

# The Kingdom and Period of Khana<sup>1</sup>

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*For a number of years before the discovery of Mari, the tablets of Khana were the only cuneiform texts from Syria known to Assyriologists. Incremented considerably in number by the ongoing excavations at Terqa, they shed light on an important period of ancient Syrian history, corresponding to the Late Old Babylonian period. But more important than the philological construct conveyed by the Khana tablets is the historical construct of the kingdom of Khana, of which first Mari and then Terqa was the capital. This article outlines the unique and hitherto unrecognized geopolitical configuration of the region of Khana, and it shows why Khana after the fall of Mari did not become a petty local kingdom. Documentation is given for a proposed sequential order of the 11 kings who ruled Khana in the second quarter of the second millennium B.C., based on stratigraphic and textual considerations. Finally, a case is made for a pattern of urban-rural interaction, that was unique to Khana society within the whole ancient Near East.*

## THE TABLETS

Tablet for tablet, the epigraphic harvest in Syrian archaeology has been extraordinary; Mari, Ugarit, and Ebla are the key points of reference. Not only are the size and archaeological setting of those archives unique in each case; they are also astonishingly complementary in their cultural and linguistic import. In contrast with eastern Mesopotamia, these epigraphic finds come primarily from palace archives, recovered in fairly recent years. The 50th anniversary of the discovery of Mari has only recently been celebrated. Thus, the philological study of western cuneiform is relatively young, compared to the almost century-and-a-half of the study of eastern cuneiform.

It is in this perspective that the so-called Khana documents acquire special significance. The Khana documents came to scholarly attention during the first part of the 20th century as a steady trickle of finds and acquisitions. In fact, the first Khana tablet was published in 1897 (*GC* 1,1).<sup>\*</sup> This ~~may~~ <sup>is</sup> be the first document to mention both Khana and Terqa. But it is also the first published cuneiform tablet found in Syria.<sup>2</sup> Thus, long before excavations started at Terqa, the site produced the first epigraphic discovery of Syrian archaeology. This discovery has gone unnoticed in part because the

text was acquired through purchase and because it was published with a group of Babylonian texts.

Several other texts of the same type were published subsequently. Many of them were contracts; they shared some special characteristics and they all came from Syria or, more precisely, from Khana, as indicated by the titles of the kings mentioned in the texts. Though relatively few, the texts were unusual enough in both content and origin to gain the interest of a number of scholars, an interest that led eventually to one of those curious archaeological ventures of years past. Thureau-Dangin, who published the first Khana text in 1897, ~~had~~ <sup>knew of</sup> several more unpublished tablets of the same type when he decided to excavate at Terqa, the site from which most, if not all, of the tablets were supposed to have come. He teamed up not with an archaeologist, but with another philologist, Paul Dhorme, and with the French Foreign Legion (the Earthwatch of the time!). For five days they dug at Terqa, going through a deposit some 18 m thick to reach virgin soil, but they found no tablets. Thureau-Dangin's involvement with Terqa gave rise to one of those rare pages of philological poetry to appear in the journal *Syria*: "We will always have in our mind

<sup>\*</sup>The abbreviations and the publications to which they refer are listed at the beginning of the bibliography.

that deep and sparkling sky of the Euphrates and the Tigris, those constellations which trace, through their golden impression, the mythical images and fantastic animals the Babylonians saw in them, and whose names are so familiar to us" (Thureau-Dangin and Dhorme 1924: 293).

On that note the early chapter on the Khana tablets ended. The disappointment of Thureau-Dangin's expedition and especially the discovery of Mari, which came right afterward, gave a new dimension to Syrian cuneiform philology. But nonetheless, for some 30 years the Khana tablets had been the major body of tablets from Syria. Their significance is due to more than the fact that they came from what corresponds to the territory of modern Syria. The tablets of Khana were significant to Thureau-Dangin, as they are to us, because they represent a modern philological construct, because they stem from a distinctive, ancient political unity—the kingdom of Khana—and because they cover the period from about 1750 B.C. to somewhere in the 16th century B.C., a time span that otherwise is little documented. The discovery of Mari, which understandably pushed Terqa completely into the background, has in reality added further significance to Terqa and its kingdom: the kingdom of Khana was the successor to Mari and it continued as a major independent political unit that controlled essentially the lower basin of the Khabur and the corresponding portion of the middle Euphrates. Thus Khana is more than a small collection of tablets, it is an important territorial region and chronological segment of ancient Syro-Mesopotamian history.

Our excavations have added a total of almost 150 tablets and fragments to the 22 Khana tablets known up to 1976. Thirty-two of them have been published (*TPR* 4, *TPR* 7, *TFR* 1, *CMT* 1) and almost all of those belong to the Khana period. The remaining tablets also include several documents from the periods of Zimri-Lim and the *shakkanakku*. In light of the major finds at Mari, as well as the finds at Terqa,<sup>3</sup> and as a result of a fuller understanding of the historical development of the region, we can now speak of Khana not only as a philological entity, but as a full-fledged historical reality.<sup>4</sup>

### THE REGION

The region known as Khana—the region of which Mari and Terqa were successively the capi-

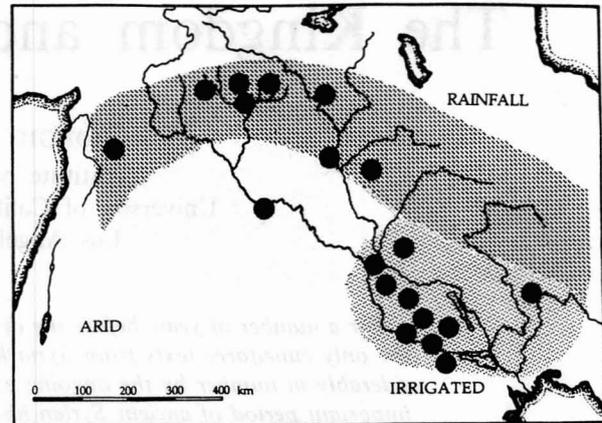


Fig. 1. Syro-Mesopotamia: regional patterns of water access.

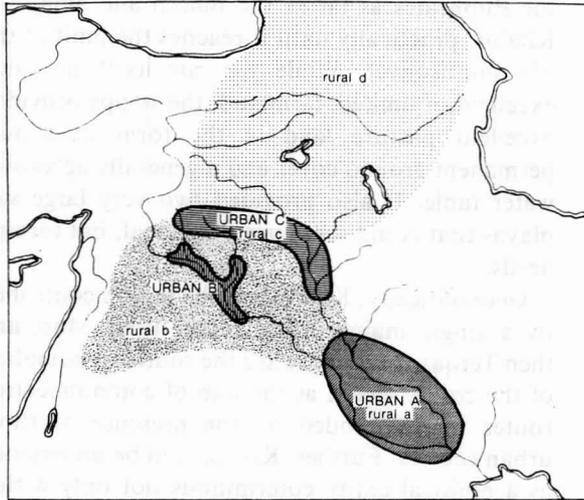
tals<sup>5</sup>—was distinct in geographical and geopolitical terms. At first glance, the "region" does not appear to have a separate geographical identity. Although one can clearly perceive that it is different from the south in geomorphological terms (the south is a broad alluvial plain, while the middle Euphrates is not), this region is viewed essentially as a northern extension of the irrigated south with rivers, canals, and steppe playing equal roles. The real situation, however, is quite different. The river has cut a deep trough that is too narrow to allow the development of vast irrigated areas like those in the south, and the steppe is inaccessible for large-scale irrigation, except for minor and ephemeral wadis and the very limited area served by a few oases. The climate, on the other hand, is similar to that in the south, and, like the south, this region gets an annual rainfall of less than the 250 mm necessary for dry farming (fig. 1). ~~The~~ effective amount should, in fact, be considered as 200 mm (Oates and Oates 1976: 114). Since there are no other natural resources, this region of the middle Euphrates seems to have the worst of both worlds—not enough water from the sky, and too little land to enable inhabitants to take advantage of the water from the river.

The disadvantages give the region its geographical characteristics, and gave it a unique geopolitical configuration in the past. At any time the entire area could only support a single major urban center—from Mari, Terqa, or Dura-Europos in succession in antiquity to Der ez-Zor in modern times: the relative proximity of major urban centers is much higher in both the alluvial south and the rain-fed north (fig. 1).

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**Fig. 2.** Rural and urban zones in Syro-Mesopotamia (third to early second millennium). Environmental zones: A-arid, irrigable; B-arid, irrigable in narrow strip only; C-rainfed, rolling plains; D-rainfed, mountainous.

Yet the area responds to the challenge in classical Toynbeean terms. Human intervention on the landscape was much more decisive and wide-ranging than is generally recognized, and as a result a distinctive geopolitical entity emerged, which identified itself precisely as "Khana." In the process, the people responsible for that transformation were able to reap considerable economic advantages from an otherwise barren environment. At the same time, they brought about a major sociotechnical revolution, largely ignored in our accepted historical reconstructions: the industrialization of the steppe and the concomitant development of pastoral nomadism.

The nature of those events is described elsewhere (see n. 1, particularly the second article) and needs only to be summarized here. The rural classes who inhabited the irrigated trough of the middle Euphrates and lower Khabur (*ah Purattim* in Akkadian and *zor* in Arabic) discovered that they could harness the steppe for their herds by developing a network of wells. Initially, the need for the wells was stimulated by the need to secure adequate pasture for the herds, which could not graze in the alluvial trough during the fall through spring growing season, when it was under cultivation. But since the ground cover is sufficient for pasture even in summer, the development of watering points effectively meant that the herds and their shepherds could use the steppe for as long as

they wanted throughout the year (except when protracted drought lowered the water table). That gave the rural populations of the *zor* an independence from state controls that no other rural population enjoyed in Mesopotamia (below). The state had no direct interest in controlling the steppe militarily or otherwise, and it appears from the textual evidence that all the contacts between the state and the shepherds took place in the *zor* (fig. 2). That was the logical policy since the herders used the steppe as needed but otherwise remained essentially homebound in the *zor*. This policy began to founder when the herders developed political muscle, as it were, and opted not to return to their home bases, thus avoiding taxation and conscription. To the extent that they could remain in the steppe, the state was powerless to control them. That period may have seen the birth of full-scale pastoral nomadism; the texts of Mari documented not a process of sedentarization or of conflict between nomads and sedentaries, but rather a process of selective nomadization of the rural class of the *zor*.<sup>6</sup>

The newly developed means of exploiting the high steppe on either side of the *zor* gave the region an immense economic resource, one that provided the single urban center in the *zor* (Mari first, then Terqa) with vast capital for ~~exportation~~ exploitation. Thus Mari (and Terqa) controlled perhaps the largest territorial hinterland of any city-based state in the third and early second millennia, at least in the sense that no other major urban center ever developed within their boundaries (see below). If we consider this hinterland an unexploitable steppe, its significance is obviously nil. But once we recognize its potential—and actual—exploitation in terms of incipient pastoralism, specifically in the form of an agropastoralism that originated under state controls, then our ~~viewpoint~~ perspective changes.

We may presume that another major resource—salt—was available in this region and that it was exploited for commercial uses. Qraya may have developed during the protoliterate period because of the need to supply salt to the large urban areas of the north, such as Tell Brak and Hamukar (note 1, article 1). Salt was available in the Sumerian south but not in the north during the early period. But we may assume that salt procurement also was important in the period of Mari and Terqa as well, when both the playas of Bouara in the Jazira and those near Palmyra may have been exploited by the urban state that had

exploitation

perspective

developed in the *zor*. Except for the salt playas in the Jabbul, in fact, these are the largest sources of salt in Syria and therefore they would have been of critical importance for the development of the large urban settlements to the north. (For a major recent study on salt procurement in ancient Mesopotamia see Potts 1984.)

Yet another element of great significance in establishing the economic role of the Khana region was its centrality in the developing network of overland routes. Their location at or near the mouth of the Khabur makes both Terqa and Mari key places in the roads linking the south with the north along the Khabur and with the northwest along the Euphrates. Similarly, the taming of the steppe by the developing class of agropastoralists opened a new overland route to the west along the foothills of the Bishri and the Shaar mountains, over the main oasis of Palmyra but also over the network of wells that alone could make organized travel by donkey possible. Also significant is the fact that effective large scale shipment of goods along the southern course of the Euphrates probably would have been impossible without the presence of a major urban center in the location of Terqa and Mari. From this perspective we may also understand the position of the two cities vis-à-vis the rest of their territory: they are located closer to the southern border because they control both the access of goods from the Khabur—at Terqa, 10 kilometers below its confluence with the Euphrates—and the navigation along the Euphrates and its canals—at Mari, at the southernmost end of the canal network. (Geyer [in press] presents a very interesting discussion of the ~~Nahrwan~~ canal, which is presumed to have been dug primarily for navigation rather than for irrigation.) Not far south of Mari, the *zor* becomes constricted into a much narrower trough that leaves no room for canals for either navigation or irrigation and hence no room for full-fledged urban centers all the way to Rapiqum and Sippar. Therefore Mari was in an ideal position to exact taxation on river commerce, since all river channels converged there, just as Terqa controlled not only the confluence of the Khabur into the Euphrates but also the midpoint or the beginning of some of the canals.

Geographically, then, Khana consisted of the "river oasis" or alluvial trough (*zor*) of the middle Euphrates and lower Khabur, and the seemingly limitless steppe on either side. The *zor* effectively ends just below Mari, but it extends north along

the Euphrates as far as the Balikh and along the Khabur practically until it reaches the limit of the 250 mm isohyet. While the *zor* itself provided excellent, if limited, farmland, the steppe provided excellent pasture land in the form of almost permanent ground cover and a generally accessible water table. It also provided two very large salt playas that could serve not only local, but foreign needs.

Geopolitically, Khana was the region controlled by a single major urban center (first Mari and then Terqa), located toward the southern boundary of the *zor*; it served as the hub of communication routes that depended on the presence of those urban centers. Further, Khana is to be understood as a political entity coterminous not only with a specific and geographically discrete territory, but also with a given population that had developed a sense of ethnic affinity and solidarity (see note 1, particularly the second article). The "Khaneans," as they called themselves, are probably the original rural population; they underwent a process of transformation by taking to the steppe in a semi-organized way, while fully retaining their association with the farmland, and eventually the urban centers, in the *zor*.

#### THE KINGDOM

After the initial period of interest for the Khana tablets, when they represented the only sizable cuneiform corpus from Syria itself, attention was understandably deflected to Mari and its incomparable epigraphic finds. From these texts it became clear that, during the ascendancy of Mari, Terqa was the capital of one of its provinces, perhaps one of particular economic and political significance, but still a province. Even though it is generally assumed that Terqa "replaced" Mari as the capital of the region after Hammurapi's conquest, Terqa's provincial status during the period of Mari is carried over, as it were, in the perception of Terqa as the capital of the newly independent kingdom.<sup>7</sup> Terqa's Khana is perceived as a provincial kingdom, unlike Mari's fully cosmopolitan Khana. It is worth considering this question in some detail, both on the basis of what we know about the region from outside sources, and from the vantage point of our excavations at Terqa itself.

The territorial extent of Khana under Terqa included at least the central region of the Mari

and Monchambert  
1987: 313 f.  
Nahr Daourin

kingdom, the middle Euphrates basin and the lower Khabur. At the northern end of the kingdom, Terqa controlled the Khabur basin, at least south of the Khabur triangle. Both Dur-Yaggid-Lim and Qattunān belonged to Terqa's territory. Qattunān is the city from which one of the Khana texts originates (*GC* 1,22) and Dur-Yaggid-Lim (half way to Qattunān, if it is to be identified with Durkatlimmu and therefore with Tell Sheikh-Hammid) is the endpoint of a canal built by a Khana king (Buccellati 1984: xvii). Closer to Terqa, but still north of the confluence of the Khabur with the Euphrates, was Sagarātum, an important provincial capital in the Mari period; a year name of Šunuhru-ammu indicates that it was under Terqa's control, ~~and thus was~~ rather early in the history of independent Terqa (see n. 17).

To the south, Terqa's Khana directly bordered the kingdom of Babylon. We know about the latter from an important epigraphic correlation that also establishes a synchronism with Samsuiluna of Babylon, first recognized by Rouault (1984: 4). The latter king named one of his regnal years after a battle with king Yadikh-Abu. This king was unknown for Khana until our excavations, but he figures prominently in our tablets. Since his own various regnal year names attest to the continued independence of Khana, it is reasonable to assume that the conflict to which Samsuiluna refers was a border skirmish. The French excavations at Khirbet Diniyah in Iraq provide a closer approximation of the location of this border. The site has yielded tablets of the period of Abi-Ešuh, which show that the city was named Haradum and was under Babylonian control. Since Haradum has all the marks of a planned settlement, established sometime before Abi-Ešuh, it may have been first founded by Samsuiluna as a result of his conflict with Yadikh-abu. In the Mari period it seems to have extended farther south, as far as modern Hit (Anbar 1975) but from both the evidence in the Mari texts and the lack of an archaeologically documented Mari presence in the Haditha region survey, it is probable that the stretch of Euphrates south of Mari was neither particularly settled nor especially significant either economically or politically (although it may have been important militarily, especially if Haradum had been established as a border station against Khana). Certainly the overwhelming impression gained from the texts is that Mari was, in effect, placed at the southern border of the kingdom,

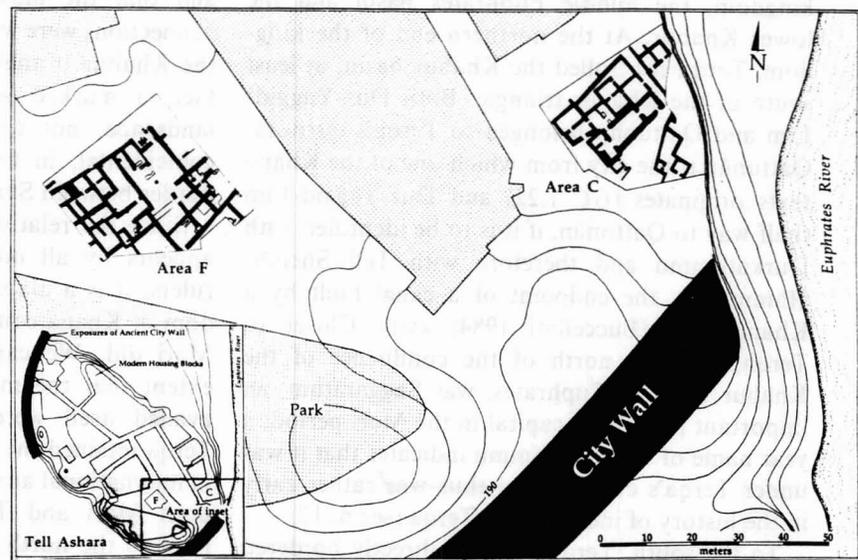
and that the most important and far-reaching connections were with the northern regions, toward the Khabur triangle and the Balikh. There is, in fact, a marked geographical difference in the landscape, not too far south of Mari, rather coincidental, in fact, with the modern political border between Syria and Iraq.

Since the relatively long ~~time~~ of Terqan kings appears by all odds to consist of independent rulers, it is a plausible conclusion that the kingdom of Khana controlled the same core region as Mari did. We can further assume that, to the extent that the major resources of which Mari availed itself were also under Terqa's control, Terqa retained the basis for a position of influence in international affairs. Specifically, Khana—under both Mari and Terqa—controlled the Khabur road to the north, the middle Euphrates road to the northwest, the steppe road along the southern slopes of the Bishri and Shaar toward Qatna over Tadmor, the large pastoral reserve of the steppe on either side of the Euphrates, and the salt playas of Bouara and possibly Tadmor.

But if that is so, a skeptic would reasonably ask why we have no prominent reference to Khana or Terqa in the texts from the south, and why nothing has been found in the excavations to suggest a position of more than provincial status for Terqa. The answer is mixed. On the one hand there are reasons that can explain on both points this lack of positive evidence for an international status of Terqa's Khana. And yet, at the same time, there are explanations that justify a historical reconstruction whereby Terqa's Khana represents the beginning of a decline vis-à-vis Mari's Khana, which will reach its climax in the middle of the second millennium—as a result of conjunctures that were to dramatically change the entire political configuration of ancient southwestern Asia. In other words, Hammurapi's destruction of Mari did not mean a total destruction of Khana as well: such a sudden and grand scale collapse of a complex territorial reality would be hard to imagine within the span of a few years and as the result of an ephemeral period of foreign occupation. The eventual collapse of Khana seems to have been the result of more far-reaching transformations throughout southwestern Asia toward the middle of the second millennium (see n. 1, article 6). Nonetheless, neither the lack of external references to Terqa nor the nature of the archaeological finds from the site, should be taken as evidence

line

**Fig. 3.** Major areas of horizontal exposure at Terqa. Area C includes private houses and the Temple of Ninkarrak; Area F is an administrative area. Notice the imposing size of the city wall, whose width matches that of the temple.



of an inferior political status for Terqa and Khana in the period following the destruction of Mari.

The textual evidence from Babylon and from the south in general does not necessarily presuppose particular references to foreign countries. The southern texts do not depict any rich international scene from which only Terqa and Khana are absent; rather those texts revolve more directly around broad local issues, and do not give special emphasis to long distance international contacts. Thus there are no archives, like those of Mari or later of Amarna, that vividly and directly portray the international scene and the main actors in it. The founding of Haradum as a northern border town is one of the few pieces of evidence for such a perspective. In fact, it is perhaps just as significant that there are no references to Terqa and Khana, which implies that the spheres of action of the two regions were quite independent of each other, that Terqa's Khana was not a satellite of Babylon. This emerges also rather convincingly from the excavations, which show practically no evidence of Babylonian presence, either in the artifactual record<sup>8</sup> or in the epigraphic documents.

This leads to the question of the evidence from our excavations at Terqa. The epigraphic documents from Terqa, though not public or international in character, have nevertheless allowed us to establish rather convincingly an almost continuous line of 13 kings, whose significance

should not be underestimated. In addition, the artifactual evidence indicates several lines for conclusions.

First, with the exception of the city wall, the nature of the buildings excavated is generally rather modest. They include a medium-sized temple, a residential quarter, and a fairly large, but not central, administrative complex (fig. 3).<sup>9</sup> The city wall, erected first at the beginning of the third millennium as one of the most massive defensive systems in Syria, remained in continuous use through the Khana period; however very little material is associated with the wall, and even a city gate has not been found.

It would, however, be a mistake to generalize from the lack of spectacular finds from confirmation of a presumed provincial status of Terqa and its kingdom in the Khana period. Three important considerations must be kept in mind. First, the excavations have been limited to the peripheral area of the ancient tell because ~~many people are living today~~ over two-thirds of the ancient site. In particular, the central and highest point of the tell is inaccessible, and that area seems extremely promising not only because of its location but also on the basis of what little can be seen of its remains (TPR 10). Our choices over the years have been explicit and conscious in this regard. The research strategy was not aimed at testing the importance of the site, nor was continued work

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there predicated on the discovery of spectacular finds.<sup>10</sup> Excavating in the central part of the ancient city was impossible; but nonetheless pursuing the work in the less important, peripheral area allowed for development of a keen interest in methodology. The stratigraphic situation at Terqa is extremely difficult, which provides a unique challenge to present a full picture of its tortured depositional history. Furthermore, developing a full-scale stratigraphic sequence over a broad horizontal exposure would eventually allow excavations through to early second and even third millennium strata during the next several years.<sup>11</sup> The relevance of these considerations for the argument at hand is that there was a deliberate effort at pursuing a slow, method-intensive course; and this, coupled with the limitations imposed by the terrain, has drastically affected the nature of the finds. This approach may have been responsible for ~~discovery~~ of the majority of the cuneiform documents (found, as they were, mostly in or immediately below brick collapse and brick packing and in areas severely pitted by a scanty but devastating medieval occupation). Yet, while this is clearly a positive and gratifying result, it should not be used as a standard for assessing the historical significance of the site. It is clearly a matter of sampling that must be carefully weighed to avoid an inopportune conclusion. Since the strategy could not have been aimed (for extrinsic but inescapable reasons) at elucidating the question of the regional significance of the ancient city, the results must be viewed with that presupposition in mind. While Terqa, even as a capital, may not have enjoyed the splendor of Mari, this should not be argued on the basis of excavations conducted at a deliberately slow pace and at the periphery of the ancient city.

\* The second major consideration/assessing the results of our excavations at Terqa is that in the areas where full horizontal exposure was accomplished, remains of the Khana period are disappointingly limited. The fullest Khana exposure is represented by the Temple of Ninkarrak and the house of Puzurum—and the strata uncovered represent already the earliest, and lowest, phase of the Khana period (see discussion about the kings, below). In the administrative complex in Area F, there are only traces of Khana period strata; most of the area uncovered seems to belong to the Mari period, and a fair number of earlier texts found

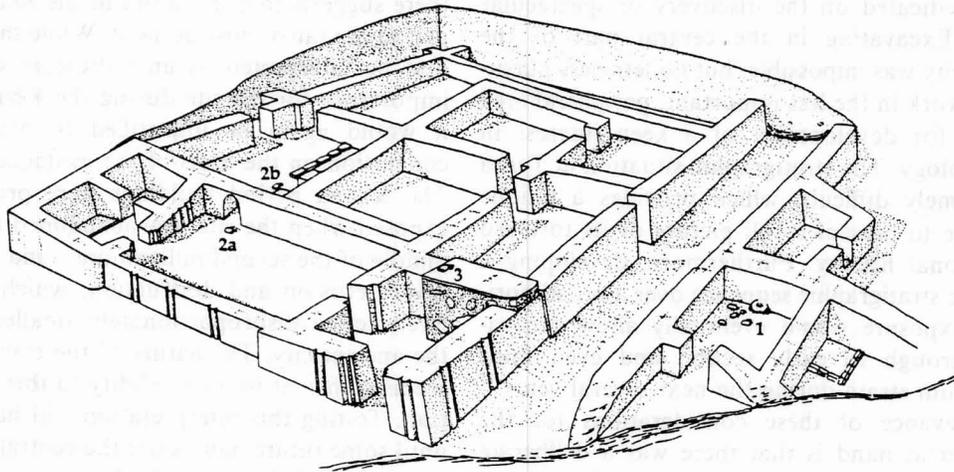
there suggests that the strata of the Shakkanakku period are fairly close at hand. While this might at first be interpreted as an indication of reduced importance for the site during the Khana period, it would again be unjustified to draw such a conclusion on the basis of the evidence available. The Khana period buildings were probably left exposed when the site was abandoned toward the middle of the second millennium<sup>12</sup> and underwent severe erosion and destruction, which has effectively left a disproportionately smaller image of the ancient city. The nature of the traces we have seems sufficient to lend validity to this interpretation. Testing this interpretation will have to wait until some future date, since the central portion of the tell, which is also the highest, may contain the remains of more massive Khana period buildings, preserved somewhat better because of their size. (Analogously, one may reflect on the fact that the limited presence of Akkadian period remains in the archaeology of southern Mesopotamia is a very deceptive indicator of its importance—and should be attributed instead to the Guti destructions and to the massive rebuilding during the Ur III period.)

Finally, from all indications the present extent of the site corresponds to a relatively small portion of the ancient city, perhaps only half. The sharp and high vertical profile of the tell along the modern banks of the Euphrates strongly suggests a massive process of erosion, which continued until very recent times, when construction of the various Euphrates dams upstream from Terqa effectively eliminated the spring flooding of the river. If that is so, the relatively limited size of Terqa today (some 20 hectares), may not be at all indicative of its potential significance in antiquity.

One might argue that these considerations are of limited use without direct evidence to document positively the international role of Terqa and its kingdom, and that the case presented here is only inferential. The latter may be true, nonetheless the argument presented here is valid and meaningful. Given the lack of direct evidence pointing to Terqa's Khana being under outside controls, given the major significance of the region as a whole in the geopolitical configuration of ancient southwestern Asia, and given the clear evidence of a continued line of kings after the fall of Mari, Khana's continuing international importance ~~seems indisputable~~. *should not be excluded a priori*.

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**Fig. 4.** Isometric reconstruction of Area C. The numbers correspond to epigraphic finds that have served as a major stratigraphic argument for dating. No. 1 is the archive of Puzurum, containing the earliest dated tablets (mostly Yadikh-Abu). They were discarded in this room, which means that the redaction of the tablets predates considerably the burning of the house. No. 2a (an offering list dated to Kaštīliāšu) and 2b (a contract dated to the same king) are found on the floor of the temple. No. 3 is a tablet dated to Šunuhru-ammu, found on the floor (shown here only in part) that overlays the Kaštīliāšu phase of the temple (drawing by T. Seymour).

### THE KINGS

*if by that we mean*

We do not have a Khana king list, ~~that is,~~ a single ancient epigraphic document listing the kings in sequence. However, the excavations at Terqa have made possible a convincing reconstruction of the full sequence of kings. The list<sup>13</sup> (Table 1) is based on information derived from an internal analysis of the tablets as well as from a careful correlation between the stratigraphic findspots of the excavated tablets (fig. 4) and the data contained in the documents themselves, especially the year-names and prosopographic information.<sup>14</sup> In Syro-Mesopotamia the full royal titulary, i.e., titles that include the name of the territory over which the kings rule, appears customarily not in normal contexts, but only in particular types of texts, such as building inscriptions or royal seals. Although no building inscriptions of the king of Khana have been uncovered, the impressions of the royal seals of four kings (Išar-Lim, Iggid-Lim, Isih-Dagan and Hammu-rapih) do exist, as well as a commemorative inscription of Hammu-rapih; accordingly, the full title *šar māt Hana* is attested only for those four kings (Table 2 carries the references).

The relative sequence established on these grounds may in turn be linked with absolute chronology through the synchronism Rouault

(1984: 4) established. Previously, Rouault referred briefly to the name of Yadikh-abu (Rouault 1979: 170, n. 1). The Khana king Yadikh-Abu appears as an adversary of Samsu-iluna in Samsu-iluna's 28th year—which can be set to 1723 B.C. in terms of the Middle Chronology. The absolute dates given below are approximations based on considerations of time spans for the various kings, all pegged in turn to the Samsu-iluna synchronism.

The following discussion refers to the sequential number of kings as given in tables 1 and 2. The sequence is not complete, nor are the various reigns necessarily contiguous. Numbers are assigned only to individuals who are known to have ruled as kings, that is, those for whom the royal title is attested; simple filiation is not a criterion for considering any one person a king. While the numbering of the kings is based on both stratigraphic and epigraphic arguments, it must still be considered as hypothetical in part. Also, the dates given here are purely indicative: they are arrived at assuming an approximate and arbitrary duration of 25 years per reign, beginning with Yadikh-Abu at about 1725 B.C., on the basis of his synchronism with Samsu-iluna.

The texts with the year names of kings Yapah-Sum[u-?] (King 1, from an oath formula; *TFR* 1,8) and Isi-sumu-Abu (also an oath formula; *TFR* 1,9) are considered the earliest in the archive

TABLE 1. The Kings of Khana: Textual, Stratigraphic and Epigraphic Correlations\*

<i>King</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Textual evidence</i>	<i>Stratigraphic and epigraphic evidence</i>
1. Yapah-Sum[u-?]	1735	correlation to Alalakh text mentioning Abba-el	house of Puzurum built?
2. Isi-sumu-Abu		prosopography of PN's contained in documents	
3. Yadhik-Abu		oath formulae	
	1725	7 year names	7 dated tablets on house floor
		Samsu-iluna synchronism	Puzurum archive current
		prosopography of PN's in document	
4. Kaštilyašu	1700	4 year names	Puzurum archive discarded
		prosopography of PN's in documents	house of Puzurum destroyed
			1 dated tablet on house floor
			temple of Ninkarrak, phase 3
			2 dated tablets on temple floor
			2 seal impressions with king's name
			3 unstratified dated tablets
5. Šunuhru-Ammu	1675	4 year names	temple of Ninkarrak, phase 2
		prosopography of PN's in documents	1 dated tablet on temple floor
			house of Puzurum reoccupied?
			3 unstratified dated tablets
6. Ammi-Madar	1650	1 year name	temple of Ninkarrak, phase 1 (?)
		filiation and accession to father's throne	1 unstratified dated tablet
Abi-Lama		filiation (but no royal title)	
Iddin-Kakka		given as father of next (no royal title)	
7. Išar-Lim		1 year name and royal seal	1 unstratified dated tablet
Iggid-Lim		UGULA MAR.TU listed before Iddin-abu	
		DUMU.LUGAL (= #8?)	
Iddin-abu		"son of the king"	
Yahdul-Lim		"son of Išar-Lim" in text dated to Iggid-Lim	
[ . . . ]-na		"his brother" (i.e., brother of the preceding)	
8. Iggid-Lim		oath formula	1 dated tablet in medieval fill
Iggid-Lim		given as father of next (no royal title; = #8?)	
9. Isih-Dagan		1 year name and royal seal	1 unstratified dated tablet
10. Yassi-[ . . . ]		given as father of next (no royal title)	
		next king ascends to father's throne	
11. Hammu-rapih		3 year names	3 unstratified dated tablets
			1 ex-voto duck weight, unstratified

\* Vertical lines refer to explicit filiation. *Dates indicate only approximate ranges.*

of Puzurum on the basis of internal evidence, primarily onomastics, and of a possible synchronism with a Yapah-Sumu-abu UGULA *Hana*, who is mentioned as a witness to a large scale land transaction in which "Abba-El the king" (of

Aleppo) and "Yarim-Lim the brother of the king" also take part as witnesses (AIT 56:47; the comparison was first suggested by Rouault 1984: 5). Nothing can be said about their relative sequence, but it probably does not matter much, since their

TABLE 2. The Kings of Khana: Year Names and other Textual References\*

1. Yapah-sum[u-?] TFR 1,8:18–20	(oath:) [nīš D]ag[an] Itūr-Mer u šarrim Yapah-Sūm[u-?]
2. Iši-Sūmu-abu TFR 1,9:19–20	(oath:) nīš Dagan Itūr-Mer u šarrim Iši-Sūmu-abu ī[k]ul
3. Yadikh-Abu TFR 1,1:41–43 TFR 1,2:39–40 TFR 1,3:49–50 TFR 1,4:12'–14' TFR 1,5:51–52 TFR 1,6:50–51 TFR 1,7:11–13	šanat Yadikh-Abu šarrum ālam Ara <sup>2</sup> ite īpušu šanat Yadikh-Abu šarrum bāb Adad īpušu šanat Yadikh-Abim(!) ayyābīšu ikšudu šanat Y[adikh]-Abum šarrum Dūr-x-x-NU-A-LA-AL [ī]pušu šanat Yadikh-Abu šarrum Annunitam ša qultim uddišu šanat Yadikh-Abu šarrum ālam Dunnam īpušu šanat Yadikh-Abu šarrum ekallam ša ālim T[erga u]š[ēpiš]
4. Kaštilyašu GC 1,5:55–56 GC 1,6:54–55 GC 1,17:44–46 TQ5 T105:1–4 TQ5 T124:21–23 TQ6 T11:21–22 TQ6 T17:16'–18'	šanat Kaštilyaš[u šar]rum mēšera iškunu šanat Kaštilyašu šarrum mēšeram iškunu šanat Kaštilyašu šarrum mēšaram 2-KAM2-ma iškunu (seal) [Gi]mil-Ninkar[rak . . . wa]rad . . . [ . . K]aštily[asu] šanat Kaštilyašu šarrum šalmam ša Adad [x x x] īpušu [šanat] Kaštily[asu šarrum . . . ] šanat Kaštilyašu šarrum [ . . . ] Sutēm(?) [ . . . ]
5. Šunuhru-ammu GC 1,9:24–25 GC 1,12:9'–10' GC 1,13:23–24 TQ5 T50:18'	šanat Šunuhru-ammu šarrum mēšaram iškunu šanat Šunuhru-ammu šarrum nīqī Dagan ša Hurri iqqū [šanat Šunuhr]u-ammu [ . . . ] [ša]nat Šunuhru-ammu šarrum abul āli[m Sagg]arti[m īpu]š[u] (see n. 17)
6. Ammi-madar GC 1,4:25–26 52 57–59	Ammi-Madar šarrum, mār Šunuhru-ammu Abi-Lama mār šarrim šanat Ammi-madar šarrum ana kussī bīt abīšu ilū
7. Išar-Lim GC 1,1:25–26 36–39 s1–5	IGI Iggid-Lim UGULA MAR.TU, IGI Iddiñabu mār šarrim šanat Išar-Lim šarrum [abu]li ekallim [ša] ālim Bidah īpušu (seal:) Išar-Lim šar māt Hana, mār Iddin-Kakka, narām Aba u Dagan
8. Iggid-Lim TPR 7,4:6'–7' 9' 10' 11'–12' s2'	šum Šamaš, Dagan, Itūr-Mer u Iggid-Lim šar[r]im . . . ] [IGI Idd]in-Kakka UGULA MAR.T[U] [IGI Yah]dul-Lim mār Išar-Lim [IGI . . . ]-na ahīšu, [IGI . . . DU]MU.TUR LUGAL (seal) [šar māt Ha]-n[a?]
9. Isih-Dgan GC 1,19:6'–9' s1–s6	šanat Isih-Dagan šarrum ussī ekallim eššim [ina] Bidda iptū (seal:) Isih-Dagan, iššāk Dagan, [šar māt H]ana mār Iggid-L[im], warad A[ba] u Dag[an]
10. Yassi-[ . . . ] GC 1,18:s1–s5	(seal:) Hammu-r[api] iššāk Dagan u Aba, šar māt Hana, [mār Y]as[si- . . . ]
11. Hammu-rapih GC 1,2:30–34 GC 1,16:1–4 GC 1,18:14'–16' s1–s5 GC 1,22:32–33 (unknown) TPR 7,5:2"–5"	šanat Hammurapih šarrum nāram Habur-ibāl-bugaš ištu ālim Dūr-Išar-Lim ana ālim Dūr-Iggid-Lim iptū (ex-voto): Ammu-rapi šar māt Hana ana DU.ZA.BI iqīš (see n. 16) šanat Ammi-rapih šarrum andurara ina mātišu iškunu (seal:) Hammu-r[api] iššāk Dagan u Aba, šar māt Hana, [mār Y]as[si- . . . ] šanat Ammi-rapi šarrum ana kussī abīšu ēlū šanat I[ . . . ] šarrum [ . . . ] ālam Bidda [īpuš]u

\*Oath formulas are omitted from this list for texts in which the year name is preserved.

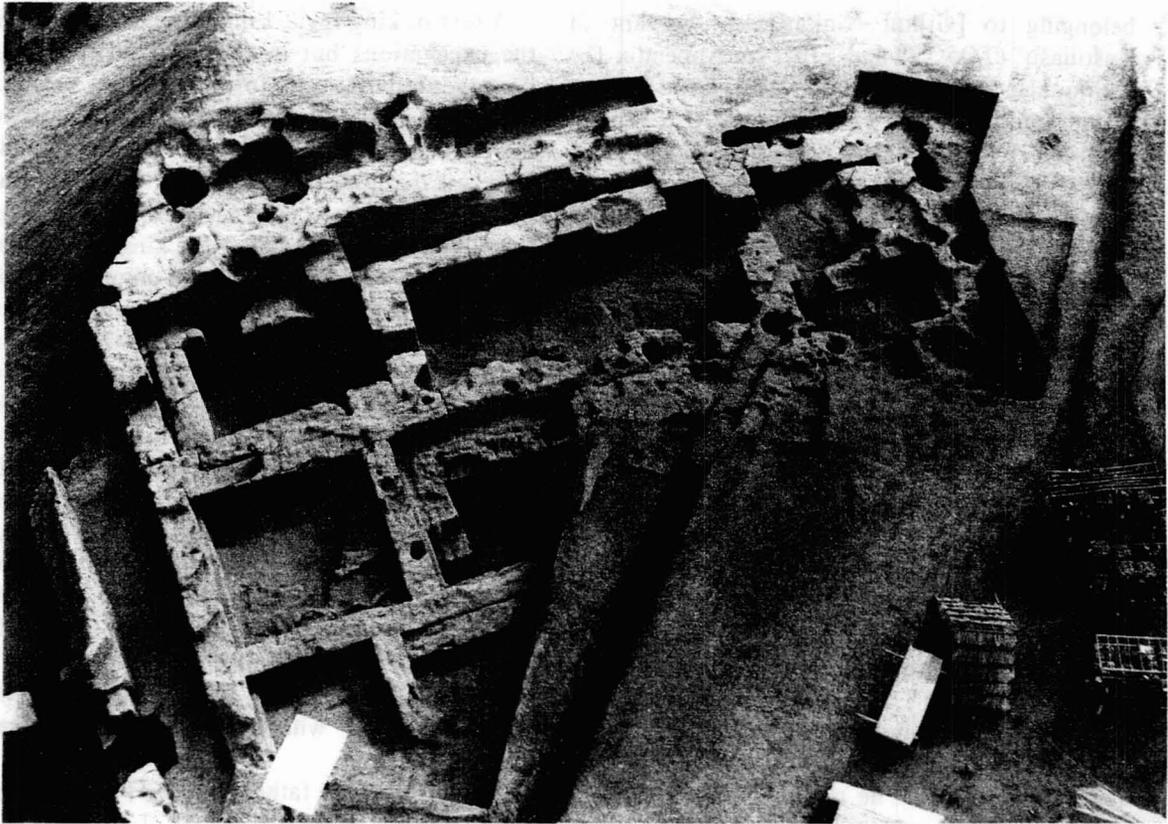


Fig. 5. Aerial view of the Temple of Ninkarrak, with the street and part of the house of Puzurum on the lower left.

reigns must have been relatively short: if Khana remained under Babylonian control for at least the reign of Hammurapi of Babylon and possibly for a few years into Samsu-iluna's reign (until somewhat after 1750 B.C.), and if by 1723 B.C. Yadikh-Abu was already ruling in Khana, this leaves a maximum of 28, but more likely an effective total of about 20 years or less for the reigns of Isi-sumu-Abu and Yapah-Sum[u-?]. On this basis, 1735 is an approximate *floruit* date for either of those kings.

Most of the texts in Puzurum's archive are dated to Yadikh-abu (King 3; *TFR* 1 1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7: all year names), but they are mostly contracts whose envelopes had been opened. As a result, it is reasonable to assume that while the texts were current during the reign of Yadikh-Abu (and hence still unopened, because only if they remained sealed could they have been produced before a judge for legal verification of title), they were effectively discarded by the time they were placed in the room where they were found. In other words, the occupation of the room at the

time it was destroyed by fire is later than Yadikh-Abu.

Only one dated document of Kaštiliašu (King 4, an oath formula; *TFR* 1,10) was found within the archive of Puzurum: if, as we assume, this archive was discarded under his reign, the presence of only one text, which had lost its value, may indicate that this text belonged in the early years of Kaštiliašu and that its disposition together with the texts dated to Yadikh-abu, as well as the destruction of the house, happened later. Two texts of Kaštiliašu being published by Rouault (field numbers TQ5 T124 and TQ6 T11; see Appendix 1) were found on the floor of the main occupational phase of the temple of Ninkarrak (fig. 5; note 9) adjacent to the house of Puzurum. While we do not have an explicit stratigraphic link between the house of Puzurum and the temple of Ninkarrak, Phase 3 of the temple is at the same absolute elevation as the house, and we may assume that they are broadly synchronous stratigraphically. From higher (and later) strata in the temple come two impressions of the same seal,

belonging to [Gi]mil Ninkar[rak], “servant of Kaštiliašu” (TQ5 T99 and T105; see Appendix 1).

Šunuhru-ammu (King 5), well known from texts found before our excavations (*GC* 1; 12; 13), is placed stratigraphically by one tablet found on the floor of Phase 2 of the temple (TQ5 T501; see Appendix 1). He is the last king for whom any structures have been recovered in the excavations.

Ammi-madar (King 6; the name was first transcribed Ammi-ba<sup>c</sup>il) is known only from one unstratified text, published earlier (*GC* 1, 4), but that text contains more information about royal succession than any other single Khana text. Since the king is a party to the text (which is a royal grant), his filiation is given within the text itself (in other texts it occurs only in the royal seal); and since the year name says that Ammi-madar ascended the throne of his father, we may safely assume that his father and the king otherwise known as Šunuhru-ammu are the same person. Finally, the text also gives the name of Abi-Lama, “son of the king”; he is probably the son of Ammi-madar although, since this is the first year of reign of Ammi-madar, it is also conceivable that Abi-Lama may be the son of the deceased king Šunuhru-ammu and brother of the ruling king Ammi-madar.

The first published cuneiform text from Syria (1897, see above) is a royal grant of king Išar-Lim (King 7; *GC* 1,1). He is mentioned in the text as the grantor (but followed only by the title “king,” without the name of the father, as was the case with Ammi-madar); the full title (with reference to Khana) and his filiation appear in the royal seal impressed on the tablet. The first witness is Iggid-Lim, who is qualified as UGULA MAR.TU; the second is Iddin-abu, “son of the king.” It is conceivable that Iggid-Lim, prominent both because of his title and because of his position as first in the list of witnesses, may be the same as the (future) king Iggid-Lim, crown prince of Išar-Lim. An earlier suggestion placed Išar-Lim at the beginning of the sequence of kings for whom no stratigraphic argument could be made, on the basis of the prosopographic considerations (Buccellati 1983; Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1983: 60). That placement is now strengthened by the new reading proposed by Collon (below, n. 15), according to which the father of Isih-Dagan is Iggid-Lim: if we assume that Iggid-Lim is the same person in all three cases, then Išar-Lim would be at the beginning of this particular segment in the line of kings.

above  
mentioned

A text of king Iggid-Lim (King 8) found during the excavations but in medieval fill (*TPR* 7,4), preserves only the oath formula and the beginning of the list of witnesses. However, that text is very interesting because the second witness, Yahdul-Lim,<sup>15</sup> is qualified as “son of Išar-Lim,” the third witness is Yahdul-Lim’s brother, and in fourth position is the “small son of the king.” As Podany convincingly proposes (personal communication), the position of the sons of Išar-Lim before the (small) son of the king implies that their father is the same as the king Išar-Lim we know from *GC* 1,1. If so, and if king Iggid-Lim is the son of Išar-Lim, then the two sons of Išar-Lim would be the brothers of the ruling king Iggid-Lim. The fact that they are mentioned before the “small son of the king” may imply further that the text is dated to the early years of Iggid-Lim, when his crown prince was still very small, so that the king’s brothers still occupied a prominent position. Unfortunately, the name of the “small son of the king” is lost in a break; it may have been Isih-Dagan, a king whose father bore the name Iggid-Lim.

The name of the father of Isih-Dahan (King 9), found on the royal seal of *GC* 1,19, used to be read *Zi-it(?)ri*-. . .; the reading *I-gi-id-L[i-im]* is based on a collation to be published by Collon (in press).<sup>16</sup> If king Iggid-Lim is the son of Išar-Lim and the father of Isih-Dagan, that would establish a continuous line among the three kings—numbers 7 through 9.

Yassi-[. . .] (King 10), given as father of Hammurapi on the latter’s royal seal, may be considered to have been king himself, even though he does bear the title LUGAL (something that was not generally the case on such seals). The reason is that the first year name of his son Hammurapi (*GC* 1,22: 32–33) indicates that Hammurapi ascended his *father’s* throne, clearly indicating that Hammurapi’s father (Yassi-[. . .]) was also king. (Podany made this interesting observation, which provides a firm foundation to the assumption that Yassi-[. . .] was a king in his own right). The name of the king had been restored, very tentatively, as Yassi-[Dagan], on the basis of the mention of a certain “Yadiri, son of Issi-Dagan and six people from Khanat” in an Old Babylonian letter from Sippar (*AbB* 2 88:14), dated by Ungnad (1914: viii) to the time of Ammi-ditana of Babylon. In this difficult text, these men reported news of impending evil for the *ah Purattim* to a (Baby-

lonian) governor of Suhi, who was in turn planning a rebellion (against Babylon). Whether Khanat may, from a Babylonian point of view, refer to the whole region of Khanat, and whether Issi-Dagan may be identified with Yassi-[. . .], father of Hammu-rapih, is of course highly tentative.

\* The texts of Hammu-rapih (King 11, also referred to as Ammi-rapih, Ammi-rapi; Table 2) seem related in some special way to the northern region of the kingdom, although that may be purely accidental. ~~The text and the seal impression have different spellings (GC 1,18).~~ The year name in GC 1,2 relates the "opening" of a canal that bears the name of the Khabur in its own name; it had been dug from Dūr-Išar-Lim to Dūr-Iggid-Lim; since the latter may be identified with Tell Sheikh Hamid (Kühne 1978-1979: 187-95), the canal must have been placed alongside the middle course of the Khabur. GC 1,22, dated to this king, describes a land sale in Qattunā(n) (1.1), possibly located at Tell Fadghami, some 35 km north of Tell Sheikh Hamid (Kühne 1978-1979: 187; Abb. 1). Since the name of the canal built by Hammu-rapih bears a name with a Kassite element, the divine name found on an ex-voto duck weight (unstratified) was also read as a Kassite name, *Du-za-gaš*. Another opinion, however, holds that since the name does not otherwise occur in Kassite contexts, it may be better to leave it as unexplained (DU.ZA.BI).<sup>17</sup>

If the genealogical sequence Išar-Lim/Iggid-Lim/Isih-Dagan is correct (but its hypothetical character must be emphasized), the sequence of the kings of Khana falls in an almost continuous line.

A first set includes a group of six kings, numbers 1 through 6. The first five (Yapah-Sumu-[. . .] through Šunuhru-ammu) are pegged in relationship to each other on the basis of the stratigraphic succession of floors on which tablets with their year names were found. The sixth king (Ammi-Madar) is in turn related to this sequence on the basis of his filiation from Šunuhru-Ammu.

The remaining kings, for whom no stratigraphic argument can be made, are all placed after the first six for two reasons. First, the stratigraphic sequence is fairly tight, and the number of tablets found stratified sufficient to indicate that no other kings (especially if linked through a father-son relationship) may have to be inserted in this sequence. Second, the onomastic inventory of the tablets dated to sets 2 and 3 has very few overlaps

with either Mari or the tablets dated to set 1. Only the names Iddin-Kakka and Yassi-Dagan are found in both sets 1 and 2; the names Išmah-Dagan, Pagirum, and Šilli-Dagan are found in sets 1 and 3.

The second set of three kings (Išar-Lim through Isih-Dagan, numbers 7 through 9) has been reconstructed tentatively on the basis of their assumed genealogical succession. They are placed before the third set because two of the names appear in city names mentioned in a year name of Hammurapih. An interesting onomastic consideration is that the patronymic of a witness to the royal grant of Išar-Lim is a theophoric name mentioning the patron deity of Babylon, Marduk (Iddin-Marduk, GC 1,1:30), the only such case attested in Terqa. On the one hand this may be interpreted as evidence of (recent?) Babylonian presence (which would argue for an earlier date); on the other, it may show that relationships between Khana and Babylon were normal enough to allow a person of Babylonian origin (?) to serve as witness to a royal Khana grant (which would argue for a date at some distance from the Babylonian occupation).

Finally, the third set includes two kings (Yassi-[. . .] and Hammu-rapih, numbers 10 and 11), clearly related through filiation. These kings have been placed at the end of the sequence because the city names mentioned in a year name of Hammurapih (GC 1,2) include the names of Išar-Lim and Iggid-Lim, presumably the homonymous kings of Khana (the seventh and eighth kings). Also, the spelling of Terqa as *Sir-qa-ki* (GC 1,18: 2) reflects a spirantization of the dental stop typical of later Aramaic and identical to the spelling common in the later Assyrian texts.

Given the tight fit of the first six kings, it seems very improbable that any of the remaining five kings might have reigned between the times of the first set of kings. That means the reigns of the last five kings would have to have been after about 1650 B.C., on the basis of the approximate intervals assumed for the reigns of the first six. Such a conclusion presents a double puzzle. First, the strata of Šunuhru-ammu are the very highest, meaning the latest, found in our excavations: where are the building remains associated with the remaining six (or more) kings? Three answers are possible (Buccellati 1983: 20), but none will be chosen here. (A tentative choice is adopted in article 6 mentioned in note 1.) First, the settlement corresponding to the last six kings may have been

\* note two different spellings occurring side by side on the same text, GC 1, 18.

eroded completely in the part of the tell available for excavation, but may still exist in other parts of the tell, which are in fact higher. Second, the settlement may have shifted to the east, in which case it may have been completely eroded by the river. Third, it is possible that Terqa was more or less abandoned and the capital shifted to some other site.

Just as there seem to be too many kings for the depositional remains at Terqa, there may also be too many kings for the time interval allowed by the middle chronology followed here. If one assumed hypothetically that each king reigned 25 years, the sequence of five kings that follow Ammi-madar on the list would end around 1525 B.C., 70 years after the Hittite raid on Babylon. Since it is very unlikely that Khana and Terqa could have survived the passage of the Hittites, either the reigns were much shorter than hypothesized (which is quite possible), or the middle chronology is too short.

Unfortunately, the frequent conclusion to an archaeological line of reasoning, "further excavations will tell," is not presently applicable at Terqa. Thus the second half of the kingdom of Khana is no longer represented in the available areas of the site that was once its capital.

#### TERRITORY AND POPULATION

Perhaps because the cuneiform documentation of Terqa, and especially of Mari, is so squarely within the Mesopotamian scribal tradition, we tend to view the region of which these two cities were the capitals as practically identical in its sociopolitical structure to the rest of Mesopotamia. In fact, however, strong differences give the Middle Euphrates and lower Khabur region a unique geomorphological physiognomy (see above).

If one plots on a map the 250 mm isohyet and a line corresponding to the limit of the alluvium proper, where extensive irrigation is possible (see fig. 1) it becomes obvious that the region controlled by Mari and then Terqa is proportionately much larger than that controlled by other single urban centers with political autonomy. Alternatively, one may say that the density of urban political centers (cities that served as capitals of independent kingdoms) is much higher in both the irrigated alluvium to the south and the dry-farming plains to the north, while the entire

region in between has effectively only one political center, Mari first and then Terqa. The kingdom of Khana appears coterminous with a whole and very distinctive geopolitical region, one characterized on the one hand by a special relationship to water resources and land exploitation and on the other by a different distribution pattern of urban centers than existed in the rest of the Syro-Mesopotamian world. Significantly, this geopolitical region is almost entirely within the modern political boundaries of the Syrian Arab Republic.

The territory may appear to be more vast than it is, because there are few urban centers within its boundaries. But the steppe was neither an empty quarter nor a territory belonging more properly to nomadic tribes than to the kingdom as such. It was a region that came to be exploited on a systematic basis by the rural classes of the narrow alluvial strip known in ancient times as the *ah Purattim* and in modern times as the *zor*. Thus, while incapable of sustaining urban life as such, the steppe was nonetheless an integral resource of the kingdom, and it allowed the kingdom to develop an economic base otherwise unmatched by the farming resources of the *zor*. From texts such as *ARM* 5:15 and 23, we learn that Khana territorial control over the steppe (in Mari's times at least) extended all the way to the west, since Mari was directly in contact with Qatna about herds and grazing rights. Neither Tadmor/Palmyra nor any other oasis had achieved anything even approaching an urban status in the second millennium: the steppe was effectively a vast rangeland, exploited by herdsmen who would tap the water table through wells. In that respect, Mari and Terqa seem to have controlled the entire environmental niche represented by the steppe, and to have aptly subsumed it under the geopolitical term "Khana." (Article 6 in note 1 advances the thesis that during the time Terqa was capital of Khana, this control may have started to crumble through events in the steppe, which resulted eventually in the complete demise of Terqa and in the disappearance of Khana as an autonomous geopolitical reality.)

These considerations about the territory lead to some final remarks about the nature of urbanism in Khana, and more broadly in the ancient Near East. Urban development has been viewed as the key factor for an understanding of historical development in the early periods. While there is no question that this remains the most productive

and best documented line of inquiry, attention should also be paid to the rural dimension which, albeit in a minor key, can shed considerable light on our understanding of the overall cultural development. Some significant work along these lines has been done recently by several students of William Dever (see, for example, Falconer and Magness-Gardiner 1984). A special dimension is the presence of three distinct patterns of urban-rural interaction—where an assessment of the interaction itself is as significant as a definition of either the urban or the rural dimensions (see Buccellati 1983). The patterns overlap with the three major environmental zones outlined above (see figs. 1, 2).

In pattern A, documented in the southern regions of Syro-Mesopotamia, the territories occupied by the urban and rural populations are practically coterminous. This means that urban, and therefore state, controls extend to every aspect of rural life, so that there is no possibility for the rural classes to develop any meaningful distinctiveness, economically, politically, or otherwise.

Pattern C is the least well known, and is proposed here somewhat hypothetically (with the expectation that the numerous and major excavations currently taking place in the Khabur plains will provide substantive clarification). It assumes the presence of a large rural population, which is effectively not under the control of urban or state mechanisms nor dependent on urban culture for its long term survival, but is very closely linked with urban culture through economic and perhaps other ties. In the Khabur plains, trade factors apparently were paramount in these relationships, whereby the essentially rural populations of the eastern Taurus, perhaps all the way up to the Caucasus, served as the suppliers of metals, stones, and timber to the great urban centers to the south. The cities in the Khabur plains would thus have served as the gateway for the rest of the ancient Near East.

Pattern B is the one that is uniquely specific to Khana in the sense that it does not seem to apply to any other kingdom of the period. Pattern B views the rural population as appropriating the steppe resources for its herding needs. Technically, this appropriation results in an expansion of territorial control by the state; since the rural population is subject to state control, the territory it exploits is in turn of direct pertinence to the

state. There is, however, one major difference vis-à-vis other situations: the rangeland in the steppe is so vast and its human occupation so fluid, that actual military and administrative presence by the state is practically ruled out. It appears to be unnecessary as well, at least so long as the herds-men responsible for its exploitation are firmly rooted among the rural classes at home in the *zor*. This means, in fact, that their presence in the steppe is by definition ephemeral and that they remain, in principle, under direct and immediate control of the state whenever they return to the *zor*. The change intervenes when they realize that they do not need to return to the *zor* if they choose otherwise: partly the resources of the steppe may be exploited longer than on a seasonal basis, partly because their contacts with the states on the other side of the steppe give them autonomous contacts with foreign, independent states—which no other rural population can enjoy. This process, one of partial and selective nomadization, may be the origin of pastoral nomadism on a systematic scale; but in any case it provides an insight into a unique dimension that characterizes the kingdom of Khana. The urban-rural pattern of interaction is so different from that of the other regions that its rural class left an indelible mark in the historical development of the Near East, in marked contrast with the rural classes of the southern alluvium.

Rather than viewing Mari as an outpost, however important, of Mesopotamian civilization, and Terqa as the minor provincial center of a petty local kingdom, we may therefore obtain a better perception of the uniqueness of Khana and its kingdom. The kingdom of Khana is distinctive for the geographical zone it occupies and with which it is almost entirely coterminous, and for the mode of adaptation to the environmental situation from which pastoral nomadism began to evolve from an early agropastoralist stage. It is also distinctive for the peculiar pattern of interaction between urban and rural populations. For these reasons the kingdom of Khana stands as a major autonomous component within the sociopolitical composition of the ancient Near East. Next to major field discoveries such as Ebla, it is from such a more in-depth assessment of historical configurations and developments that we may gain a more perceptive understanding of the distinctive course of ancient Syrian history.

because

## APPENDIX 1. UNPUBLISHED DATA

Following are pertinent excerpts from texts being prepared for publication by O. Rouault. I am grateful to A. H. Podany for her assistance.

TQ5 T50: 18' [M]U Šu-nu-uh-ru-am-mu LUGAL

19' [BA]<sub>D3</sub> GAL UR[U Sa-g]a-ra-ti[m - KI]<sup>18</sup>

[m - KI]<sup>18</sup>

20' zi?-[pu]-š[u]

(land sale contract—seller: Qīšannu; findspot: STCD 4, feature 3, level 5, elev.: 1275; temple, phase 2)

TQ5 T105: 1 [Gi]-mil-DINGIR-Nin-kar-[ra-ak]

2 [DU]MU Ar-ši-a-[hu-um]

3 [I]<sub>R3</sub> DINGIR-A-[ba<sub>4</sub>]

4 [u<sub>3</sub> K]a-aš<sub>2</sub>-ti-li-i[a-šu]

(seal impression on jar bulla; left and right margin obliterated by granulated caps; findspot: STCD 3, feature 3, level 7, elev.: 1217; temple, phase 2; see duplicate TQ5, T99, STCD3, feature 3, level 5; a photograph of both

sealings is published in Liggett 1982: pl. 8)

TQ5 T124: 21 MU Ka-aš-ti-li-ya-éu? LUGAL

22 ALAN éa DINGIR-IM X X X

23 i-pu-éu

(sealed offering list; findspot: STCD 4, feature 30, level 12, elev.: 1100; temple, phase 3; a photograph of the obverse is published in Liggett 1982: pl. 8)

TQ6 T11: 21 [MU] Ka-aš-ti-li-y[a-éu LUGAL]

22 [. . .] X X X PAD<sub>3</sub>?

(contract—seller: Beléunu; STCD 10, feature 4, level 10; temple, phase 3; with pieces of envelope—TQ6 T18)

TQ6 T17: 16' MU Ka-aš-ti-li-ya-éu LUGAL x? x?

17' DIŠ su-te-em x? x?

18' x x su

(land sale contract—seller: Bin-am[mi]; STCD 10, level 11; temple, phase 3)

## APPENDIX 2. CONCORDANCE BETWEEN GC NUMBERS AND PUBLICATIONS

Txt #	Museum #	Original publication	GC 1:12	AO 9055	Thureau-Dangin and Dhorme 1924: 271
GC 1:1	AO 2673	Thureau-Dangin 1897, no. 85, pl. 32	GC 1:16	AO 9047	Thureau-Dangin and Dhorme 1924: 275
GC 1:2	MLC 613	Johns 1907	GC 1:17	M 1	Bauer 1928–1929
GC 1:4	VAT 6685	Ungnad 1909, no. 204: 82	GC 1:18	YBC 6518	Stephens 1937
GC 1:5	AO 4656	Thureau-Dangin 1909	GC 1:19	AO 20162	Nougayrol 1947: 42
GC 1:9	AO 9050	Thureau-Dangin and Dhorme 1924: 269	GC 1:22	Schaeffer text	Nougayrol 1960

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The original version of this article was a paper presented in November 1985 at the meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Chicago. In its present form it is intended as the fourth in a series of six articles currently in press or in preparation, dealing

with the history and geography of ancient Khana. The sequence of articles is as follows:

(1) Salt at the Dawn of History: The Case of the Bevelled Rim Bowls (to appear in a volume edited by M. Van Loon, P. Matthiae and H. Weiss);

- (2) "River Bank," "High Country," and "Pasture Land": The Growth of Nomadism on the Middle Euphrates and the Khabur (to appear in M. Wäfler, ed., *Khabur Symposium*, Bern);
  - (3) The Rural Landscape of the ancient Zor: The Terqa Evidence (to appear in B. Geyer, ed., *Les techniques et les pratiques hydroagricoles traditionnelles en domain irrigué*, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, Damascus);
  - (4) The Kingdom and Period of Khana (this article);
  - (5) The People of Terqa and Their Names (in preparation);
  - (6) From Khana to Laqê: The End of Syro-Mesopotamia (to appear in a volume edited by O. Tunca).
- I plan to integrate all six articles into a full-size monograph, which will include fuller documentation than I present here.

<sup>2</sup>Many of the tablets from the Amarna archives, found some ten years earlier, had originally been sent from Syria, but were obviously not found there.

<sup>3</sup>On the excavations at Terqa see especially *TFR* 1; *TPR* 1, 4, 10; Buccellati 1983; Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1983; Chavalas unpublished; Buia Quinn unpublished. Support for the work of the Joint Expedition to Terqa has come primarily from the Ambassador International Cultural Foundation, the S. H. Kress Foundation, and the Ahmanson Foundation.

<sup>4</sup>My interest in the Khana period was first stimulated by a seminar given by I. J. Gelb on this topic and on chronology back in my student days in Chicago some 20 years ago.

<sup>5</sup>For a basic introduction to the geography of the region see Brice 1966; Wirth 1971. Charpin and Durand (1987) have argued for a different interpretation of the name Khana, as applying to the Khabur plains. As interesting as their interpretation is, I believe that while the term may in fact have been extended to include that region at some particular point in time, in its primary usage it refers to the region centered around the Middle Euphrates and the lower Khabur. I will come back at a later date to a more detailed discussion of Charpin and Durand's article.

<sup>6</sup>An important clue in this respect, and the one to which I owe my own personal rethinking of the entire Amorite question, came from the important faunal work done by Kathleen F. Galvin on the animal remains of Terqa. As a result of her research (Galvin 1981; 1987; in press) it appears that culling practices at Terqa are not those that would be expected from a full-fledged pastoral nomadic economy, such as the one that we were led to believe existed in the Khana region.

<sup>7</sup>See for instance Kupper (1972: 76): "... après la ruine de Mari et la fin de l'occupation babylonienne, un petit état se forma autour de Terqa..." (emphasis mine).

<sup>8</sup>Very tentatively, I have identified some evidence of localized structural rebuildings in Area F as possibly dating to the Babylonian occupation, see Buccellati and Buia Quinn unpublished, but this is both uncertain and limited in scope.

<sup>9</sup>See fig. 3 for an overall floor plan of the main excavation areas. A comprehensive publication of the defensive system is given in Buccellati, Kelly-Buccellati, and Knudstad 1979: 42-83; for the second millennium rebuildings see p. 82. The residential quarter in Area C has been published (Buccellati, Kelly-Buccellati, and Knudstad 1977: 31-40); a final publication is being prepared by M. W. Chavalas. A preliminary notice about the temple of Ninkarrak in Area C has been published in Liggett 1982; Buccellati 1983: 15-17, and Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1983: 54-56. Final publication has been delayed because two individuals who had been successively entrusted with it were forced to abandon the project for personal reasons. A preliminary notice about the administrative complex in Area F was given in Buccellati 1983: 10-12 and Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1983: 48-50. An exhaustive preliminary publication is planned in Buccellati and Buia Quinn in press, while a final publication of the ceramic finds will be given in Buia Quinn (unpublished).

<sup>10</sup>For this we thank the enlightened policy of our funding agencies, especially the Ambassador International Cultural Foundation.

<sup>11</sup>This is the general research strategy that we are planning for the coming years, according to a research plan which I am developing with the new field director of the Joint Expedition to Terqa, Olivier Rouault.

<sup>12</sup>For some suggestions about evidence of abandonment in that time period, see provisionally *TPR* 1, p. 8; Buccellati 1983: 19-22; Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1983: 56. I will return to this issue in the last article in n. 1.

<sup>13</sup>First published in Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1983: 60; Buccellati 1983: 24. See also Buccellati 1984: xiv-xvii, and Rouault 1984: 4. The sequence of the kings published in 1983 is identical to the one given here, except that I am adding now the pertinent documentation; also note that Zitri-Dagan is now read Iggid-Lim (see n. 15). A full analysis of the data, including a thorough study of the prosopographic evidence, is in preparation as a Ph.D. dissertation at UCLA by Amanda H. Podany.

<sup>14</sup>An extensive preliminary publication of the stratigraphic data from the house of Puzurum is to be found in Buccellati 1979; a final publication is being prepared by Chavalas. I will not take up here the details of prosopographic correlations. The fundamental preliminary work on this subject is to be found in Kelly-Buccellati 1986: 133-42 (on which my chart in *TFR* 1: xiv, was based). It should be noted that Kelly-Buccellati's

prosopographic reconstruction covered only the first five kings. Prosopographic considerations for the remaining kings are limited to the remarks which follow in this article. A fuller discussion will be found in Podany (unpublished).

<sup>15</sup>I am assuming that the writing [*Ia-a*]h-du-Li-im stands for an assimilated Yahdul-Lim from Yahdun-Lim.

<sup>16</sup>Collon kindly sent proofs of this article to A. H. Podany, to whom I owe this reference.

<sup>17</sup>Balkan 1954, p. 105 (I owe this reference to the courtesy of A. H. Podany).

<sup>18</sup>The restoration of the city name as [Sag]arati[m] has been proposed by A. H. Podany. As she points out, it is especially significant because it indicates control of the lower Khabur on the part of the Khana kings at a relatively early date, under dūnuhru-ammu (see Table 1). ✓ S

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- AIT* see Wiseman 1953
- CMT* *Cybernetica Mesopotamica, Electronic Files: Texts*, ed. G. Buccellati. Malibu, CA: Undena, 1987
- GC* *Graphemic Categorization*, ed. G. Buccellati. Malibu, CA: Undena, 1984
- GC* 1 see Buccellati, Podany, and Rouault in press
- TFR* *Terqa Final Reports*
- TFR* 1 see Rouault 1984
- TPR* *Terqa Preliminary Reports*
- TPR* 1 see Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1977
- TPR* 6 see Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1978
- TPR* 10 see Buccellati, Kelly-Buccellati, and Knudstad 1979

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