlu also opened new areas in the highest sector of the lower town and discovered a necropolis dated to the Old Assyrian (19th–18th centuries), Hellenistic, and Roman periods (3rd century BCE–5th century CE), see Üstündağ 2014.

11 Özgüç 1999, plans 2 and 4.

12 Özgüç 1999, 106–116; Kulakoğlu 2010, 41.

13 Özgüç 1999, 95–105.

14 Bilgiç 1992; ATHE 32 (Michel 2001, no. 70); Kt 88/k 525:5–6, Daknišar *Eb-la-im*.

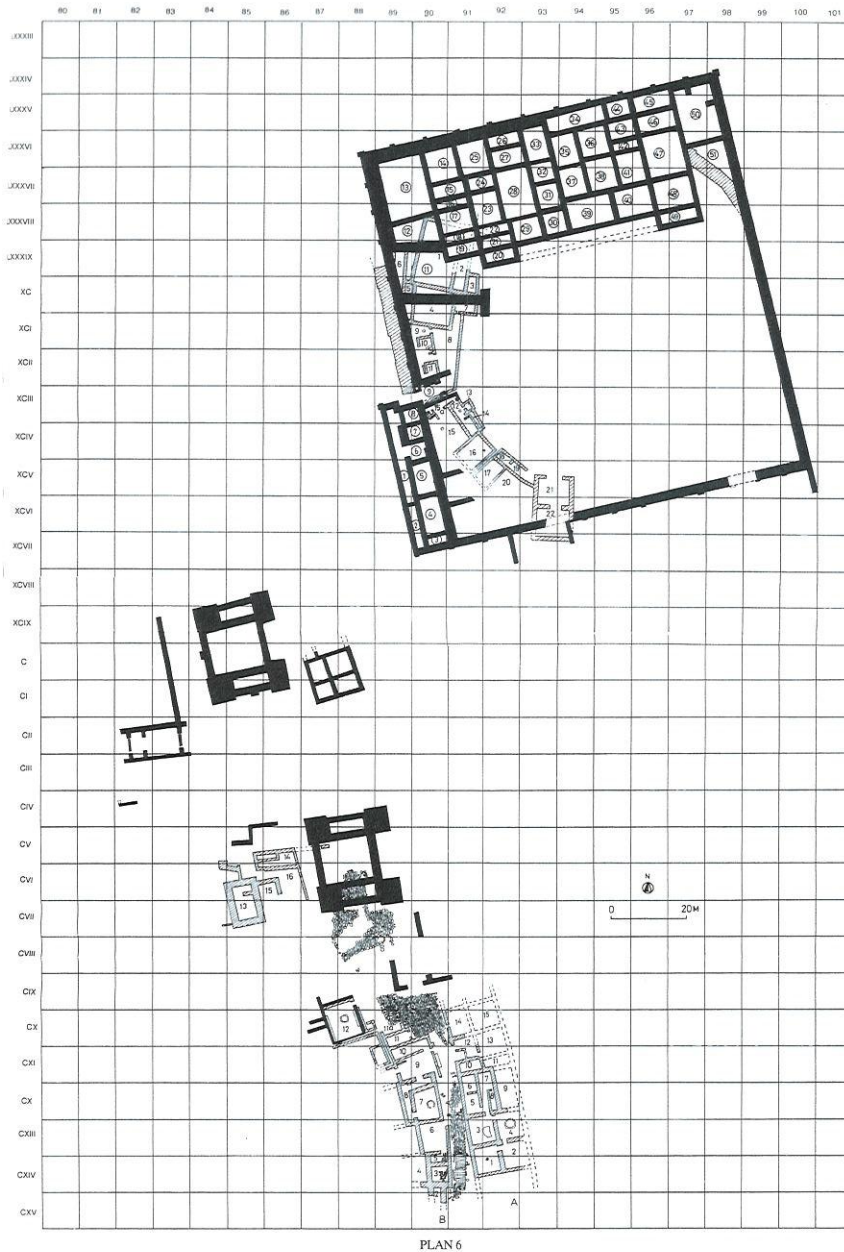


Fig. 2: Plan of Kültepe mound according to Özgüç 1999, plan 6.

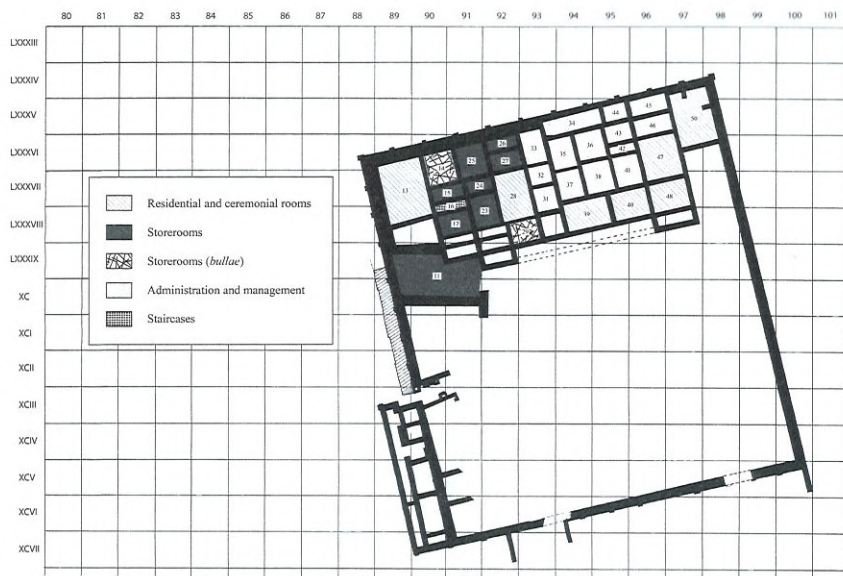


Fig. 3: Sectors of the Waršama-Palace, based on Özgüç 1999, plan 6.

The palace of level 7

The palace dated to level 7, contemporaneous to the lower town level Ib, was built over the ruins of the Old Palace. In the shape of a square of 110 m per side, it covered more than one hectare and contained about sixty rooms.¹⁵ Today, only the foundation walls of this palace remain. This building was designated the ‘Waršama Palace’ because a letter sent to this king by Anum-Īrbi of Mama, was discovered west of this building, in the debris of the northern wall of the entrance gate.¹⁶ The main door was controlled by two stone towers with adjacent rooms. South of the entrance, there was a two meters high postern. There were buttresses every seven meters along the entire circumference of the palace wall.

The palace rooms were likely arranged around a large central court.¹⁷ A staircase located on the north-west corner suggests the existence of an upper floor. The building was emptied completely before being destroyed by fire; this would explain the absence of any artefacts. Even though not much is left from this building, T. Özgüç

¹⁵ Indeed, the 42 excavated rooms in its northern part cover only one third of the complete surface of the building, see Özgüç 1999, 79–94; Özgüç 2003, 187–192; Kulakoğlu 2010, 41.

¹⁶ Balkan 1957; Michel 2001, no. 62.

¹⁷ The existence of a central court is suggested by the plan published by Hrozný 1927, 3, see fig. 1.

proposed a division of the rooms according to their functions.¹⁸ Because of the presence of bullae and storage jars, the majority of the excavated rooms were interpreted as storerooms to stock imported merchandise, to control and weigh it in order to levy taxes.

In the north wing, for which we have a plan, we expect to find the residential quarters and separate rooms reserved for ceremonies (13, 28, 39–40, 47–48 and 50; see Fig. 3). These rooms are dispersed and their identifications seem to rely on their large size. There was presumably a group of storerooms north-west of the palace (11, 15, 17, 23–27, 46). Room 11 contained bullae which were attached to the necks of jars, and in rooms 24 and 25, large rows of jars were found. Perhaps one should add to these storerooms the spaces 14 and 29 where bullae were also found. Rooms used for administration and management were located between the storerooms and the area reserved to ceremonies (31–38, 41–46). Golden objects were found in rooms 33 and 34 and a serpentine weight was unearthed in room 44. The little space 16 was a staircase leading to the residential area of the king and his family on the upper floor. In the west wing, we find a series of six rooms and a long corridor, all of which were built into the fortification of the mound. All these identifications remain very tentative since only one third of the building is uncovered, and there is no evidence for the circulation pattern between rooms: almost no doors are marked on the plan published by T. Özgüç.¹⁹

Textual data on the Anatolian palace

The majority of texts documenting the Anatolian palace was written by Assyrians and concern mainly their trade activities. Thus our documentation is Assyrian oriented, fragmentary, and only partly reliable.

Tablets unearthed on Kültepe mound

Very few tablets were found on the mound: only 40 among the 22500 tablets excavated at Kültepe.²⁰ These, scattered all over the area, belong to levels 8 and 7, and very few were found in the ruins of the palaces (Tab. 2).²¹ Among these, we find the letter sent by Anum-hirbi, ruler of Mama, to Waršama, king of Kaneš (Kt g/k 35),²² a list of forty persons belonging to the service of the *rabi simmiltim*,

18 Özgüç 1999, 81–90.

19 Özgüç 1999, plans 2 and 4.

20 In 1994, T. Özgüç entrusted me with photos of the mound tablets, and I wrote for him a report on what was readable on the photos. Most of these tablets remain unpublished.

21 Donbaz 1998; Özgüç 1999, 93, 103, 114; Michel 2003, 115–116; Michel 2006, 444; Michel 2011a; Michel 2011c, 430; Michel 2015, 548.

22 Balkan 1957; Michel 2001, no. 62.

Tab. 2: Tablets discovered on Kültepe mound (in bold, those found in the ruins of the palace).

Year	Text (Kt)	Content	Area of discovery	Publication
1955	g/t 35	Letter from Anum-hirbi of Mama to Waršama of Kaneš	debris of the N. wall of Waršama Palace door	Balkan 1957
	g/t 36	List of 40 persons from the service of the <i>rabi simmiltim</i>	debris of the N. wall of Waršama Palace door	Bilgiç 1964, no. 1
	g/t 42 + z/t 11	Lists officials of the palace and of workers	debris of the N. wall of Waršama Palace door	Günbattı 1987 Kulakoğlu / Kangal 2010, no. 415
	g/t 43	Fragment of a letter?		Donbaz 1998, 415
	g/t 44	Fragment (level 8)		Balkan 1957
1956	h/t 330	Slave purchase contract	From a temple	Bilgiç 1964, no. 3
	h/t 331	Letter from Madinaša to Iddin-Aššur	From a temple	
	h/t 332	Payment of copper and tin, witnesses	From a temple	
1959	k/t 114 k/t 116	Testimony before the <i>kārum</i> Kaneš		
1961	m/t 153	Personal account		
1962	n/t 2100 n/t 2101	Adoption		Donbaz 1998, 416
1963	o/t 1	Letter From Aššur-mu[xx] to [NP ₁ , NP ₂]		

Year	Text (Kt)	Content	Area of discovery	Publication
1964	p/t 1	Letter from Iddin-abum to Iddin-Dagan		
1966	s/t 91	Fragment of a letter		
	s/t 92	Fragment with Anatolian names		Donbaz 1993, 132
1968	t/t 81	Agreement between ruler and merchants		
	t/t 82	Mention of a letter sent by Hurrama's ruler		
1971	y/t 1			
	y/t 2			
	y/t 3			
	y/t 4			
	y/t 5	Grain loan		Donbaz 1998, 417
	y/t 8	Note concerning textiles		Donbaz 1998, 417
1972	z/t 11+	See g/t 42		
	z/t 12	Fragment (copper)		
	z/t 13	Goods for Aššur	fortifications Old Palace	
	z/t 14	Silver and grain loan	room Old Palace	Donbaz 1998, 417
	z/t 16	Fragment	room Old Palace	
	z/t 17	Loan envelope, sealing	debris Old Palace	Donbaz 1998, 418
	z/t 18	Loan envelope		
	z/t 19	Envelope, sealing	debris Old Palace	
		Envelope, sealing (Ib)	W. wall Waršama Palace	

Year	Text (Kt)	Content	Area of discovery	Publication
1972	z/t 21	Envelope, sealing	debris Old Palace	
	z/t 22	Envelope, sealing	debris Old Palace	
1974	74/t 12	Loan?		
	74/t 14	Silver loan		
1981	81/t 150	Fragment of silver loan		
1982	82/t (1)51	Letter from Laqēp, Ennānum and Puzur-Aššur to Abila		
1985	85/t 17	Contract involving Anatolians		

the second highest official of the Anatolian state, who could, in some circumstances, be identified with the Crown Prince, and a list of officials and workers of the palace.²³

These tablets were discovered in the debris of the entrance gate wall of the ‘Waršama Palace’. The lists of officials provide the names of about twenty villages belonging to the territory of Kaneš.²⁴ Among the other tablets, whose exact provenance is partly uncertain, we find an agreement between the king and merchants (Kt t/t 81).

The other tablets unearthed on the mound are similar to those found in the lower town private houses, referring to transactions between Assyrians and Anatolians.

Tablets from the lower town documenting Anatolian palaces and rulers

The 22,460 tablets excavated in the lower town form the archives of the Assyrian merchants settled there. These tablets concern the long distance trade initiated by Aššur inhabitants with central Anatolia and occasionally mention the relationships between the Assyrian merchants and the local power. 22,000 of these tablets date to level II of the lower town (19th century BCE), which corresponds to level 8 of the mound, and only 460 tablets date to level Ib (18th century BCE), thus contemporaneous to the ‘Waršama Palace’, the best preserved of Kültepe palaces. These archives are private and belong predominantly to the Assyrian foreigners, they thus present a one-sided view on the local authorities and politics.

²³ Bilgiç 1964; Günbattı 1987.

²⁴ Forlanini 1992, 175–176; Dercksen 2004; Dercksen 2008; Michel 2011a.

Tab. 3: Mentions of palaces and rulers in relation to towns in texts from levels II and Ib.

	Level II		Level Ib	
	Palace	King/Queen	Palace	King/Queen
Amkuwa		×		×
Batna		×		×
Buruddum	×			
Burušhattum ²⁹	×	×		
Durhumit ³⁰	×	×		
Eluhhut	×			
Hattuš		×		
Hurrama	×	×		
Kaneš	×	×		×
Kuburnat		×		
Kuššara		×		
Luhusaddia	×	×		×
Mamma		×		×
Nenašša	×	×		
Nihria	×	×		
Šalahšuwa			×	×
Šamuha	×			
Šinahuttum		×		
Tawinia	×	×		
Tegarama				
Timilkiya		×		×
Tišmurna	×			
Tuhpiya		×		
Ulama		×		
Wahšušana	×	×		
Wašhania	×	×		
(Northern) Zalpa	×			
(Southern) Zalpa	×			

25 Garelli 1989.

26 Michel 1991.

Assyrians use generally only one word to refer to both the authority and the place from which it exercises power: *ekallum*, ‘the palace’, refers to the building in which one enters and deposits merchandise, and the power exercised from there by the local ruler.²⁷ As a consequence, the palace is often personalized: “Here, we consulted the palace and he said as followed (...).”²⁸ Behind the word ‘palace’ hides the king, the royal couple, or eventually high officials: “We went up several times to the palace, but the rulers keep us waiting as they can.”²⁹

Anatolian palaces and rulers in the Old Assyrian archives

Old Assyrian texts mention palaces in about fifteen towns for the 19th century.³⁰ The references to Anatolian towns reflects naturally the activity zone of the Assyrians, thus a large part of central and eastern Anatolia. For the following 18th century, the palace of Šalahšuwa is, hitherto, the only one mentioned.

In addition, an Anatolian king (*rubā’um*), a queen (*rubātum*) or a royal couple are attested in about twenty towns for the 19th century BCE.³¹ For the 18th century, kings are attested in half a dozen of towns (Tab. 3).

The presence of a king in these towns implies the existence of a palace, or at least of a large house. All these palaces are rarely mentioned; moreover, the attestation of a palace in a text cannot be systematically linked to a specific town.

The Anatolian palace

The Building

The palace as a building is rarely attested.³² It was located on a height, as in Kaneš, where it was built on the top of the mound. Thus, people and merchandise went up to the palace and came back down: “21 textiles went up to the palace, thereof the palace took 12 textiles as import tax (...) When the textiles came down from

27 Michel 2011a; 2014b.

28 ATHE 63:11–13: *a-[na-kam]*, (erasure) *é-gal^{lum}₅, ni-iš-al-ma um-ma šu-ut-/ma*.

29 CCT 4 30a:5–7 (Michel 2001, no. 98): *a-na é-gal^{lim}, né-ta-na-li-ma ru-ba-ú, ki-ma : i-ta-pu-lim : i-ta-na-p[u]-lu-ni-a-ti*.

30 Veenhof 2008, 154–155; Barjamovic 2011; Michel 2011a.

31 Note that an Anatolian king could also be referred to by a nisbe, as Wahšušanaium, ‘the Man of Wahšušana’. Such references are included in Tab. 3. A queen is mentioned in the towns of Amkuwa and Kaneš.

32 Note that *ekallum* ‘palace’, is also occasionally used to refer to the main room of a house (CCT 3. 14:9–10, 26–27).

the palace (...),³³ or “I went up to the palace, (the authorities) have examined your messages.”³⁴

Specific transactions took place at the entrance gate of the palace; the chief of the guards (*rabi maššartim*) performed his function there.³⁵ There exist no data on the internal structure of the palace and the disposal of the rooms, but texts mention storage areas for merchandises. In the administrative sector, the tin was weighed, and the textiles were controlled and stored until the import tax was levied. The palace included strong rooms, which were sealed (*maknakum*). The king’s treasure was stored in these strong rooms, but one could also find some merchandise there: “Heaven forbid that you make demands to the palace concerning the sealed room of the palace.”³⁶ Some letters mention a prison; it might have been located within the walls of the palace, although no actual evidence exists for it: “The palace seized Pūšu-kēn and threw him in jail! Guards have been re-enforced.”³⁷

A letter alludes to the destruction of a palace by fire in an unknown town: “Here, fire has consumed the palace and (this) has upset the royal court, it is not the right moment that I ask the *rabi sikkitim* for the silver. The man has spent his silver for the country. I will come and see you personally. As soon as the country is at peace again, I will bring along five textiles of royal quality, and I will enter (into audience) together with the messengers of the *kārum*. And because of the 5 textiles that I will bring him, the man will be put to shame and I will get back my silver.”³⁸ It is difficult to know if the destruction of the palace by fire was the cause or the consequence of the troubles in the country. The damages were important and the reparations expensive.

The palace could suffer other damages. Some Assyrian merchants explain to their correspondent that because of a hole in the palace wall, any negotiation with the Anatolian authorities is suspended: “Until the breach (in the wall) is widely open, the affair occupies the whole men’s attention for at least three days. Because of this, for three days we remained silent toward the men.”³⁹

33 CCT 3, 28b:6–11 (Michel 2001, no. 74): 21 túg^{hi-a} : a-na, é-gal^{lim} : e-li-ú-ma, šà-ba 12 túg ni-is-ha-tim, é-gal^{lim} : il₅-qé ... ki-ma túg^{hi-a}, i-na é-gal^{lim}, ur-dá-ni-ni.

34 AKT 1, 78:3–5 (Michel 2001, no. 100): a-na é-gal^{lim}, e-li-ma : té-i-ra-ti-kà : a-du-ú-ma.

35 Kt 87/k 447:4–6 (courtesy K. Hecker): a-na ba-ab, é-gal^{lim} a-na šé-er : gal ma-ša-ar-tim, a-ra-bi-iš-ma.

36 CCT 4, 7c:4–6: a-sú-re-e, a-na ma-ak-na-ki-im ša é-gal, é-gal^{lim} e i-té-ri-iš.

37 ATHE 62:31–33 (Michel 2001, no. 207): Pu-šu-ke-en₆ : é-gal^{lim} iš-ba-at-ma, a-na ki-šé-er-ši-im i-dì ma-ša-ra-tum¹, da-na.

38 BIN 6, 23:5–22 (Michel 2001, no. 69): a-na-kam : é-gal^{lim} i-ša-tum, e-ku-ul-ma : li-bi₄ ša-ru-tim, i-ša-ba-at-ma : lá na-ṭù-ma kù-babbar, [g]al sí-ki-tim : lá e-ri-iš, a-wi-lum : kù-babbar^{ap}-šu, a-na ma-tim : ig-da-ma-ar, lá-li-kà-ma, e-né-ka : la-mu-ur, ú a-dí : ma-tum, i-ša-li-mu, túg^{ba-ti} 5 ša ša-ru-tim, lá-ni-iš-a-ma iš-tí, ší-íp-ri : ša kà-ri-im, le-ru-ba-ma : a-wi-lum, i-na túg^{ba-ti} 5 ša a-na-šif-ú-šu-ni, i-ba-áš-ma /kù-babbar^{pi}, a-ša-la-ah.

39 BIN 4, 77:7–16 (Michel 2001, no. 71): a-dí, 3 u₄-me a-wi-lu, a-dí : pí-it-qú-um, ša é-gal^{lim}, pá-ti-ú : a-wa-tum, li-ba-áš-nu, ú-kà-al-ma, a-ší-a-tí : a-dí 3 u₄-me, a-na a-wi-li, ni-iš-tù-pu : iš-tí, pá-nim-ma : za-ku-sà, i-lá-kà-kum.

Size of the building and its population

Textual sources provide very few data on the political structure, the size and the economic importance of the different Anatolian centers.⁴⁰ Allusions to the Anatolian elite, i.e. kings and high palace officials with whom the Assyrians negotiated, are also exceptional. These officials could be referred to by the general term, *te'erātum*, in the expression: “the palace and its officials”.⁴¹ The palace represented indeed a center of power and the residence of the king. The palace of Kaneš, whose surface inside the walls is estimated at 1.32 ha,⁴² could house a significant number of persons. Besides the king who exercised his power from the palace, the court, and an important number of domestic personnel, as a center of the Anatolian administration, the palace might also have housed some of the king's high officials.⁴³

Anatolian officials

We know about fifty titles of Anatolian officials. This important number indicates that the Anatolian administration was quite well developed.⁴⁴ Titles are usually constructed with the word *rabi*, “head, chief”, followed by a substantive referring to the concerned sector. These titles are translations in the Old Assyrian dialect of Anatolian concepts and some of them might be misleading. Others have titles borrowed from the Hurrian language. In general, there are very few data on the activities of any of these officials. It is however possible to distinguish the higher officials, those who had presumably direct contact with the king, from the others, who can be grouped according to the various sectors of the Anatolian palatial economy.

In the texts from level II, these individuals, when mentioned in letters, represent the palace administration. When they appear in contracts, they act as clients or debtors of the Assyrian merchants. In Ib texts, they occur mainly as witnesses in legal texts involving Anatolians; however, the mention of their titles does not indicate that they are cited in an official capacity. At the top of the hierarchy, the *rabi simmiltim*, literally ‘the chief of the stairway’, could sometimes correspond to the Crown Prince. Among the high officials are also:⁴⁵

40 It is, for example, difficult to estimate the size and population of the kingdom of Kaneš, which included the town itself, and some ten to twenty surrounding villages that provided cereals to the inhabitants of the mound and of the lower city. Recent estimations suggest that during level II, the population of Kaneš amounted to 25,000 or 30,000 people, see Dercksen 2008; Barjamovic 2014; Hertel 2014.

41 WAG 48–1465:5': *a-na té-ra-at é-gal^{lim}; te'ertum* is used for *bēl te'ertim*.

42 Özgüç 2003, 187–192.

43 However, there is no clear reference to this.

44 Veenhof 2008, 219–245; Michel 2011a.

45 Michel 2014, 119–122.

- the *rabi sikkitim* supervising the ‘chief of the troupes,’ *rabi ummanāti*, and coordinating the trade with the Assyrians,
- the ‘chief of storehouses,’ *rabi huršātīm*, in charge of the palace storerooms,
- the majordomo, *rabi bētīm*, at the head of the palatial domain,
- the ‘second in command,’ *šinahilum*, and the steward, *alahhinnum*,⁴⁶
- the ‘chief of the gate,’ *rabi abullātīm* and the ‘chief of the gatekeepers,’ *rabi ūtu’ē*, in charge of the palace gates, with the help of the ‘chief of the guards,’ *rabi mašsarātīm*.

Those who served close to the king were presumably the ‘chief scepter bearer,’ *rabi haṭṭīm*, the ‘chief cupbearer,’ *rabi šāqē*, and the ‘chief of tables,’ *rabi paššūrē*, in charge of the palace kitchens. In addition, there were the ‘chief vizier,’ *rabi šukkalim*, the ‘chief of heralds,’ *rabi nāgirē*, the ‘chief of messengers,’ *rabi lāsīmē*, and the ‘chief of interpreters,’ *rabi targumannē*. The interpreters were employed by the administration within the frame of the commercial and diplomatic relationships between the Anatolian palaces and the office of the *kārum*.⁴⁷

Palace workers

In addition to the officials (*awīlē*, ‘men’), the palace dependents included ‘workers’ *šābē* and ‘slaves’ *urdē*. The workers, under the command of the ‘chief of the workers,’ *rabi šābē/šābim*, lived outside of the palace. They were dispatched in various capacities, each of these headed by a chief (metal workers producing arms, textile workers, etc.). The palace land and herds were exploited under the direction of various chiefs corresponding to the production of a certain type of food product, or to animals (barley, flax, oil, vegetables, wine, wood, horses, mules, sheep,⁴⁸ etc.). The surplus produced by the land and herds of the palace was sold under the authority of the ‘chief of the market,’ *rabi mahīrim*.

46 Dercksen 2007, 37–38.

47 Anatolian officials linked to the religious domain are rarely mentioned because they have less contact with the Assyrians (‘chief of oblates,’ *rabi šarīqē*; ‘chief of offerings,’ *rabi niqē*). The palace officials received from the royal domains or villages as gifts that they can sell, or as compensation against a service obligation (*arhalum*), see Dercksen 2004, 140–147.

48 Michel 2011b.

Conclusion

The size and internal organization of the Middle Bronze Age ‘Waršama Palace’ at Kaneš suggest the existence of a complex structure within the Anatolian authorities, which is corroborated by the numerous titles of officials working for the palace.⁴⁹ Such a structure developed without recourse to writing. It is however documented indirectly by the archives of the Assyrian merchants. The resulting image is both partial and trade-oriented. Indeed, the Anatolian palace appears above all as an economic center, which is associated closely with the Assyrian merchant organization.

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⁴⁹ Most of the textiles exported by the Assyrian merchants to Anatolia were intended for the local elite, see Michel 2014.

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