

*To the memory of
A. Leo Oppenheim*

MESOPOTAMIA

Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology

VOLUME 4

THE OLD ASSYRIAN CITY-STATE AND ITS COLONIES

by MOGENS TROLLE LARSEN

AKADEMISK FORLAG

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Preface

By dedicating this book to the memory of A. Leo Oppenheim I wish to honour a person who came to mean much to me, as a friend and a teacher. When first shown a synopsis for this book he laughed and said that it could not be written, and he was right of course, for I at least could not realize my original plans. It is my hope that he would not in the end have thought that the book should not after all have been written.

It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge the help which I have received from many colleagues and friends. Professor K. R. Veenhof has provided me with copies and transliterations of various unpublished texts, and in the course of our discussions and correspondence he has made many valuable suggestions which have resulted in substantial improvements in the original manuscript. Professors P. Garelli and D. I. Owen have both sent me copies and transliterations of unpublished texts and helped me with collations, and I. Winter has read the manuscript and not only improved upon its English style, but given many valuable suggestions. The present book is a revised edition of a doctoral dissertation which was published in 1975 in a private, preliminary edition. Professors J. E. Skydsgård and J. Laessøe are both to be thanked for their suggestions and their help, and I must also acknowledge the valuable assistance which I received from Aa. Westenholz. Finally, Mrs. Ulla Jeyes, a student of mine during several years, has earned my gratitude by her able assistance in the creation of complete files of all the Old Assyrian letters.

In the various museums in Europe and USA where there are collections of Old Assyrian texts I have been cordially received and allowed to collate the published material. I want to express a special thanks to Mrs. Vorys Canby of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, who made the unpublished material there available to me; Dr. V. Crawford of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, who likewise permitted me to study and make use of unpublished material; and to the authorities of the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, and Mrs. S. Dalley, who allowed me to study the unpublished texts there.

The Carlsberg Foundation has generously supported me by providing the necessary financial support for my travels to all these museums.

At the end I must express a very special thanks to Susanne who allowed me to write this book.

*Mogens Trolle Larsen
Helsingør*

Abbreviations

- AAA = *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*
AASF = *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*
AASOR = *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
AbB = F. R. Kraus (ed.), *Altbabylonische Briefe*
AC = P. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, Paris 1963
ACC = L. L. Orlin, *Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia*, the Hague 1970
Adana = tablets in the Adana Museum
AfO = *Archiv für Orientforschung*
AHDO = *Archives d'histoire du droit oriental*
AHK = B. Landsberger, *Assyrische Handelskolonien in Kleinasien aus dem dritten Jahrtausend*, Der Alte Orient 24, 4, Leipzig 1925
AHw = W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden 1959–
AJA = *American Journal of Archaeology*
AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
AM = A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia. A Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, Chicago 1963
ANET = J. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton 1955
AnOr = *Analecta Orientalia*
AnSt = *Anatolian Studies*
ARI = A. Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, Wiesbaden 1972–
ARM = *Archives royales de Mari*
ArOr = *Archiv Orientální*
AS = *Assyriological Studies*
ATHE = B. Kienast, *Die altassyrischen Texte des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Heidelberg und der Sammlung Erlenmeyer*, Berlin 1960
Balkan, Anum-hirbi = K. Balkan, *Letter of King Anum-hirbi of Mama to King Warshama of Kanish*, Ankara 1957
Balkan, Observations = idem, *Observations on the Chronological Problems of the kārum Kaniš*, Ankara 1955
BIN = *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies*. 4: A. T. Clay, *Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia*, 1927. 6: F. J. Stephens, *Old Assyrian Letters and Business Documents*, 1944

BiOr = *Bibliotheca Orientalis*

Borger, *Einleitung* = R. Borger, *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften I*, Leiden 1961

CAD = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*

CAH = *Cambridge Ancient History*

CCT = *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum*. Volumes 1–4 by S. Smith, 1921–27; vol. 5 by S. Smith and D. J. Wiseman, 1956; vol. 6 by P. Garelli, in the press

CEH = *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*

CH = *Codex Hammurapi*

Chantre = OA tablets in E. Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce*, Paris 1898

Cont. = G. Contenau, *Trente tablettes cappadociennes*, Paris 1919

CRRAI = *Compte Rendu de la Rencontre Assyrologique Internationale*

CTN = *Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud*

Dergi = texts published by B. Landsberger in TTAED 4

EA = J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, Aalen 1915

Edzard, *Zwischenzeit* = D. O. Edzard, *Die "Zweite Zwischenzeit" Babylonien*, Wiesbaden 1957

EL = G. Eisser and J. Lewy, *Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe*, MVAeG 33 and 35, Leipzig, 1930–35

Festschrift Güterbock = *Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans G. Güterbock*, Istanbul 1974

Gelb = I. J. Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity*, OIP 27, 1935

GKT = K. Hecker, *Grammatik der Kültepe-Texte*, AnOr 44, 1968

Gol. = *Vingt-quatre tablettes cappadociennes de la Collection W. Golénischeff*, St. Pétersbourg 1891

HSS = *Harvard Semitic Studies*

HUCA = *Hebrew Union College Annual*

IAK = E. F. Weidner, E. Ebeling, and B. Meissner, *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige*, Altorientalische Bibliothek I, Leipzig 1926

ICK = *Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Kultépé*, Prague. Vol. 1 by B. Hrozný, 1952; vol. 2 by L. Matouš, 1962

IEJ = *Israel Exploration Journal*

JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

JCS = *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*

JESHO = *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*

JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*

- JSOR = *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*
 KAH = *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*
 KBo = *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*
 Kraus, Edikt = F. R. Kraus, *Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-ṣaduqa von Babylon*, *Studia et documenta ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentia* 5, Leiden 1958
 kt = texts from the Turkish excavations of Kültepe
 KTBl = J. Lewy, *Die Kültepetexte der Sammlung Blanckertz*, Berlin 1929
 KTH = J. Lewy, *Die Kültepetexte aus der Sammlung Frida Hahn*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1930
 KTK = N. B. Jankowskaja, *Klinopisnye teksty iz Kjul'-Tepe v sobranijach SSSR*, Moscow 1968
 KTP = F. J. Stephens, *The Cappadocian Tablets in the University Museum of Pennsylvania Museum*, JSOR 11, 1927, 101–136
 KTS = J. Lewy, *Die altassyrischen Texte vom Kültepe bei Kaisarie, Konstantinopel* 1926
 KUG = K. Hecker, *Die Keilschrifttexte der Universitätsbibliothek Giessen*, Giessen 1966
 Kupper, *Nomades* = J.-R. Kupper, *Les Nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari*, Paris 1957
 L = tablets in the University Museum published by H. Lewy in HUCA 39, 1968, 1–33, and 40–41, 1970, 46–80
 Labat, *Caractère religieux* = R. Labat, *Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne*, Paris 1939
 LB = unpublished texts in the Böhl collection in Leiden
 Leemans, *Foreign Trade* = W. F. Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period*, Leiden 1960
 Lopez and Raymond, *Medieval Trade* = R. S. Lopez and I. W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World*, New York 1955
 LSS = *Leipziger Semitistische Studien*
 MAD = I. J. Gelb, *Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary*, Chicago 1952–57
 MAH = texts from the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève published by P. Garelli, RA 59, 1965, 19–48, 149–176, and 60, 1966, 93–121
 MAOG = *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*
 MDOG = *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft*
 MIO = *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*
 MSL = *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon*

- Muhly, *Copper and Tin* = J. D. Muhly, *Copper and Tin. The Distribution of Mineral Resources and the Nature of the Metals Trade in the Bronze Age*, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences XLIII, 1973, 155–535
- MVAeG = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Agyptischen Gesellschaft*
- NG = A. Falkenstien, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden*, München 1956–57
- NPN = I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves and A. A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names*, OIP 57, 1943
- OACP = M. Trolle Larsen, *Old Assyrian Caravan Procedures*, Istanbul 1967
- OIP = *Oriental Institute Publications*
- OLZ = *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*
- OrNS = *Orientalia, Nova Series*
- PNC = F. J. Stephens, *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of Cappadocia*, YOSR 13/1, 1928
- RA = *Revue d'Assyriologie*
- RIA = *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, Berlin/Leipzig 1932–
- RT = *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie égyptienne et assyrienne*
- SAKI = F. Thureau Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, Leipzig 1907
- Schorr, *Urkunden* = M. Schorr, *Urkunden des Altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts*, Vorderasiatische Bibliothek 5, Leipzig 1913
- SD = *Studia et documenta ad iura orientis pertinentia*
- Sht = J. Læssøe, *The Shemshāra Tablets. A Preliminary Report*, København 1959
- SKIZ = W. H. Ph. Römer, *Sumerische "Königshymnen" der Isin-Zeit*, Leiden 1965
- StBoT = *Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten*
- SUP = A. H. Sayce, *The Cappadocian Cuneiform Tablets of the University of Pennsylvania*, Babyloniaca 6, 1912, 182–192
- SZ = *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung*
- TC = *Tablettes cappadociennes*. Vol. 1 (TCL 4) by Contenau, 1920; vol. 2 (TCL 14) by F. Thureau-Dangin, 1928; vol. 3 (TCL 19–21) by J. Lewy, 1935–37
- TCL = *Textes cunéiformes. Musée du Louvre*
- TCS = *Texts from Cuneiform Sources*
- Thierry = text published by P. Garelli, RA 60, 1966, 133
- TMH = *Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of*

- Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena*
- TTAED = *Türk Tarih Arkeoloji ve Etnografya Dergisi*
- UAR = H. Hirsch, *Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion*, AfO Beiheft 13/14, Graz 1961
- UET = *Ur Excavations, Texts*
- VAS = *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*
- VAT = tablets of the Vorderasiatische Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen in Berlin
- VDI = *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*
- Veenhof, Aspects = K. R. Veenhof, *Aspects of Old Assyrian Trade and its Terminology*, Leiden 1972
- WAG = texts in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore
- WO = *Die Welt des Orients*
- WVDOG = *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft*
- YOS = *Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts*
- YOSR = *Yale Oriental Series, Researches*
- ZANF = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, Neue Folge*

General Introduction

The purpose of this study is to analyse and describe the political structure of the Old Assyrian state. Various aspects of this subject have been extensively discussed in two recent works: P. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, Paris 1963, and L. L. Orlin, *Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia*, the Hague 1970, but a renewed investigation with a different emphasis seems justified. The two books mentioned are concerned with the Assyrian commercial colonies abroad, and especially with the nature of the political relations between these colonies and the local Anatolian states. I shall instead concentrate most of my attention on the internal structure of the Assyrian society, and I intend to deal in equal measure with the institutions in the city-state of Assur, the mother-city of the colonies, and in the colonies themselves. Ideally, the results reached by Garelli and Orlin may serve as the basis for my own investigations.

The Old Assyrian evidence is of great potential interest in a wider context, and it has indeed been made use of by economic historians and anthropologists. Karl Polanyi discussed it in a chapter called "Marketless trading in Hammurabi's time" in the book *Trade and Market in the Early Empires* (eds. K. Polanyi, C. M. Arensberg, and H. W. Pearson). His theories, according to which the Old Assyrian material should exemplify a system of state-directed, marketless trade, cannot be substantiated however. There is in my mind no doubt that the Old Assyrian commercial colonies in Northern Syria and Anatolia were based on a socioeconomic system of a "capitalistic" type, where the long-distance trade rested on private venture-taking. Robert McC. Adams has used the Old Assyrian material to illustrate some important points concerning the nature of trade in early societies in the article entitled: "Anthropological Perspectives on Ancient Trade" in *Current Anthropology* 15, 1974, 239–258. As will be pointed out repeatedly in the chapters which follow, there are many striking parallels between the Old Assyrian commercial and social patterns and other, later systems which were based on a similar type of long-distance trade. It seems clear, however, that the relevance and importance of the Old Assyrian material has not yet been fully realized by economic historians, and it is to be hoped that a renewed investigation will prove useful.

It must be admitted, however, that considerable difficulties stand in the way of such a program, and what I expect to accomplish here is to deal in a traditional way with the evidence from the Old Assyrian period, occasionally drawing attention to what appear to me to constitute valuable and enlightening parallels.

It may be useful to catalogue some of the major difficulties, which are partly methodological, partly determined by the nature of the available evidence. Some undoubtedly agree with the view that the assyriological evidence is too old, or too strange, or – perhaps with more reason: too uncertain of interpretation to represent a useful and worthwhile subject. The Danish author Otto Gelsted remarked some years ago in a review of a doctoral thesis which was concerned with the poetic works of a minor nineteenth century Danish author: "Life does not last forever – although one might be inclined to think so when looking at the theses which are currently being written." He went on to observe that "it is a mistake to believe that science cannot be too inquisitive. There are in fact things which are not worth knowing about." Although I have to admit that these harsh words are to some extent justified, it is my conviction that Gelsted basically was mistaken since every subject may become relevant and worthwhile if it is treated in such a way it can be placed in a wider context.

There has not been much discussion in the assyriological discipline of the justification for its existence, and it seems that the mere presence of the texts has been considered ample reason. Assyriology represents a rather peculiar intellectual field with a quite interesting background. Only few direct remains of the Mesopotamian civilization remain embedded in modern western civilization, transferred and transformed by way of the Bible and the Greek tradition, and these fossils hardly aid us in our understanding of the ancients. As pointed out so forcefully by Oppenheim, assyriologists deal with a dead culture, so in a way their efforts constitute attempts to engage in a dialogue with the dead. There are certain rules set for this conversation, however, and it is essential to realize that these rules have been established by the dead. Only certain questions or categories of questions can in fact be asked, and unless we observe the rules we cannot hope to accomplish the task of breaking through the opaque wall of strangeness and reach a real understanding of patterns and connections. Our failures are all too often due to our insistence on asking unanswerable questions, or phrasing reasonable questions in such a way that the replies have to be either vague and elusive, or consist of isolated – and therefore useless – statements of fact.

The mere mass of textual evidence – not to speak of the archaeological record which is immensely varied – certainly represents a major challenge, and it is surely not surprising that the purely philological treatment of the texts has come to overshadow the efforts towards interpretation and analysis of basic cultural and historical complexes. The necessary collaboration with scholars from other disciplines is often neglected or is of a quite superficial nature, and it is clearly not always possible for the assyriologist to master the expertise in other fields which could enable him to find methods or comparative evidence that would help to make his results available and understandable outside the assyriological discipline. The needed continuous debate concerning methods and aims has to a large extent been blocked by the intense preoccupation with philology, and as a result assyriology has not to a sufficient degree been able to live up to its duties as an auxiliary discipline which can provide material for neighbouring fields and comparative disciplines.

At first assyriology was of course dominated by men whose background was Europe of the nineteenth century, preoccupied with the relations that could be established with the Bible and with Hebrew studies. This viewpoint certainly remains a valid one, but it cannot constitute the only, or even the major basis for the discipline. Some scholars appear to have sought refuge in the thesis that any addition to man's knowledge of his past is in itself valid and carries its own justification, but it seems to me that such an approach is open to attack from such men as Gelsted who was quoted above. Isolated facts are hardly worth knowing, for to my mind true knowledge does not consist merely in a collection of facts; it is a pattern of observations which are interrelated and connected. Our task cannot be simply to record and catalogue facts, prepare them for display. By doing only that we leave the public in a situation where it must ask simpleminded questions which reflect our own culturally defined beliefs. Typically, the widespread and popular belief in progress forms the basis for whatever "understanding" is attempted. The naive evolutionist finds great satisfaction in his wide-eyed wonder that the Romans really had baths with heated floors, or that the Mesopotamians as early as the third millennium B.C. wrote long, complex epics dealing with such advanced subjects as man's longing for immortality. A search for "firsts" in man's history all too easily degenerates into an attitude which is entirely dominated by the concepts and ideologies of our own culture, and consequently such an approach cannot lead to a real understanding of the civilization and the men we are studying. The dialogue becomes a meaning-

less exchange – “je lui parlais figue, il me répondait raisin” – or even a monologue where the scholar eagerly provides the answers to his own questions.

Some substantial comments on these matters were given already in 1926 by Benno Landsberger, who formulated the goals and methods of assyriology in his famous inaugural lecture from Leipzig, “Die Eigenbegrifflichkeit der babylonischen Welt”. He then insisted that the traditional philological techniques were unsatisfactory for the accomplishment of the goal which he set: the understanding of the “Eigenbegrifflichkeit” of a culture. He also criticized what he termed “die seichten Typologien des Kulturvergleichers” which all too often lead to sterile abstractions. Landsberger saw it as the aim to establish assyriology among the humanistic and social disciplines, but not on the basis of the specific, such as relationships and historical connections; one must build on a general, universal foundation which is defined by the unity of the object, the human mind.

One cannot say that Landsberger carved out a precisely defined methodology for the discipline, and his own practical application of these ideas took the form of a linguistic analysis. It seems to me however that this program provides a bridge to such a discipline as anthropology or ethnology, and Oppenheim in his evaluation of the “why and how” of assyriology also argued for a closer connection with cultural anthropology. Recently, M. Liverani in his important article entitled “Memorandum on the Approach to Historiographic Texts” in *OrNS* 42, 1973, 178–194, has taken up this thread and shown the practical application of such an approach.

In fact, the distinctive character of the Mesopotamian civilisation tends to reinforce the impression of an especially close relationship between assyriology and ethnography and ethnology. The assyriologist is in the same way as the ethnographer usually faced with the praxis of social life rather than with reflections and abstractions. According to Claude Lévi-Strauss history and ethnology “se distinguent surtout par le choix de perspectives complémentaires: l’histoire organisant ses données par rapport aux expressions conscientes, l’ethnologie par rapport aux conditions inconscientes, de la vie sociale.” (*Anthropologie structurale*, Paris 1958, 25). A special field of history, namely economic history, is in the same way as ethnology “l’histoire d’opérations inconscientes.” It is of course true that the assyriologist works on the basis of texts, but his sources are not normally provided with any commentary and they usually refer exclusively to the specific situation which has produced them. This is ob-

viously true of the very many documents which form the basis for our knowledge of the economic and social history of Mesopotamia: legal, economic, and administrative texts, letters, notes, etc. I believe that this observation is valid also for many other groups of material; for instance the very numerous so-called "scientific" texts: we have endless series of omnia for instance, predictions based on concrete observations, but we have no text which might be compared with Cicero's *De divinatione*, concerned with the philosophical background or the practical application of all these omnia. Our legal and economic texts can be said to represent or constitute social acts which can be observed and analysed, but we cannot study them on the basis of ancient reflections or discussions of the principles of law or economy. No text, other than myths, provides us with contemplations concerning political ideas or ideologies.

Consequently, our task is closely similar to that of the ethnographer and ethnologist, and it consists in a decoding of the evidence in an attempt to reach an understanding and provide a description of the structures and concepts which determined the form of this evidence and lie embedded in it. Liverani has discussed specifically the historiographic texts, but his general approach has validity in the context of the present study as well. He adopts and transforms the concept of a "total social fact" defined by Gurvitch, and he proposes to regard each individual text as such a "social" and "psychic" fact in which a number of "structures" intersect:

All of these may be analyzed separately but in relation to the others to rebuild a complete understanding of the single "total fact" which alone exists in historical reality. On the one hand, therefore, we are forced to admit that only the single document exists in reality, and that our final aim has to be the complete understanding of the single document. But on the other hand this understanding can be attained only through the analysis of the many "structures" that are interwoven in the document: structures which do not exist in reality, which are only a fabrication of ours for a certain aim, but which alone allow us to connect the document under study with other documents – and with ourselves.

I believe that this is likely to be a fruitful approach, and it may well take us a long step in the direction of a true understanding of Landsberger's "Eigenbegrifflichkeit", for it seems obvious that the answers to our questions can be sought in a study of the social, economic and political processes and structures as well as in a linguistic analysis of the type pursued

by Landsberger. Such work also demands the care and deep respect towards the texts themselves which Oppenheim argued for in his own critique of the assyriological discipline.

The restrictions which are placed on our study of the Old Assyrian period by the nature of our evidence are very severe. From the capital city of Assur we have practically no documents which throw light on the commercial or social structures – in fact, the existence of the many colonies could not be deduced from the few royal building-inscriptions which we possess. And only one colony in Anatolia, the Kanesh colony located at the modern site Kültepe, has produced adequate evidence which allows us to study the life of the colonial establishment. Assur itself and the men who lived there and to a large extent directed the affairs of the colonists, appear as shadows on the wall. An analysis of the conditions in the capital therefore rests on our knowledge of the relations between Assur and its colonies.

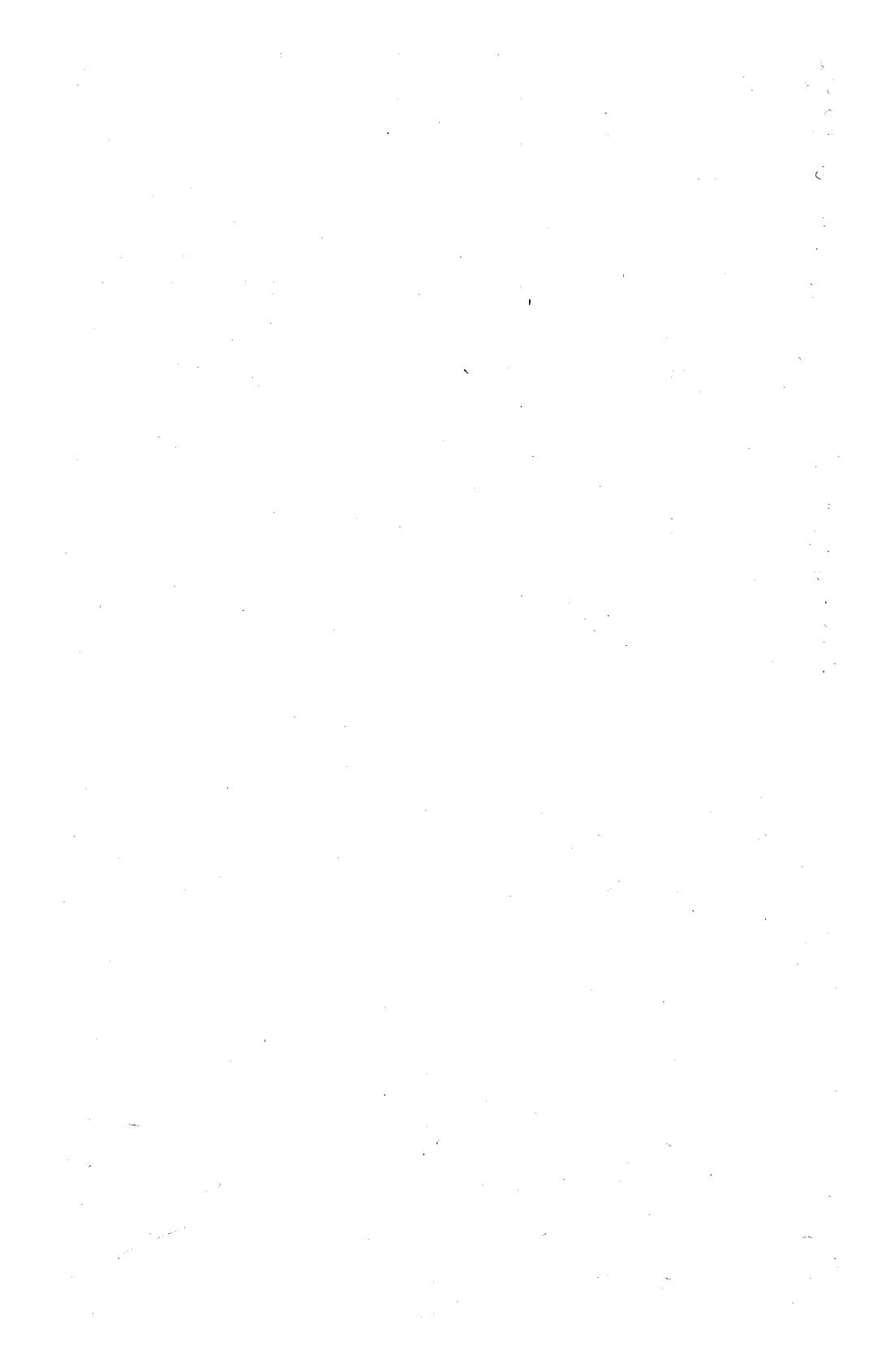
It should also be pointed out that the purely philological difficulties are substantial. On the other hand, we cannot hide behind them indefinitely, and it should be kept in mind that as early as 1924 Landsberger was able to present a very adequate sketch of the Old Assyrian society and the economic basis for the colonies, even though he had much less, and much more poorly understood material at his disposal. Similarly, it should not be forgotten that Eisser and Lewy already in the thirties presented a magnificent treatment of all the then known legal texts, a work which is still a standard tool for anyone studying this period. It is regrettable that the immensely interesting subject of the Old Assyrian law and legal procedures remains basically unstudied since that time, and the need for such an investigation has been felt acutely by me when writing this book. One of the reasons for the lack of progress in that field for many years was the situation which arose because of J. Lewy's hypothesis that the colonies were elements in an Old Assyrian imperial organization, an idea which is now discredited but which – in Adams' words – "long diverted attention from voluminously recorded economic interrelationships to arguments over a fictional political superstructure." This long debate appears to me to be a clear example of asking the wrong questions of our material, and it must be obvious that a true understanding of the political system of the colonies could only be accomplished when the economic basis had been described in an adequate way. In fact, this argument can be pursued further, for it is equally obvious that the philological work which was addressed to the problem of the meaning of words could

not get very far as long as the basic economic, commercial, and social acts and situations to which the words referred had not been analysed and understood. This led to the situation where some scholars took refuge in literal translations of the texts, which are highly idiomatic and make use of a complex technical terminology, so the result was a word-by-word rendering which left the modern reader with a new, equally unintelligible text. The philological treatment must go hand in hand with an analysis of the cultural background of the texts – and that again is another way of saying that we have to accept the rules set for the dialogue or be satisfied with fragments, bits and pieces randomly scattered.

The Old Assyrian evidence is of such a nature that the modern observer is placed *in medias res*, face to face with the actors who take part in various transactions, and what we can do is first of all to observe and record the concrete acts which reflect fundamental patterns in the social system. All texts – with the exception of the few royal inscriptions – stem from archives found in the houses of the colonies in Anatolia, and the first essential realisation must therefore be that our evidence by definition reflects mainly one element in the social and political structure, namely those families whose archives have been found (and published). Legal and economic texts, private letters and notes of various kinds, such texts constitute the basis on which we can build our analysis, and it is obvious that there is a danger that we over-estimate the importance of the families in the Old Assyrian society. On the other hand, most probably we tend to underestimate this element for the rest of Mesopotamian history, for it is unusual for assyriologists to have to concentrate so much attention on the family structure. Perhaps this is part of the reason why the Old Assyrian families are so relatively neglected. The lack of adequate evidence from Assur itself, illuminating the administration of the finances of the city, the military establishment, the temples, and of course the palace, forces us to balance the formidable load of evidence from Anatolia with hypotheses which are in some cases rather uncertain. However, it seems to me that it is possible to produce a model of the Old Assyrian society which has coherence and a high degree of logical consistency.

A second major restriction imposed on our analyses by the nature of the material is that we are forced to concentrate heavily on the economic aspects of the Old Assyrian society. When compared with the evidence available from the well-documented periods of Mesopotamian history, we see that the special nature of our material is defined by a near-total lack of non-economic texts and by the concentration on the aspect of

foreign trade. In particular the last element sets the Old Assyrian textual evidence apart – which then also means that we have very little material from other periods with which we may compare. The coherence of the Old Assyrian evidence, a reflection of the fact that the texts stem from a small group of contemporary private archives, places the modern student in a relatively favourable position for a synthetic analysis. It is true that whole aspects of the social and cultural life – the cult, the literary tradition, the historical events – are absent from our material, but on the other hand we do have the opportunity to reach an intimate knowledge and understanding of the economic life of the society. It is my hope that the commercial and legal transactions which can be observed provide an adequate basis for a reasonably precise analysis of the Old Assyrian society. Our work necessarily has to combine the two main features in the documentation, the families whose archives we have, and the international trade of which the archives represent a reflection. On that foundation we have to build our reconstruction of the political system, using the scant information contained in the building-inscriptions from Assur as a buttress.



PART ONE

An Historical Introduction

CHAPTER ONE

The Origins

The city of Assur was situated on a cliff overhanging the river Tigris. Its location on the border between the rainfall zone, where the climate allows farming without irrigation, and the western steppe which was always sparsely populated by nomadic tribes, defined a somewhat precarious economic and political existence. It was not a logical capital for the fertile agricultural areas and it was open to the constant threat of intrusion of nomads as raiders or settlers; at the same time its local resources were insufficient to allow the establishment of a community which could grow so strong that it could defend itself. However, the site did have certain positive attractions as described by Oates:

To the nomad it is an accessible and pleasant spot for the headquarters of a tribe in the process of settlement, with the additional advantage of profitable control of important routes. Its position on these routes would also recommend it as an outpost for the settled populations of the north or the south. The same considerations gave it military significance at times when the political control of the rainfall zone and of the southern alluvium were, as for the most part they have been until medieval times, in different hands, for it could serve either zone as a frontier fortress.¹

The city was located at the extreme southern end of the area which was later to be known as "Assur-land", the Assyrian heartland, i.e. the plains east of the river Tigris where we find such ancient and important

1. David Oates, *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq*, London 1968, 20–21. A general picture of the results of the German excavations of the site can be had from W. Andrae, *Das wiedererstandene Assur*, Leipzig 1938. The two classic histories of Assyria, A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, Chicago 1923, and Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, London 1928, are both out of date in their treatment of the earliest periods. The chapters written by H. Lewy in the revised edition of *Cambridge Ancient History* vol. I, 2 (chapter 24, "Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Period", and chapter 25, "Assyria c. 2600–1816 B.C."), published as separate fascicles in 1965 and 1966, should be treated with caution since much of what they contain is based on a personal interpretation of the data which does not always reflect current opinions.

cities as Urbillum (later known as Arbela, and now to be found on the map under the name Erbil), Šimurrum, or Gasur; and the land along the Tigris to the north where we find the city of Nineveh, easily the most important early settlement in the entire northern area.² The early history of this vast stretch of land remains largely unknown because of a near-total lack of inscriptional evidence. All the texts which we have stem from contexts which indicate close connections with the Sumerian and Akkadian south from where the cultural and political initiatives came.³ The people on the southern alluvium referred to the north with the term Subartu, but this name seems to have been used as a rather vague reference to ethnic and political units which were located in a wide arc to the east and north of the alluvium, and it is unlikely to have denoted one firmly defined political entity.⁴ There is no doubt that such cities as Urbillum and Nineveh were part of Subartu, but it should be noticed that Assur must have been in a somewhat different position culturally and politically, being located on the boundary between north and south. It also seems to have been a considerably younger settlement than for instance Nineveh, for the earliest traces of human habitation at Assur were found in the sacred area which was dedicated to the goddess Ištar, where the first temple can be dated to ca. 2400 B.C.⁵ The building itself and the elaborate statuary found in it shows very clear influence from the Sumerian south where city-states were in full bloom at this time. The statues could in fact have come from a Sumerian sanctuary and some scholars have concluded that the city was, if not inhabited by Sumerians, then at least under very heavy influence from Sumerian culture; Gadd suggested that perhaps Assur was governed by a "class (which was) en-

2. Cf. Oates, op. cit., 21.

3. The hope of textual finds from the very early periods which could describe northern conditions therefore seems rather vain; cf. M. E. L. Mallowan, "Ninevite 5", *Festschrift Moortgat*, Berlin 1964, 154.

4. The problem of Subartu has been the subject of several inquiries: A. Ungnad, *Subartu*, Berlin und Leipzig 1936; I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, Chicago 1944; J. J. Finkelstein, "Subartu and Subarians", *JCS* 9, 1955, 1–7; and I. J. Gelb, "New Light on Hurrians and Subarians", *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida* I, 1956, 378–392.

5. W. Andrae, *Die archaischen Ischtar-Tempel in Assur*, WVDOG 39, Leipzig 1922. G. van Driel, *The Cult of Aššur*, Assen 1969, 5–6, points out that the generally accepted stratigraphic conclusions drawn from this excavation are in fact highly uncertain since all building-inscriptions were found in disturbed context. It may even be that there was an older structure at the site but nothing is known about it.

tirely permeated with Sumerian customs and ideas." He correctly stressed the fact that "no traces of such exotic inhabitants" were discovered in the ruins of other northern cities.⁶

Unfortunately, the deepest levels of the main sanctuary of the city, dedicated to the god who shared his name with the site itself, have not been recovered.⁷ It is not possible to establish the plan of any building older than the temple built by Šamši-Adad I after the end of the Old Assyrian period, but van Driel has convincingly argued for the existence of a temple already in the Old Akkadian period (ca. 2250 B.C.). Traces of even earlier open air fireplaces indicate that the site functioned as a place of sacrifice. It is of course possible that there was seasonal habitation at Assur before the erection of the Ištar-temple, or that the site served religious purposes, but it seems likely that the town begins at the same time as the earliest sanctuary for Ištar.⁸

These observations provide a curiously evocative background for the plot of a Sumerian myth known as "Inanna and Ebih",⁹ for it is clear that the site of Assur was at least part of the geographical entity which was known under the name Ebih or Abeh.¹⁰ One of the Old Assyrian kings says in building inscription that the god Aššur opened up for him two new springs on mount Abeh, i.e. within the city itself.¹¹ Abeh is also known as a divine name and as such occurs not infrequently in West Semitic names;¹² curiously, also the mountain, known as "The Bolt of

6. *CAH* I, 2 (revised edition), chapter 13, 98; see also M. E. L. Mallowan's remarks in chapter 16 of the same volume.

7. A. Halter and W. Andrae, *Die Heiligtümer des Gottes Assur und der Sin-Šamaš-Tempel in Assur*, WVDOG 67, Berlin 1955. Chapters I and II in the book by van Driel contain much important material and several new interpretations, and they should be consulted by anyone who studies the Aššur-temple.

8. So-called "prehistoric" remains were in fact discovered at Assur (cf. Andrae, *Das wiedererstandene Assur*, 69–72), but a coherent picture cannot be offered.

9. The myth has not as yet been fully edited; the latest treatment is H. Limet, "Le poème épique 'Innina et Ebih'. Une version des lignes 123 à 182", *OrNS* 40, 1971, 11–28. I am grateful to B. Alster who has helped me in my understanding of this text.

10. Cf. Thureau-Dangin, "Ebih", *RA* 31, 1934, 84–86.

11. Ilušuma text 2 in A. Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions* I, Wiesbaden 1972, 7–8.

12. Cf. D. O. Edzard, *Die "Zweite Zwischenzeit" Babyloniens*, Wiesbaden 1957, 35, n. 152, and H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*, Baltimore 1965, 212–213. For Abeh in Old Assyrian personal names I refer to H. Hirsch, *Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion*, AfO Beiheft 13/14, Graz 1961, 31.

the land", is connected with West Semitic MAR.TU.¹³ The myth tells that the goddess Inanna was insulted by Ebih and that she consequently decided to destroy it; her father, the heaven-god An warned her by describing the mountain as a wild and dangerous place full of deep forests with savage animals, but Inanna fought Ebih and conquered it. The end tells in great detail how she then built a temple on the mountain and installed various priests to take care of the cult, so the main point in the story appears to be the establishment of a cult of Inanna in Ebih. However, it is a dangerous procedure to attempt to read history out of myths and even though there may be a connection between the archaic Ištar-temple in Assur and this text, we cannot possibly place such a theory in a precise historical context. The attempts which have been made in this direction by such eminent scholars as Falkenstein, who explained the text as referring to Utu-hegal's victory over the Gutian armies in about 2050 B.C.;¹⁴ or Edzard who connected the text with the wars between the Ur III kings and their Hurrian enemies in the Zagros;¹⁵ or by van Dijk and Hallo who dated the text to the Old Akkadian period and interpreted it as referring to events taking place during the reign of Narām-Sīn¹⁶ – all such attempts carry little or no weight.

The possible linguistic unity of the area known as Subartu is a highly complicated and controversial problem; according to van Dijk some recent textual finds indicate that the Subarian language is related to the later Hurrian which is known to have been spoken in the Zagros area in the second millennium B.C.¹⁷ H. Lewy has furthermore offered the theory that the oldest name of the site which we know as Assur was in fact Baltil, a word which he interprets as Hurrian.¹⁸ The tradition which links the

13. UET III, 1685: 3–4; see for the expression sag.kul.ma.da or sag. kul.kur.kur.ra, *sikkur mātim*, E. Reiner, "Malamir", *RA* 57, 1963, 173. Cf. also Mount Ebih in the *lipšur*-litanies, E. Reiner, "Lipšur Litanies", *JNES* 15, 1956, 129–149.
14. A. Falkenstein, "Zur Chronologie der sumerischen Literatur", *CRAI* 2, Paris 1951, 5–16.
15. Fischer Weltgeschichte 2, Frankfurt am Main 1965, 139. In his contribution to H. W. Haussig (editor), *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* I, Stuttgart 1965, 89, Edzard instead accepted Falkenstein's interpretation.
16. W. W. Hallo and J. J. A. van Dijk, *The Exaltation of Inanna*, New Haven 1968, 3; also C. Wilcke in A. Finet (ed.), *La voix de l'opposition en Mésopotamie*, Bruxelles 1974, 56–57.
17. J. van Dijk, *Nicht-kanonische Beschwörungen und sonstige literarische Texte*, VAS NF I, Berlin 1971, 9.
18. *CAH* I, 2 (revised edition), chapter 25, 731–732.

city with this name is late, however, the oldest example being from the eleventh century; it is especially the Neo Assyrian king Esarhaddon who connects his family with Baltil through his ancestor Adasi who founded a new dynasty in Assur in the middle of the second millennium B.C. Such evidence is hardly sufficiently compelling to make it even very likely that Baltil was an early, not to speak of the original name of the site.¹⁹

The texts found in the northern cities are few and generally not very informative about the historical evolution.²⁰ From the Old Akkadian period we have some economic documents at Gasur²¹ (later Nuzi) and a handful of votive inscriptions from Nineveh and Assur. Narām-Sin may be the author of the text from Nineveh, and from Assur we have mention of the kings Man-ištušu and Rimuš;²² according to a later tradition Man-ištušu also built a temple for Ištar in Nineveh.²³ The Assur-text which mentions the same king is written on a copper spear-tip which was dedicated to a god or goddess by a man whose name presumably is to be read Azuzu.²⁴ All these texts show simply what was well known already, namely that the entire northern area was securely in the hands of the southern kings.

One text from Assur is perhaps less easy to interpret; it is another votive inscription written on an alabaster plaque which was found in the area of the Ištar-temple.²⁵

Ititi, the PA, son of Inin-labba, dedicated some of the booty from Gasur to divine Ištar.

19. See also A. Poebel, "The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad", *JNES* 1, 1942, 263–267, who presents the lexical evidence. The earliest known example is from the time of Shalmaneser II, cf. A. Goetze, "An Inscription of Simbar-Šihu", *JCS* 19, 1965, 134, n. 108, with references to earlier literature.
20. For a survey see R. Borger, *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften* I, Leiden 1961, 2.
21. Published in *HSS* 10, Cambridge Mass. 1935.
22. For Man-ištušu see n. 24; Rimuš is mentioned on a macehead which was discovered in the large house found underneath the later Sin-Šamaš-temple, C. Preusser, *Die Wohnhäuser in Assur*, WVDOG 64, Berlin 1954, 6 and plate 22b.
23. See Borger, *Einleitung*, 9–12, and Kirk Grayson, *ARI* I, 22–24.
24. Photo published by W. Andrae, "Die jüngeren Ischtar-Tempel in Assur", *MDOG* 73, 1935, 2. The connection with the level G in the temple complex is doubtful. The reading is perhaps not entirely certain but it seems better than either *A-ba-zu* proposed by Weidner, *AFO* 15, 1945–51, 85, or *A-zé-zé* proposed by Landsberger, "Assyrische Königsliste und 'Dunkles Zeitalter'", *JCS* 8, 1954, 109, n. 206. *A-zu-zu* was originally suggested by Borger, *Einleitung*, 1–2.
25. *KAH* 2:1, *IAK* I, 1, and Kirk Grayson, *ARI* I, 2. Cf. Borger, *Einleitung*, 1.

On the basis of certain stylistic features Borger has suggested that this text is to be dated to the time of the Old Akkadian king Rimuš, and the donor Ititi would accordingly have been a governor in Assur. If we take the reading PA as denoting the title ENSÍ, the usual title for the governors of the Old Akkadian empire, that would support Borger's conclusion, but we could also read UGULA and thus have an early example of the title *waklum* which is otherwise attested from Assur as denoting an independent ruler.²⁶ I favour the latter possibility in view of the fact that booty from the city of Gasur, which was certainly also under the control of the southern kings, is unlikely to have been in the hands of a governor of Rimuš or any other Old Akkadian king. It seems most probable that Ititi was an independent ruler who was able to conduct wars against rival cities in the area. A precise dating cannot be offered, of course, but it should be kept in mind as a possibility that he ruled even before the Old Akkadian kings conquered Assur for the first time; it may also be that he ruled during one of those intervals when the empire was shaken by revolts, or he may even be dated to the time when Assur again became independent after the fall of the Old Akkadian empire.

The names of Ititi and of his father are Akkadian and occur among the names in the economic texts from Gasur.

We know nothing about the conditions in Assur, or indeed in the north as a whole, during the ensuing period when the Gutian tribes from the Zagros ravaged the south after having brought an end to the Old Akkadian empire.²⁷ In the Ur III period following this interlude Assur once again came under the control of the south; it seems that the major part of the north remained politically independent, however, for the royal inscriptions from the Ur kings mention repeated campaigns against the major urban areas.²⁸ But Assur became the seat of military governors, and one of them has left a building inscription commemorating the erection of a temple for the goddess Bēla ekallim:²⁹

26. See discussion below, 129–147.
27. See W. W. Hallo, "Gutium", *RIA* 3, 1971, 708–720. That the poor remains from level F in the Ištar-temple should be dated to a time when the impoverished city suffered under Gutian rule is far from certain.
28. Cf. the list of campaigns collected in J. Læssøe, *The Shemshara Tablets*, København 1959, 15–16; more material by Edzard, "Neue Inschriften zur Geschichte von Ur III und Šusuen", *AfO* 19, 1959–60, 1–32.
29. *KAH* 2:2, *IAK* II, 1, and Kirk Grayson, *ARI* I, 3–4; for the person Sarriqum I refer to W. W. Hallo, "Zāriqum", *JNES* 15, 1956, 220–225.

Temple of divine Bēlat ekallim,³⁰ his lady – for the sake of the life of Amar-Suena, the legitimate one, king of Ur, king of the four quarters of the world, and for the sake of his own life, has Sarriqum, the military governor of the divine city of Assur, his servant, built (it).

We know from southern sources that Sarriqum functioned as governor of Assur from the 48th year of the reign of Šulgi until the 5th year of the reign of Amar-Suena, when he was transferred to the governorship of Susa in Elam. The kings in Ur retained control of the area west of the Tigris up to Urbillum until at least the second year of king Ibbi-Sin, i.e. 2025 B.C., for this entire area was governed by the powerful governor Ir-Nanna who has left us an inscription recording the building of a temple in Girsu.³¹ When the Amorite invasions soon after that date destroyed the empire's power base in the south, the north as a whole regained independence. Some time after that the first king of the Old Assyrian dynasty, Puzur-Assur I, seized power in Assur.

It is evident that the city of Assur plays a small role in the textual material from both north and south. In documents from the Ur III period we find mention of a few persons whose names are compounded with the divine name Aššur,³² but there is no indication that their home city played a prominent role in any way. In historical texts it simply never occurs, either as ally or as enemy. One thing should be mentioned, though, namely that all the personal names known which refer to inhabitants of Assur were of normal Akkadian type.³³

30. The precise nature of this deity and her possible connection with Ištar is still uncertain, but it is known that she played a considerable role in many cities in the north and northwest; she was the city-goddess of Qatna (J. Bottéro, "Les inventaires de Qatna", *RA* 43, 1949, 27–40), and she held a prominent position in the pantheon of Mari (cf. Edzard, "Pantheon und Kult in Mari", *CRRAI* 15, Paris 1967, 55); in fact, it has been suggested (*ARM* 9, 194) that she was the main female deity of Mari. In later Assyrian times she had her own temple in Assur which she shared with her husband Uraš, and in the palace of the city there was a courtyard named after her. Moreover, she gave her name to one of the Old Assyrian months, the one which is likely to have begun the eponym-year in the early period.
31. Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *SAKI*, 148–151; discussion by Th. Jacobsen, "The Reign of Ibbi-Suen", *JCS* 7, 1953, 37, n. 8.
32. Cf. Hallo, *JNES* 15, 1956, 225.
33. The documents from Gasur (cf. n. 21) mention an Abu-tāb and a Puzur-ekallim as citizens of Assur.

a) The Assyrian King List

In copies from the first millennium we have a text which purports to contain a complete list of all rulers of Assur from the earliest times.³⁴ This document is of obvious importance but unfortunately it has been heavily contaminated by foreign influence and it is questionable whether it is any longer possible to extract useful information concerning the earliest periods. The first sections of the list, up to king no. 39 who was the Amorite usurper Šamši-Adad I, contain the following names:

1) Ḫudija	
2) Adamu	3) Jangi
4) Suhlamu	5) Harharu
6) Mandaru	7) Imšu
8) Harṣu	9) Didanu
10) Hanu	11) Zuabu
12) Nuabu	13) Abazu
14) Belu	15) Aṣarah
16) Ušpija	17) Apiašal

Total: 17 kings living in tents.

26) Aminu	son of Ilu-kabkabi
25) Ilu-kabkabi	son of Jazkur-ilu
24) Jazkur-ilu	son of Jakmeni
23) Jakmeni	son of Jakmesi
22) Jakmesi	son of Ilu-Mer
21) Ilu-Mer	son of Hajani
20) Hajani	son of Samanu
19) Samanu	son of Hale
18) Hale	son of Apiašal
17) Apiašal	son of Ušpija

Total: 10 kings who are ancestors.³⁵

34. The relevant literature is: A. Poebel, op. cit., I. J. Gelb, "Two Assyrian King Lists", *JNES* 13, 1954, 209–230; E. F. Weidner, "Bemerkungen zur Königsliste aus Chorsābād", *AFO* 15, 1945–51, 85–102; Landsberger, op. cit.; F. R. Kraus, *Königen die in Zelten wohnten*, Amsterdam 1965. Latest translation is A. Leo Oppenheim's in *ANET* Suppl., 128–131; in Kirk Grayson *ARI* I the text is spread over several sections.
35. For this translation see Landsberger, op. cit., 34 with n. 21; Kirk Grayson has retained Poebel's translation: "whose fathers are (known)", but it carries little conviction.

- 27) Sulili son of Aminu
28) Kikkija
29) Akija
30) Puzur-Aššur
31) Šallim-ahhe
32) Ilušumma

Total: 6 kings [...] bricks, whose eponymies(?) are . . .³⁶

- 33) Erišu, son of Ilušumma, whose [...]³⁷ He ruled as king for 40 years.

34) Ikunu, son of Erišu. He ruled as king for [x years].

35) Sargon, son of Ikunu. He ruled as king for [x years].

36) Puzur-Aššur, son of Sargon. He ruled as king for [x] years.

37) Narām-Sin, son of Puzur-Aššur. He ruled as king for 4(?)³⁸ years.

38) Erišu, son of Narām-Sin. He ruled as king for [x] years.

39) Šamši-Adad, son of Ilu-kabkabi. In the time of Narām-Sin he went to Kar-Dunjaš. In the eponymy Ibni-Adad Šamši-Adad came up from Kar-Dunjaš. He seized the town Ekallāte. He stayed in Ekallāte for 3 years. In the eponymy Atamar-Ištar Šamši-Adad went up from Ekallāte. He removed Erišu, son of Narām-Sin, from the throne. He seized the throne. He ruled as king for 33 years.

The king list thus presents the following schematic picture of the earliest history of the town:

36. Cf. Landsberger, op. cit., 108 with notes 198–200, for a discussion of this passage; Gelb, op. cit., offered the tentative translation: “6 kings [who occur? on?] bricks, whose eponymies are destroyed?”, and Oppenheim has repeated this suggestion. Rowton, “*Tuppū* in the Assyrian King-Lists”, *JNES* 18, 1959, 220, offered the in my view unlikely interpretation: “a total of 6 kings who inhabited houses of brick, and whose eponymies were *la'uṭu*” [the verb at the end explained as meaning “to coat”, “plaster with mud”, i.e. on the ancient tablet so that it could no longer be read].
 37. Rowton, op. cit., 220, translates: “for whom [there were 40 eponyms]”; Gelb’s translation is: “[whose eponymie]s? (are known?)”.
 38. This figure which is found in one list only (Weidner, op. cit., 100) has not been universally accepted, cf. e.g. K. Balkan, *Observations*, 58.

- 1) seventeen nomad chieftains;
- 2) ten ancestor kings;
- 3) six early kings;
- 4) the six Old Assyrian kings with genealogies;
- 5) the usurper Šamši-Adad I.

Obviously, this tradition is complex in origin and must incorporate more than one group of material. In fact, it is possible to remove quite a number of the names from the list as representing an alien tradition which was introduced by the Šamši-Adad-dynasty, apparently for propagandistic reasons.

The section containing "ancestors" has been shown by Landsberger to contain the names of the direct ancestors of Šamši-Adad.³⁹ These men obviously did not rule in Assur. The same conclusion can now be drawn for the majority at least of the names which appear in the first section, the "tent-dwellers", for a recently published text which gives a list of the ancestors of the Hammurapi-dynasty in Babylon begins with a series of names which have been shown to be identical, or based on an identical tradition, with the first twelve names of the Assyrian king list.⁴⁰ The common tradition behind these two lists can hardly be explained on any other basis than the common Amorite origin of both the Šamši-Adad- and the Hammurapi-dynasties. At the time of Šamši-Adad the nomadic past was not left far behind, and there can be little doubt that the remark about kings who lived in tents belongs to the Amorite tradition and has no real significance for the early history of Assur.

As a result one of the most popular theories about Assur's origins must be abandoned. Oates used the first section of the king list as the basis for a plausible theory concerning the transition from a nomadic to a sedentary way of life, beginning with the establishment of a tribal headquarters where the sheik had his permanent house while the tribe continued to roam the steppe.⁴¹ A similar interpretation must lie behind Oppenheim's suggestion that there was a league of tribes with a common cultic centre in Assur.⁴²

39. Landsberger, op. cit., 33–36.

40. J. J. Finkelstein, "The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty", *JCS* 20, 1966, 95–118; see also W. G. Lambert, "Another Look at Hammurabi's Ancestors", *JCS* 22, 1968–69, 1–2.

41. Oates, op. cit., 24 with n. 1.

42. A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, Chicago 1964, 98–100 and 168. See further below, 213, n. 68, for a discussion of this theory.

Landsberger and Kraus had shown⁴³ – even before the publication of the list of ancestors of the Babylonian dynasty – that the king list must have been composed during the time of the Šamši-Adad-dynasty with the purpose of creating a kind of legitimization for the usurper. This was done by way of a confusing network of alleged filiations which link his ancestors with the local traditions. The obvious example is the connection thus established between the ancestor Hale (18) and Apiašal and Ušpija; the last of these figures was known in the local tradition as the builder of the first Aššur-temple.⁴⁴ In order to serve its propagandistic purpose it must of course have contained some information which was accepted by all as part of the local traditions, and one can at least make an attempt to extract this “correct” material.

The first twelve names are duplicated in the list from Babylon so they can be left out of consideration, but what about the remaining five rulers of the “tent-dweller” section? Abazu (13) was claimed by some to be the very person who dedicated the copper spear mentioned above, i.e. he should be contemporary with Man-ištušu;⁴⁵ but the reading is very unlikely and we must instead posit that a certain Azuzu presumably functioned as governor at that time. The two following names cannot be connected with any evidence, but, as mentioned above, Ušpija appears in later building-inscriptions as the one who built the first temple for Aššur. On the basis of this piece of information scholars have attempted to date him, and the proposals range from before the Old Akkadian period (ca. 2300 B.C.) down to the early Old Babylonian period.⁴⁶ It should be stressed that the first to say that Ušpija built the temple was Shalmaneser I in the thirteenth century B.C., and it is very probable that his information was based on the finding of an actual foundation document; we know that Shalmaneser’s rebuilding entailed that Šamši-Adad’s old temple was demolished down to its foundations. The most likely date for Ušpija remains the period between the Old Akkadian and the Ur III empires.

Passing over the second section we encounter some new problems in the third section. It is known from many building-inscriptions that the last three names belonged to the first members of the Old Assyrian dynasty which began with Puzur-Aššur I (30); it is also known that there

43. See Landsberger, op. cit., 109, and Kraus, op. cit., 11–22.

44. See Shalmaneser I’s inscription commemorating his own restoration of the temple, *IAK* 120–121, iii 32–iv 3; Kirk Grayson, *ARI* I, 83–86.

45. Weidner, op. cit., 85; see above, p. 31.

46. Cf. discussion by van Driel, op. cit., 1–2.

was an orderly succession from father to son in this group. What to us appears as a major break in the history of the city, the installation of the immensely successful Old Assyrian dynasty, has not left any trace in the king list. It is difficult to believe that a local scribe at the time of Šamši-Adad I should have been ignorant of for instance the filiations of the three first Old Assyrian kings, so perhaps the omission of these facts also served to compound the general confusion; it is at any rate very unlikely that the filiation given to Sulili should be correct for Aminu was Šamši-Adad's elder brother.⁴⁷ In this way the usurper's family is once again linked to the actual succession of rulers of the city.

If the last argument is valid, we may conclude that the list down to at least Šamši-Adad himself was composed as a whole. This is in my view a decisive argument which speaks against the reconstruction suggested by Finkelstein who thought that the process started with a "prototype document" consisting of sections one and two plus Šamši-Adad;⁴⁸ it would thus have been a truly genealogical list which could have served cultic purposes in the same way as the list of Babylonian ancestors. Only Ušpija and Apiašal should, according to Finkelstein, have been secondarily interpolated in this list, and the genealogical list altered in this manner "entered the stream of Assyrian tradition, ultimately gaining acceptance as an integral part of the Assyrian King List." However, Lambert⁴⁹ has shown that even the Old Babylonian list which was published by Finkelstein contained reference to contemporary dynasties in other cities, so it was not truly a genealogical list; on that background it is more likely that Šamši-Adad's list – which may well have been composed specifically for use in the mortuary cult like its Babylonian counterpart – comprised all the earlier rulers of the city.⁵⁰ It is exactly the mixture of ancestors and predecessors which ensures the propaganda value of the text.

Sulili (27) is presumably identical with the ruler known as Šilulu, son

47. Landsberger, op. cit., 34.

48. Finkelstein, op. cit., 113. The fact that the text in the known redactions use the Middle Assyrian phrase Kar-Dunjaš, or that Šamši-Adad is described clearly as a usurper, cannot constitute decisive arguments for a later dating.

49. See n. 40.

50. The Babylonian list contains the following final section which comes after the list of ancestors: "The dynasty of the Amorites, the dynasty of the Haneans, the dynasty of Gutium, (any) dynasty which is not recorded on this tablet, and (any) soldier who fell while in his lord's service, princes, princesses, all humanity, from the East to the West, who have no one to care for them or call their names – come, eat this, drink this, and bless Ammi-ṣaduqa, son of Ammi-ditāna, king of Babylon!"

of Dakiki, whose seal was reused on documents from the Old Assyrian period.⁵¹ And also Kikkija (28) is likely to be an actual ruler for later tradition (beginning with Aššur-rim-nišēšu around 1400 B.C.)⁵² claims that he was the first to build walls round the city. The excavations did not lead to any clear understanding of the very earliest fortifications of Assur but it is anyway not very probable that the *first* walls to be built should be as late as we must place Kikkija, presumably after the Ur III period. Oates therefore suggested that the later traditions only recognised those builders who were "members of the accepted royal line", i.e. presumably rulers whose names appeared in the king list;⁵³ H. Lewy suggested that the act of building fortifications has symbolic force for those kings who have just won their independence from foreign domination, and she consequently suggested that Kikkija was the first independent ruler in Assur after the fall of the Ur III empire.⁵⁴

Before the Old Assyrian dynasty we thus have five reasonably certain names in the king list: Ušpija (16), Apiašal (17), Sulili (27), Kikkija (28), and Akija (29); all of these names are likely to have been borne by men who actually ruled Assur. It is less certain whether the three remaining entries from the first section, Abazu (13), Belu (14), and Aşarah (15), belong to the Šamši-Adad genealogy or whether they are part of the local traditions. Anyway, it is obvious that even if we include these three names and thus get a total of eight, we have only the most pitiful remains of the entire series of names of actual rulers; the eight (or five) names cover a period of some 400 years. Moreover, the agreement between the king list and the inscriptional material from Assur is not impressive, for of the four names of rulers which are known with a reasonable certainty to have functioned in Assur, Ititi, Azuzu, Sarriqum, and Şilulu, only the last name is likely to be identical with one of the names in the king list. This state of affairs certainly invites to extreme scepticism concerning the value of the king list as a historical document, but there are some factors which must be introduced and which can at least partly explain the discrepancies.

First, it should be accepted that the king list contains only the names

51. The seal is published in Balkan, *Observations*, 54–57 with plates 6–11; discussion of the historical background in P. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, Paris 1963, 35–45. See also below, 117 and 146, n. 120.

52. *IAK XIV*, 1; Kirk Grayson, *ARI I*, 39.

53. Oates, op. cit., 28–29; he suggests that the first walls were contemporary with the archaic Ištar-temples.

54. *CAH I*, 2 (revised edition), chapter 25, 747.

of independent rulers of the city, and the names of at least Azuzu and Sarriqum should accordingly not appear. The case of Ititi is problematic, but if he is really to be dated to the pre-Old Akkadian phase, it is just possible that the list did not reach far enough back in time. Secondly, if we apply the first principle it is obvious that the names which actually do appear in the king list cover those relatively short periods when the city was in fact independent, i.e. the gap between the end of the Old Akkadian empire and the beginning of Ur III, ca. 75 years in the twenty-second century B.C.; and the period between the fall of the Ur III empire and the accession of the first Old Assyrian king, ca. 25–50 years falling on either side of the year 2000 B.C. In the first gap we would have to place the two (or five) names from the first section, and in the second gap we would have to put the first three names of the third section. Such a scheme is in fact not at all unreasonable, and it underscores the point which has already been made several times in the preceding: that the city of Assur was heavily under the influence of the south in all the early historical phases.

b) Chronology

Since the king list is broken and does not provide us with the figures for the reigns of the kings in the Old Assyrian dynasty we have no hope of finding exact dates for this period. The row of kings from Sulili (27) to Erišum II (38) fills a period whose beginning and end are rather precisely determined, however, since the first ruler is likely to have come to power in Assur when the imperial authority of the Ur kings broke down, and we know that the last one was removed by Šamši-Adad; both of these events can be dated with a fair degree of precision – although the actual dates given naturally are bound to the overall chronological schemes for Mesopotamia, and for these early periods we still have the choice between a couple of systems.⁵⁵ I have chosen the so-called “middle chronology.”

When the Ur III empire disintegrated the ancient Mesopotamian pattern of city-states was reestablished for some centuries. The Amorite Išbi-Erra who was largely responsible for the series of crises which led to the fall of the empire founded a new dynasty in the city of Isin, and the new rulers there were able to assert at least some authority over “Sumer and

55. I refer to the discussion with extensive bibliography in the chapter dealing with chronology written by Rowton in the revised edition of *CAH* I, chapter VI.

Akkad”, the old heartland of the empire.⁵⁶ The system appears to have been loose, however, determined by the fact that no single city-ruler had the necessary power or authority to impose his control over the land. Amorite dynasts struggled to secure for themselves a political base in a city-state and tried to enlarge their sphere of influence by way of a pattern of everchanging alliances and petty wars.

About conditions in the north nothing is known. In a letter to the last king in Ur, Ibbi-Sin, one of his governors writes that Išbi-Erra has fortified the city of Isin and has captured Nippur where he appears to have taken prisoner a man called Zinnum who is described as “the governor of Subartu”.⁵⁷ It seems likely that Subartu here refers to areas in the Zagros mountains and does not include Assur, but it seems obvious that it was impossible for the Ur kings to exercise effective control over Assur when Northern Babylonia with such places as Isin and Ešnunna had been lost. I therefore suggest that Assur’s independence is to be dated no later than 2015 B.C.,⁵⁸ nearly precisely 200 years before Šamši-Adad I took power there. We have the names of twelve kings who should be placed in the period between 2015 and 1813 B.C., and that gives an acceptable average reign of ca. 16.5 years. However, one king, Erišum I, is given a reign of 40 years by the king list, and another, Narām-Sin, is credited with only 4 years in one copy of the list. Moreover, we have a number of so-called “Distanzangaben” in later royal inscriptions, i.e. later kings give us figures for the periods elapsed between various temple-builders.⁵⁹ According to these the period from the first year of Erišum I to the first year of Šamši-Adad I lasted for 126 years, so we can posit Erišum’s reign as 1939–1900 B.C. The kings from Sulili to Ilušuma thus share a period of ca. 75 years (perhaps up to ten years more), which means that they had an average reign of 12–15 years, which is plausible. The five kings between Erišum I and Šamši-Adad I fill out the years 1900–1814 B.C. with average reigns of ca. 17 years.

56. For a general description I refer to Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, and F. R. Kraus, “Nippur und Isin nach altbabylonischen Rechtsurkunden”, *JCS* 3, 1951. For the role of the Amorites one may consult the recent articles by C. Wilcke, “Zur Geschichte der Amurriter in der Ur-III-Zeit”, *WO* 5, 1969, 1–12, and “Drei Phasen des Niederganges des Reiches von Ur III”, *ZANF* 60, 1970, 54–69.

57. See F. A. Ali, *Sumerian Letters: Two Collections from the Old Babylonian Schools*, Ann Arbor 1964, letter A:3.

58. It may have been as early as 2025 B.C., the last year known for the military governor Ir-Nanna mentioned above, 33.

59. See the detailed discussion of all such figures by Landsberger, op. cit., 39–42.

The last kings immediately before Šamši-Adad's usurpation are obviously likely to have had rather short reigns. The biographical note in the king list tells that Šamši-Adad went to Babylonia "in the time of Narām-Sin", and that he after an unknown period of time came back to the north where he first seized power in the city Ekallāte, which lies on the eastern bank of the Tigris not far to the north of Assur, and then after three years turned against Assur. The impression gained is of course that Šamši-Adad originally came from Assur itself but that is unlikely to be true; in fact, Landsberger has convincingly argued that he and his family had secured a foothold in the city Terqa on the middle Euphrates,⁶⁰ and it is therefore quite obvious that Šamši-Adad's biographer phrased his text in such a way that the same propagandistic purpose which has already been postulated in the preceding section would be served. We cannot, however, say with any degree of certainty whether the vague dating for this departure for Babylonia is correct, nor is it possible to provide anything but pure guesses about the length of his stay in Babylonia. It seems plausible to suggest that no more than fifteen years can have elapsed between his departure and his return.

Another complication is created by the likely hypothesis that the king Narām-Sin was another usurper in Assur, and that he is in fact identical with the contemporary ruler of the same name whose power base was the city Ešnunna.⁶¹ It is known that Narām-Sin of Ešnunna had successful armies operating in the area west of Assur,⁶² so it is surely not unlikely that he held power in the city for a short while. The filiations which link him with the preceding kings would thus be fictitious; they would not, however, make sense in the framework of the "propaganda theory" but would have been inserted at a later time – perhaps a weakness of the theory. It should be pointed out that the historical situation in the period immediately before Šamši-Adad becomes even more confused if we accept the theory of a conquest from Ešnunna, for the logical conclusion must be that the last king represents a return to the old line after Narām-Sin had died or been forced out of Assur. Šamši-Adad's conquest of Ekallāte is also likely to have happened after Narām-Sin's period in Assur, for it is

60. Landsberger, op. cit., 34–36; he provides a kind of revised biography of Šamši-Adad I as follows: "I: Kindheit zur Lebenszeit seines Vaters Ila-kabkabu; II: Regierungszeit seines Bruders Aminum; III: Usurpierung der Regierung bis zur Eroberung von Mari; IV: bis zur Eroberung von Assur; V: bis zum Tode."

61. Landsberger, op. cit., 35, n. 24.

62. A. Goetze, "An Old Babylonian Itinerary", *JCS* 7, 1953, 59.

unlikely that a great conqueror would have allowed a new dynasty to be set up so close to Assur.

All these different arguments do not easily coalesce into a coherent picture. Seen from the point of view of chronology it is perhaps most probable that the information of the king list is correct, so that there was an orderly succession from father to son until Šamši-Adad took power, for disorders are likely to have produced shorter reigns; and if e.g. the two last kings had reigns of some ten years in all,⁶³ the remaining three Old Assyrian kings must have reigned an average of twenty-five years, which seems to be too much.

c) The Ethnic and Linguistic Context

Apart from the questionable argument based on the name Baltil and the uncertain analyses proposed for the linguistic background of the names of some of the kings in the king list, we have no evidence which invites us to believe that Assur ever was anything but an Akkadian town. The names Ušpija (or Aušpija) and Apiašal are certainly not Akkadian but they cannot be attributed to any known language; and the attempts to explain such names as Kikkija and Akija as Hurrian appear to me to be mistaken, for apart from the fact that they may be Akkadian (Gelb explains Akija as such),⁶⁴ they belong to the group of names which could most certainly be given to persons living in a completely Akkadian milieu.⁶⁵ The fact that they are attested also in the Hurrian centre at Nuzi in the middle of

63. After duly noting the fact that one copy of the king list ascribes a reign of four years to Narām-Sin, K. Balkan nevertheless states that "we cannot help thinking that he must have reigned at least 15 years" (*Observations*, 58); surely, the figure that is actually preserved must take precedence over pure speculation. Landsberger, op. cit., 35, n. 24, suggested that Erišum II reigned no longer than five years.
64. I. J. Gelb, *MAD* 3, 25.
65. In the Old Assyrian texts we find such parallels as Kukkuwa (KTK 15, 4), Kakkaja (VAT 9218, 44), or Kilija (TC 1:28, 34). Garelli devoted a whole chapter of *AC* to a study of the names of the Old Assyrian texts and he does classify these names as "Hurrian", apparently simply on the strength of a reference to the name-material from Nuzi collected in *NPN*. I have to say that many unambiguous statements concerning the linguistic background of specific names in the Old Assyrian material, whether they are called Hurrian, Luwian, Hittite, or even sometimes Amorite, appear to be premature. "Banana-names" and hypocoristics are common in all periods and apparently in all milieus.

the second millennium does not automatically make them Hurrian names.

If Assur was what I called "an Akkadian town", that in itself does not exclude that it may have had a population which had mixed roots. As pointed out, it was a border town, between north and south as well as between east and west, and it must have been visited regularly by traders from all the neighbouring areas. But it remains most probable that the area immediately around it was inhabited by Akkadian-speaking groups from the time of the great invasions which led to the establishment of the Old Akkadian empire, i.e. the same period as the first temple for Ištar in Assur.

It is particularly interesting to note that the texts from the Old Assyrian period very occasionally refer to persons as "Subarians";⁶⁶ in one case we find a Subarian slave-girl, but we also have free Subarian men who sell special textiles to the Old Assyrian merchants. This was thus one of the ethnic groups which were recognized as being distinct from the inhabitants of the city of Assur; the other designations found in the Old Assyrian texts were: "Akkadians", "Amorites", and "barbarians" (*nu'āū*) the latter group referring indiscriminately to the inhabitants of Anatolia.⁶⁷ The most common way in which "foreigners" were designated was simply with a *nisbah* formed from the name of their home city: *kanišjum*, "a Kaneshite", etc.

The persons who were called "Akkadians" by the Old Assyrian merchants came from Babylonia with their textiles which were sold on the market in Assur.⁶⁸ The designation was used also by the people in the south to denote the old, settled population of the Babylonian cities as opposed to the newly arrived "Amorites". The latter expression is used in the Old Assyrian texts specifically about a couple of persons from the city of Nihria in Syria.⁶⁹

In view of the fact that the collapse of the Ur III empire brought new dynasties to the throne in several cities in the south, dynasties which

66. The latest discussion is provided by K. R. Veenhof, *Aspects of Old Assyrian Trade and its Terminology*, Leiden 1972, 100, n. 168, and 181. Cf. also H. Hirsch, "Şubrum und scheinbar Verwandtes", *AfO* 21, 1966, 52–55; and P. Garelli, "Tablettes cappadociennes des collections diverses", *RA* 60, 1966, 135–138.

67. B. Landsberger, "Kommt *Hattum* 'Hettiterland' in den Kultepetafeln vor?", *ArOr* 18: 1–2, 1950, 346. The word is presumably onomatopoeic in nature.

68. Cf. Veenhof, *Aspects*, 98–102, with references to previous literature.

69. CCT 2:49a, 13–16; discussion by J. Lewy, "Amurritica", *HUCA* 32, 1961, 66–67. Another letter, ATHE 32, connects men from the city Ibla in Syria with "Amorite silver".

clearly had an Amorite background, it would not be surprising if a similar chain of events could be postulated for the same period in Assur, but there is in fact no reason to believe that the installation of the Old Assyrian dynasty was followed by, or was the result of, a major invasion of people from the steppe. The first king in the dynasty carries a name which identifies him as a citizen of Assur: Puzur-*Aššur*, but that could of course be an assumed throne-name. There is, however, no reason to posit a theory of nomadic conquest in order to explain the origin of the new dynasty, and there are no convincing arguments in favour of any appreciable Amorite presence in the Old Assyrian society.

It is true that we find some demonstrably Amorite names in the texts from the Old Assyrian period, and these alone suffice to show that a limited number of persons of Amorite background took part in the Old Assyrian overland trade. That is anyway a highly reasonable hypothesis, for the caravans which went from Assur to Anatolia must have passed through areas which were dominated by Amorite tribes.⁷⁰ We have only very few such names, however, and they are never borne by persons of high rank or great influence. The attempts made by J. Lewy to prove that Amorites played a very important role in the Old Assyrian society⁷¹ were

70. Cf. G. Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period*, Napoli 1966, 235–247, for evidence concerning the “land of the Amorites” which had its centre at Jebel el-Bišri.
71. Specifically in *HUCA* 32, 31–74, an article dedicated to the entire question of Amorites in the Old Assyrian society. I cannot here discuss Lewy’s suggestions and conclusions in detail, but I shall limit myself to some brief comment on the names which Lewy described as “striking examples of West Semitic names”; these were: *Ma-na-na*, in my opinion simply another “banana-name” which cannot be assigned to any language; *Ili₅-ma-da-ar*, most probably an Amorite name (cf. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names*, 218); for the person see below, 254; *Bi-ni-ma-hu-um* (variant *Bu-ni-ma-hu-um*), a clear Amorite name; the man appears as a transporter; *Pá-ki-lá*, a name of quite uncertain interpretation; and finally *E-la-li*, interpreted by Lewy as Ela-(i)li; this name is borne by important persons, for instance a year-eponym who is also known as a *šangū*-priest in Assur. West Semitic names such as *I-la-DINGIR* or *E-la-DINGIR* (cf. Buccellati, op. cit., 143, and Gelb, *MAD* 3, 35) appear to support Lewy’s idea, but it seems that the frequent Old Babylonian examples of *E-la-li* or *E-la-NI* (cf. H. Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names*, Philadelphia 1905, 80; J. J. Stamm, *Die Akkadische Namengebung*, Leipzig 1939, 117; and examples in *BIN* 7) are to be interpreted as short forms of such names as Elāli-waqar (see also J. Renger, “Untersuchungen zum Priestertum der altbabylonischen Zeit”, *ZANF* 25, 1969, 123, n. 619). Elāli is accordingly a divine name and it is to be found in e.g. *RIA* 2, 324, as such. The god is attested outside of personal names

to a large extent based on the erroneous assumption that the god Amurru, when found in personal names or in certain phrases which connect him with the ancestor cult, was evidence of a close connection with Amorite traditions. However, it should be stressed that Amurru was not an Amorite god;⁷² in the material from Mari where we have a large number of Amorites the god is never associated with them and he only appears in Akkadian personal names.⁷³ Lewy's interpretation of such other deities as Ištar-the-star or An(n)a as being of Amorite origin is likewise highly questionable.⁷⁴

The Old Assyrian dialect of the Akkadian language is represented with certainty for the first time in a building-inscription from the time of Šalim-ahum, the second ruler in the Old Assyrian dynasty. All previous inscriptions from Assur were written in standard Old Akkadian. It is likely that the written language of the Old Akkadian period (as well as later of the Old Babylonian period) hides a diversity of regional dialects, and these come to the surface in the period of political fragmentation which followed. Texts from the late Ur III period found in Mari exhibit

in Mari, as noted by Bottéro, *ARM* 7, 196. The question of the possible Amorite nature of the Old Assyrian name is therefore a highly complicated one, and one could suggest that such a name as *E-la-DINGIR* should in fact be read *E-la-an* and be compared with *E-la-nu-um* (*MAD* 3, 40). The unique writing DINGIR.NI.NI in the Old Assyrian text TC 2:64, 10, is probably best left out of consideration until some more decisive evidence appears. Lewy also referred to some names which he claimed were "hybrid Akkado-West Semitic", namely *E-ni-ba-ša-ta* (variant *E-na-ba-ša-ta*), which he interpreted as "Fruit of (the goddess) *Bāšatā*", and some names compounded with the divine name An(n)a. The first of these gods presumably never existed; for the names in question I refer to *CAD*, s.v. *ba'āšu*, 6, and it should be mentioned that the god Bašum postulated by Lewy owes his existence to a mis-reading of the Old Babylonian incantation quoted by him; with von Soden, *BiOr* 18, 1961, 72, we must read Mašum and Maštum. For An(n)a see below.

72. Cf. J.-R. Kupper, *L'Iconographie du dieu Amurru*, Bruxelles 1961, 88: "—absent de l'onomastique 'ouest-sémitique', Amurru ne doit rien aux Amorréens, sinon, peut-être, le prestige accru qu'il tira de l'avance momentanée du désert sous leur pression grandissante."
73. Cf. Huffman, op. cit., 280.
74. For An(n)a one should note in particular that this god had a special festival which took place in Kanesh, and that he thus takes his place alongside such obviously Anatolian gods as Nipas, Parka, Harihari, and Tuhtuhānum who also named festivals in the local cultic calendar. For these festivals I refer to L. Matouš, "Anatolische Feste nach 'Kappadokischen' Tafeln", *AS* 16, 1965, 175–181.

certain similarities with the language and script of the Old Assyrian period,⁷⁵ and the same is true of a text found at Tell Asmar in the Diyala-area which stems from the early Old Babylonian period.⁷⁶ From Gasur we have some documents which must be described as pure Old Assyrian and they are likely to be contemporary with the bulk of the Old Assyrian documents from Anatolia.⁷⁷ It is accordingly clear that the Old Assyrian language was the result of local evolutions in the northern areas but it is presently impossible to offer anything like a precise interpretation of the processes.

75. I. J. Gelb, "On the Recently Published Economic Texts from Mari", *RA* 50, 1956, 1–10.
76. I. J. Gelb, "A Tablet of Unusual Type from Tell Asmar", *JNES* 1, 1942, 219–226. Note furthermore the strange "Old Assyrian" texts which mainly appear to come from Nippur and which contain forms and writings which show a number of similarities with the Old Assyrian texts; UM 5:156 is concerned with a lawsuit which features a person whose name ends with the divine name Aššur, and there are Assyrian forms in the text; see also the letter UM 1:1 and 7:1 from a certain Ibbi-ilum to one Šu-ilī, a text which is to be connected with the unpublished Ni. 395 exchanged between the same correspondents; also in this latter text do we find Assyrianisms, such as the mention of the *mušlālum*, a building-complex in Assur; cf. below, 58.
77. As pointed out by L. Matouš, "Bemerkungen zum altassyrischen Dialekt von Kültepe", *ArOr* 40, 1972, 290–291.

CHAPTER TWO

The Old Assyrian Period

The German excavations of Assur which were carried out in the beginning of this century were concentrated nearly exclusively on those areas of the town where the monumental buildings, palaces and temples, were located, but even there we have very little concrete evidence concerning the city in the Old Assyrian period. The later builders had ruthlessly destroyed the remains of the old houses in order to create firm foundations for their own buildings. We do have some building-inscriptions from the early periods, of course, but they were rarely found *in situ* and could not be connected with remains of buildings. Those areas of the Old Assyrian city which were full of private houses were not excavated, and it is to be hoped that new diggings will some day be started there for we know that the results of such an undertaking are bound to be of the greatest importance.

If the attention paid to Assur in Babylonian texts from earlier periods was slight or non-existent, the situation does not improve very considerably when we come to the Old Assyrian period. It is true that we find some references to commercial contacts with the northern area in documents from the southern cities, but most of the material in fact must stem from the period when Assur was governed by Šamši-Adad I.¹ The time of the Old Assyrian dynasty corresponds to the formative period in the south when the classical formulation of the Old Babylonian culture was taking shape out of the confused cultural, social, and political clashes which followed the meeting of Sumerian, Akkadian, and Amorite traditions. No doubt Assur was in close contact with the southern cities, but our knowledge of these contacts stems nearly exclusively from Old Assyrian sources. The economic texts and private letters from the Assyrian merchant archives in Anatolia show that there were regular commercial connections between the "Akkadians" from the south and Assur,² and

1. Cf. W. F. Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period*, Leiden 1960, 98–102, and idem, "Old Babylonian Letters and Economic History", *JESHO* 11, 1968, 192–215; see also Trolle Larsen, *Old Assyrian Caravan Procedures*, Istanbul 1967, 154.

2. Cf. Veenhof, *Aspects*, 98–103.

the Old Babylonian documents confirm this and indicate that these connections continued in existence after the fall of the Old Assyrian dynasty. Contacts of a political nature have been postulated on the basis of an Old Assyrian building-inscription from the time of Ilušuma, but – as will be pointed out in the following section – I regard that interpretation as highly questionable. There are no clear references from southern texts to such contacts.

The only site in Mesopotamia which has produced inscriptional evidence concerning Assur is the already frequently mentioned town Gasur, which later became known under the name of Nuzi. This site which is located about 100 kms east of Assur produced a handful of tablets which must be described as Old Assyrian;³ one of them is a letter which is chiefly concerned with purchases of barley, but the others are too fragmentary to allow any interpretation although one notes that the term *ellutum*, "caravan", appears in all.⁴ The Old Assyrian archives from Anatolia contain occasional references to Gasur, or rather to persons who are described as "Gasurites", and these individuals appear to take part in the Old Assyrian trade;⁵ it is probable that this designation indicates the place of origin of the man or his family, rather than his current home city. The fact that the texts from Gasur are written in the Old Assyrian dialect does not necessarily mean that they were composed by men who came from the city of Assur, for it is very probable that this same dialect was spoken in the entire northern area. It is therefore quite uncertain whether these documents can be taken as proof of any particular connection between the two cities, and it seems unjustified to conclude that Assur controlled Gasur by military domination, as was suggested by J. Lewy.⁶ On the other hand, there is no doubt that there was a lively commercial contact with Gasur which may have been located on the caravan road which led through the Zagros mountains.

The textual documentation for Assur in the Old Assyrian period is

3. Published in *HSS* 10 as numbers 223–227.
4. See also the review by J. Lewy in *JAOS* 58, 1938, 450–461; an important correction in *CAD* I–J, 185. The question of the age of these texts has recently been convincingly discussed by Matouš, cf. note 77 to chapter 1.
5. J. Lewy, *JAOS* 58, 1938, 458, n. 32, and *HUCA* 32, 1961, 39, n. 53. For textiles which may be coming from Gasur I refer to the discussion in Veenhof, *Aspects*, 189–190.
6. *JAOS* 58, 1938, 460 with n. 38; when Leemans states (*JESHO* 11, 1968, 213) that "a part of the country east of the middle Tigris" belonged to Assyria, he must be referring to the period of Šamši-Adad I.

limited to a short series of royal building-inscriptions, in the main brief and stereotyped and concerned nearly exclusively with the temples and the relations with the gods. On the basis of these documents one could not acquire even the faintest impression of the greatest accomplishment of the men of Assur in this period, the establishment of a flourishing network of international commercial contacts and in particular the founding of a series of commercial colonies in Asia Minor.

a) The Texts from Anatolia

Since 1884 a stream of clay tablets has come from the site called Kültepe or Karahüyük which is located some 20 kms northeast of the modern Turkish town Kayseri in Asia Minor. About 3.000 tablets from Kültepe are now in museums and private collections all over the world, and practically all have been published in copies;⁷ nearly all of these texts stem from illicit diggings carried out by the inhabitants of the neighbouring village and practically nothing is accordingly known about their archaeological context. In 1925 the Czech scholar Bedřich Hrozný started excavations at the site and succeeded in finding the source of the tablets which were still being sold by the villagers; surprisingly, it turned out that the tablets came from an area to the east of the ancient city-mound itself, and Hrozný's dig revealed the existence of a settlement of private houses.⁸ Since 1948 the Turkish Historical Society has conducted yearly campaigns at the site, and a large part of the settlement at the foot of the mound, as well as a substantial area on the mound itself, has been excavated. The director of the dig, Professor Tahsin Özgürç, has produced a series of archaeological reports which make it possible to gain a good impression of the character of the settlement and its history.⁹

It has long been established that the ancient name of the site was Kaneš, and recently it has been shown that it was known under the name Neša as well.¹⁰ The city plays a highly important role in the earliest tradi-

7. See for the history of publication and interpretation Garelli, *AC*, 9–27, Louis L. Orlin, *Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia*, The Hague 1970, 184–223, and K. Hecker, *Grammatik der Kültepe-Texte*, AnOr 44, Roma 1968, 1–9.

8. Plan of the area in *ICK* 1, plate CXXIX.

9. Cf. literature and discussion in Orlin, *ACC*, 199–216.

10. H. G. Güterbock, "Kaneš and Neša: Two Forms of One Anatolian Place Name?", *Eretz Israel* 5, 1958, 46–50, and lately H. Otten, *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa*, StBoT 17, 1973, 57–58.

tions of the Hittites, the Indo-European people which established a territorial state in Asia Minor in the following centuries of the second millennium, and the mound is an impressive accumulation whose sheer size bears witness to its importance. The excavations of the main mound have not produced very much which is of direct relevance for the present investigation, however, although a very few documents have been discovered in the ruins of the large palaces which have been laid bare. On the other hand, the residential area at the foot of the mound has proven to be the source of more than 10.000 tablets, all found in private houses and all written in the Old Assyrian dialect. Unfortunately, practically none of these scientifically excavated texts have been published so far.

We know from the published documents that this settlement outside the walls of the city was known as *kārum Kaneš*, "the Kanesh harbour", and we know that it was to a large extent a commercial colony inhabited by Old Assyrian traders who owned the houses in which the extensive archives have been discovered.¹¹ Archaeologically there is little which could indicate the special nature of this settlement, for the houses and their contents seem to belong to the local Anatolian tradition; in fact, it is clear that some of the houses in the "harbour" were inhabited by Anatolians, but only the evidence of the written documents makes it possible for us to distinguish. I should like to emphasize that the present book is based entirely on the published evidence, and the fact that perhaps no more than 25 percent of the presently excavated material is available for study gives an unpleasant provisionality to all of our conclusions.

In the harbour area the excavators found four main occupational levels; the two earliest ones (levels 4 and 3) have not produced any inscriptive evidence and we can accordingly not say anything with certainty about the nature of these settlements, but it is at least possible that they are to be seen as predecessors of the commercial colony represented by the following levels. Level 2 contained the overwhelming majority of the tablets found till now and it is this level which can be dated with certainty to the time of the Old Assyrian dynasty in Assur. The fact that practically all our texts stem from this level also means that the economic and political institutions and structures with which this investigation is concerned belong to the period of level 2. The settlement of level 2 was burnt down in a general catastrophe and practically nothing was saved from the ruins; the fact that the houses were not looted either before or after the con-

11. The meaning of the term *kārum* is discussed below, 230–236.

flagration is of course a stroke of luck for us, but it must surely mean that for the inhabitants the destruction was a totally disruptive event, probably the result of a military assault, which brought an end to the activities of all the Assyrian traders there.¹²

However, the ruins of the next occupational level, which follows after a destruction level which indicates a period of abandonment, show that the Assyrians returned. In what is called' level lb we have another settlement, apparently even bigger than the previous one, which also functioned as a commercial colony for traders from Assur.¹³ The date of this level is determined by the appearance of some year-eponymies who also date documents from the time of Šamši-Adad I discovered in Mari and Chagar Bazar. We have very few documents from this level, unfortunately, and only a handful are available in publications, so it is difficult to gain a clear impression of the conditions in this period. According to K. Balkan the unpublished documents show that this second phase of the colony was based on a different economic system since the Assyrian traders apparently no longer were in a position to import tin and quality textiles from Assur into Anatolia. The scattered evidence produced by Balkan does not permit us to gain any idea of the economic or commercial basis for the Assyrian presence in the harbour of level lb. It is somewhat difficult to understand how a flourishing colony could be maintained there, indeed how a whole system of such colonies could exist on the basis of an Assyrian trade in such commodities as "nails", "bristles", and woollen garments of mediocre quality.¹⁴

There are other confusing aspects of the general situation in Anatolia in both periods, first of all the fact that the level 2 texts found so far all stem from Kaneš;¹⁵ we know that there was a whole network of colonies and trading stations spread over central Anatolia, to be discussed in a following chapter, but we have no texts from any other site. On the other hand, from the ensuing level lb period which is supposed to be a time of less intense commercial activity, we have documentation from two other

12. It should be noted that precious metals, cylinder seals and skeletons are not found in the houses. See Balkan, *Observations*, 60–61, Orlin, *ACC*, 241–247, and J. Mellaart, "Anatolian Chronology in the Early and Middle Bronze Age", *AnSt* 7, 1957, 58, for some reflections on the subject.
13. Literature and discussion in Orlin, *ACC*, 210–214.
14. Balkan, *Observations*, 42–43.
15. Individual tablets, usually bought from Anatolian peasants, have been described as coming from other sites, but this has not been substantiated in any case. Orlin, *ACC*, 184–185, provides a list of these claims.

sites, from deep levels in the later Hittite capital Hattusas¹⁶ and from Alishar,¹⁷ probably identical with the ancient town Ankuwa. Unfortunately the finds from these sites are extremely modest and the actual tablets are often badly damaged.

As will be pointed out in later sections and chapters there are some conspicuous differences between the two colonial periods, indicating that conditions in Assur had changed considerably in the interval. The usurpation of the throne by Šamši-Adad I entailed some basic shifts in the political structure; linguistically it is possible to show some evolutions, first of all that the nouns begin to lose their mimation; new phrases and accordingly new commercial and legal procedures are introduced; there is a change in the calendaric system which certainly involved the introduction of a new month-name and the abolition of the traditional system of week-eponymies, and which may have been even more drastic in nature and have entailed a change from a kind of solar year to a lunar one.¹⁸ All these reforms or changes must have taken some time and it is probable that the interval between levels 2 and 1b lasted some fifty years.

The texts were all found in private houses and form part of the private archives of individual merchants and families.¹⁹ We have no admini-

16. Texts published by Otten, KBo 9, 1957, numbers 1–40, and in "Die altassyrischen Texte aus Boghazköy", *MDOG* 89, 1957, 68–79; see also Orlin, *ACC*, 217–220.
17. Texts published by I. J. Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity*, OIP 27, Chicago 1935; see also Orlin, *ACC*, 76 and 216–217.
18. I hope to be able to publish soon a study of the Old Assyrian system of dating in which I have tried to show that the special year-dates which make use of the formula: *limmum ša qāti PN*, "eponymy: of the hand of PN", are associated with only a few months in the material from level 2 (*Bēlet ekallim*: 4 simple dates, 9 *ša qāti*-dates; *Ša sarrātim*: 3 and 21; *Ša kēnātim*: 12 and 20; *Mahur illi*: 11 and 16; and *Ab ḫarrāni*: 26 and 2). These months must be the first ones in the eponymy-year. The material from level 1b is of course much smaller but it indicates that the *ša qāti*-dates at that time could be associated with all the months in the year. So whereas it is likely that there was some kind of adjustment between the month calendar and the solar eponym-year, it seems that in the level 1b material no such adjustment was made. See also the article "Unusual Eponymy-Datings from Mari and Assyria", *RA* 68, 1974, 15–24.
19. There may have been a scribal school in the colony from which the few unusual texts may come; we know of a couple of copies on clay of a royal inscription from Erišum I (B. Landsberger and K. Balkan, "Die Inschrift des assyrischen Königs Irīšum, gefunden in Kültepe 1948", *Belleoten* 14, 1950, 219–268), a few incantations: op. cit., 219 note; a/k 611 discussed by Hirsch, *Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion*, AfO Beiheft 13/14, Graz 1961, 82; and *BIN* 4:126;

strative texts from Anatolia, apart from a couple of lists of personnel, found on the mound and belonging to the archives of the local Anatolian palace.²⁰ Because of the fact that practically all of the available evidence stems from illicit diggings, the original archives have been scattered, and we have not yet seen any attempts made to piece them together again. Hopefully the letters will in the near future be edited in such a way that they will reflect the original archives as far as is possible now. It is of course to be hoped that the texts from the Turkish excavations will be published archive for archive so that it will become possible to gain a clear impression of the organization of the Assyrian families and firms.

The classic publication of Old Assyrian texts is G. Eisser and Julius Lewy, *Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe*, 1930–35,²¹ but as the title indicates it was only texts of certain categories which were treated, namely what is called “legal texts”: promissory notes, contracts of various kinds (transport-contracts, records of deposit, family law, quittances, etc.), records of legal proceedings, and records of verdicts.²² The largest group of texts which was left out is of course constituted by the letters, of which we have some 1500 published ones; by far the majority of these are private letters, exchanged between Assyrians in different parts of Anatolia and the men in Assur, but we have a not insignificant group of “public” letters which were sent from and/or received by a governmental or administrative body of some kind. All of these texts will be discussed in a later chapter.²³ Finally, we have a certain number of texts which are simple notes, documents which are very often extremely difficult to interpret because they are too brief to be placed in an intelligible context.

All these documents provide us with a material which is sufficiently rich and varied so that a detailed and reasonably complex understanding of the life of the colony at Kaneš can be reached; that stage has most definitely not been accomplished as yet, however, and there are serious difficulties in our way, some of these of a methodological nature. One

a lexical text from level 1b is mentioned in *AJA* 74, 1970, 160; perhaps one should also refer to the Statute texts discussed in detail below, 283–287. A scribal school is never mentioned in our texts; for scribes and their activities see below, 304–307 with note 46.

20. Cf. E. Bilgiç, “Three Tablets from the City Mound of Kültepe”, *Anatolia* 8, 1964, 145–163.
21. MVAeG 33 and 35, Leipzig.
22. See G. Eisser, “Beiträge zur Urkundenlehre der altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe”, *Festschrift Paul Koschaker* 3, 1939, 94–126.
23. See below, 247–282.

must say, however, that the advances made in recent years have been substantial.²⁴ The texts from Kaneš describe not only the conditions in Anatolia where they have been found, for it is self-evident that practically all the letters found there must originally come from other cities, and it is clear that most of them originated in Assur. These necessarily concern themselves to a large degree with the affairs of the men who live in Assur, first of all their commercial connections with their employees or partners or representatives in Anatolia; some of the texts, in particular those written by women in Assur, provide glimpses of the life in the capital. It is clear, however, that any description of the conditions prevailing in Assur itself must rely to a very large extent on "shadow"-evidence, provided by the letters sent from Assur. The German excavations apparently did find a handful of Old Assyrian business texts²⁵; the only letter known to stem from Assur itself was published many years ago by Scheil who had bought it in Mosul.²⁶ What we lack is therefore only too clear, and just a single archive discovered in the ruins of Assur would provide us with a whole new background for our studies; however, this lack should not blind us to the fact that we do possess a considerable body of evidence which must be interpreted, however tentative our results are bound to be.

b) The Texts from Assur

With the exceptions just mentioned all Old Assyrian texts found in Assur were royal inscriptions, practically all of them building-inscriptions. The following are available in publications:

- 24. The most important contributions are found in the books by Garelli, Hirsch, Orlin, Hecker, and Veenhof which have been mentioned already; but one must also refer to the publications of new texts, e.g. Kienast's ATHE, Garelli's articles in *RA* 59 and 60, Matouš's ICK 2, Hecker's KUG, Jankowska's KTK, and H. Lewy in *HUCA* 39 and 40-41.
- 25. Cf. V. Donbaz, "Four Old Assyrian Tablets from the City of Assur", *JCS* 26, 1974, 81-87.
- 26. V. Scheil, "Texte cappadocien ninivite", *RT* 31, 1909, 55-56. It can hardly be doubted that the text must stem from Assur; it is a letter from Aššur-nādā, a person who is well-known from many texts found in Kanesh, to his father in Assur, Aššur-idi. The correspondence of these men and their associates comprises about 150 texts, and I shall offer some further comment on this family-firm below, 97-99.

Šalim-ahum	one text, Aššur-temple
Ilušuma	two texts, Ištar-temple and construction of walls and wells
Erišum I	fourteen texts, Aššur-temple and its annexes, the <i>muš-lālum</i> , walls and Adad-temple
Ikūnum	four texts, Adad-temple, dedication of stone ornament.

We furthermore possess imprints of the seals of Erišum I and Sargon I, and in the museum in Berlin there is reported to be an inscription from the latter king.²⁷ Finally, references in later texts tell us a little more about the building activities of the rulers in this dynasty. It is noteworthy that there is no reference in any text to a royal palace built in this period.

In the following sections I shall provide a brief discussion of the various projects undertaken by these kings, but I have no intention of embarking on a philological investigation of the texts themselves; practically all of them have been well edited by Weidner in *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige* from 1926,²⁸ and translations of all can be found in the recent book by Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions* I, 1972.

*The Aššur-temple.*²⁹

Šalim-ahum and Erišum I built here, as we know from their texts, but we can hardly establish exactly what they built. Šalim-ahum's text was written on an alabaster object which was found in the oldest stone foundations of a wall which appears to have belonged to a room in the eastern corner of the main courtyard of the temple;³⁰ the wall on top was dated to the time of Erišum I by inscribed bricks. Šalim-ahum's text is of somewhat uncertain interpretation but he seems to say that he built a certain house after having received a request to do so from the god Aššur himself; he goes on:

27. Cf. W. Nagel, "Ein altassyrisches Königssiegel", *AfO* 18, 1957–58, 100, n. 15; the text mentioned by him may be identical with the private votive inscription mentioned below, 60.
28. Together with E. Ebeling and B. Meissner; published as the first (and only) volume of Altorientalische Bibliothek, Leipzig.
29. Cf. note 7 to chapter 1 for bibliographical references; W. Schwenzner, "Das Nationalheiligtum des assyrischen Reiches. Die Baugeschichte des Aššur-Tempels Ehursagkururra", *AfO* 7, 1931–32, 239–251, 8, 1932–33, 34–45, 113–123, and 9, 1933–34, 41–48, represents a still valuable review.
30. Cf. Haller and Andrae, WVDOG 67, 14–16; they do not mention this text, however, but dates the wall to Erišum I or earlier.

Also, the Palace of divine King(?) Dagān, its cella, its annexes, the . . . , the House of the Brewing Vats and its storehouse.

In later periods there was a chapel in the Aššur-temple which was known as "the Kitchen" and which was shared by Enlil, Dagān, Bēl labria, and some other gods;³¹ Landsberger and Balkan have suggested that this was the later name given to Šalim-ahum's "House of the Brewing Vats", and also that it was this same chapel which Erišum I called "House of the Twins", the twins being the two ceremonial beer vats which were placed in it.³² As pointed out by van Driel the normal name for it was in later times simply *bīt Dagān*, "Dagān's chapel".

It seems likely that Šalim-ahum built or repaired some chapels which were situated round the main inner courtyard of the temple, a part of the entire complex which appears to have been of great cultic significance.³³ He does not mention any previous buildings and one can hardly conclude from his remark about being asked by Aššur to build a temple that he completely rebuilt or restored the existing sanctuary.

Erišum I has left us a great number of short standard texts on bricks which have been discovered in all parts of the temple complex, some *in situ* in the main inner courtyard. Nevertheless, it was quite difficult to determine just exactly what and where this king built, and one of the main reasons is that his inscriptions make use of some technical terms of unknown or disputed meaning. The shortest texts say: "The Aššur-temple and the beer vats", or "Aššur's *isāru*", or "all the *isāru* for Aššur"; the longest text has the following enumeration:

I built the Stepgate, the *kaššum*, the cella for my lord; I made a . . . throne and adorned its surface with *hušārum*-stone; I installed the doors. . . . I built all the *isāru*. I fashioned two beer vats, twins; I placed two pot-stands(?), each weighing one talent, under them. I covered two "moons" with bronze (and) placed two "riders", each weighing one talent, on top of them. The name of the temple is "Wild Bull", the name of the door is "Protective Goddess", the name of the lock is "Be Strong"!, the name of the threshold is "Be Alert!"³⁴

31. See van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, 40–43.

32. Loc. cit., 239–40.

33. Van Driel would locate the later "Kitchen" in the wing between the forecourt and the main courtyard, but it seems clear that the Old Assyrian temple had a slightly different orientation so it is possible that Šamši-Adad's rebuilding led to a new arrangement of the rooms.

34. *Bulleten* 14, 1950, 224, 5–19; Kirk Grayson, *ARI* 1, 12.

The meaning of the term *kaššum* is quite unknown;³⁵ and the term *isāru* cannot be translated with certainty, even though there appears to be a general consensus that it denotes “a special section of the temple complex, outside of the main building that harboured the cella, and possibly all buildings within the precinct that were not actually the house of Aššur.”³⁶ The rendering “Nebenanlagen” or “annexes”, which was suggested by Landsberger and Balkan,³⁷ appears to be appropriate but it could be interpreted as the name of specific parts of the temple itself. This is of importance when we try to determine whether Erišum I restored the temple in its entirety or merely added the finishing touches; it seems to me that his claim to have built or restored Aššur’s cella and provided it with a new throne makes it probable that Erišum carried out extensive works on the temple itself.³⁸

However, it may be that the major part of his project consisted in building the structure known as the *mušlālum*, here rendered “Stepgate”. It was apparently a highly complicated structure which served more than one purpose. It was a gate of the temple and it seems to have been a huge, ceremonial stairway which connected the sacred area on top of the cliff on which the city is located with the riverbank below.³⁹ It may have functioned as a city-gate at the same time as it was a kind of vestibule for the temple, and we know that it was the place where the seven divine judges held court; it is likely that some of the meetings of the city-assembly took place there for Erišum’s inscription directly refers to sessions of a court in this locality and we have one, unpublished, reference from a private document to “a verdict of the judges who passed a verdict in the *mušlālum*.⁴⁰ We are also told that meetings could take place “behind the

35. Landsberger and Balkan, loc. cit., 233, suggested the meaning “Tempelhof” since there does not seem to be any other term with this meaning. In *CAD K*, 293, we find the suggestion: “the door(?) building”.
36. This is the explanation given in *CAD I-J*, s.v. *isāru*; in the later volume *K*, s.v. *kaššu* B, the phrase *sihirti isāri* is instead rendered as follows: “the entire courtyard(?)”.
37. Loc. cit., 237–238.
38. In *CAD A2*, 496a, it is suggested that *watmānum* in our text should denote the general notion “an abode”, rather than the more specific “the cella, sanctum”, but I see no reason to choose that translation.
39. For the excavations I refer to W. Andrae, *Die Festungswerke von Assur*, WVDOG 23, Leipzig 1913, Textband, 63–67. For the word see most recently van Driel, op. cit., 29–31.
40. c/k 904, 4–6, cited in Hirsch, *UAR*, 82.

Aššur-temple”,⁴¹ i.e. presumably in the immediate vicinity of the Step-gate, and in the *hamrum*, i.e. a sacred precinct.⁴² The texts from Kanesh contain many references to legal proceedings taking place “in the Gate of the God”, i.e. in a local temple in the colony which served the same purpose as the main sanctuary in the capital.

The entire Aššur-temple was later rebuilt on a grand scale by Šamši-Adad and he mentions Erišum I as the former builder of a temple dedicated to Enlil, by which he must surely refer to the Aššur-temple. Whether Šamši-Adad dedicated the entire Aššur-temple to Enlil, identifying the two gods with each other, or whether only part of the building was Enlil’s must remain unknown at the moment.⁴³

It should also be mentioned that a late copy of a Šamši-Adad inscription found in Nineveh refers to the building of a temple for Ereškigal and mentions the Old Assyrian king Ikūnum as a previous builder; it is uncertain whether the text is a forgery, but if it is accepted as genuine it is probable that Ikūnum’s building was another chapel in the Aššur-temple.⁴⁴

The Ištar-temple

According to the excavators it is the building of level D which represents the work of Ilušuma. His inscriptions give no architectural details but the complete plan has been recovered. The Middle Assyrian ruler Puzur-Aššur III (around 1500 B.C.) mentions that Sargon I repaired Ilušuma’s temple after it had fallen in disrepair.⁴⁵ It is likely that the ornament for

41. BIN 4:106 (EL 244), 5–8; the interpretation of the expression *warki bīt Aššur* suggested in CAD H, 67: “according to (the rules of) the temple of Ashur”, must surely be rejected.
42. ICK 1:182, 3–5 (cf. further discussion of this text, 177–178). In CAD G, 151, we find an unpublished text which says: “it (the *kārum*) gave me a verdict before the dagger of Aššur in the *hamrum*.” Such a special sacred area thus existed in the colony as well. – See finally the “Old Assyrian” text Ni. 395 from Nippur which was mentioned above, note 76 to chapter 1; in CAD D, 102, some lines are quoted from this text which mention “a verdict of the *mušlālum*.”
43. Cf. for the various points of view on this matter Landsberger and Balkan, loc. cit., 251–252, Borger, *Einleitung*, 16, and van Driel, op. cit., 10–12.
44. The text is in JAK Šamši-Adad I no. 4, in Kirk Grayson, *ARI* 1, no. 5. Landsberger accepted the text as genuine in *JCS* 8, 36, n. 34, but Borger, *Einleitung*, 17–18, and Kirk Grayson regard it as a late forgery.
45. See Kirk Grayson, *ARI* 1, 35. Adad-nirārī I and Shalmaneser I repeat this information in their inscriptions.

an Ištar-statue, an *urum* or pubic triangle, which was dedicated “when Sargon was *išši'akkum* of Aššur” by a private lady, should be connected with this renovation of the temple.⁴⁶

The Adad-temple

This temple, which was built by Erišum I and finished after his death by his son and successor Ikūnum,⁴⁷ has not survived even in the form of a few scattered walls like so many of the Old Assyrian buildings; in fact, we do not know where it was located. The double temple for Anum and Adad which was built by Šamši-Adad I appears to represent an innovation. The Old Assyrian Adad-temple may have been close by, however, for copies of Erišum’s inscriptions were discovered in the neighborhood.⁴⁸

The Fortifications

One cannot on the basis of the excavation reports obtain a clear impression of the early fortifications of the city.⁴⁹ We know from original texts that both Ilušuma and his successor Erišum I built walls, but this is not acknowledged by later kings in their texts where instead we are told that Puzur-Aššur I, Ikūnum, Sargon I, and Puzur-Aššur II were active as builders. From them we have no inscriptions. There is some confusion, however, concerning the two kings named Puzur-Aššur, for whereas Aššur-rim-nišēšu (around 1400 B.C.) gives the list: Kikkija, Ikūnum, Sargon (I), Puzur-Aššur (II), and Aššur-nērāri, son of Išme-Dagān (II),⁵⁰ Shalmaneser III (ca. 850 B.C.) enumerates: Kikkija, Pu[zur-Aššur (I)], Ikūnu, son of Erišu, and some later kings.⁵¹ If there was a mistake in one of these lists, it is probably to be found in the latest one.

It is assumed that the city of Assur at this time consisted only of the triangular area which was later known as “the Inner City”, and that it

46. See Andrae, WVDOG 39, 107, with Abb. 79 and 80. The reference to Sargon may be seen as a kind of dating, cf. Th. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, AS 11, Chicago 1939, 149, n. 34.

47. Ikūnum’s inscription says: *Irišum bīt Adad ipuš u epši[šu] uka'in Ikū[num] merašu bīt [Adad] igmu[rma] uka'l'in*, “Erišum built Adad’s temple and made his work firm. His son Ikūnum completed Adad’s temple and made it firm.”

48. W. Andrae, *Der Anu-Adad-Tempel in Assur*, WVDOG 10, Leipzig 1909.

49. See W. Andrae, WVDOG 23, 9.

50. *IAK XIV*, 1; Kirk Grayson, *ARI* 1, 39.

51. E. Michel, “Die Assur-Texte Salmanassars III”, *WO* 1, 1950, 391.

was the later king Puzur-Aššur III in the first half of the fifteenth century who incorporated the area known as “the New City” into the city by building a new wall towards the south, parallel with the riverbank. In his own texts this king only claims to have built the “wall of the Stepgate”.⁵² It is perhaps probable that the New City was not added until this late time, but we do know that also some of the Old Assyrian rulers extended the area of the city. Ilušuma mentions in his long inscription first the Ištar-temple and continues:

Across he constructed a new wall and distributed buildings lots to my (i.e. ‘his’) city. Divine Aššur opened up two springs for me in Mount Abeh and I formed the bricks of the wall beside the two springs.

The waters of the first spring came down to the A'uššum Gate, the waters of the second spring came down to the Wērtum Gate.⁵³

What is meant by the term “across” is quite uncertain,⁵⁴ one may guess that Ilušuma was still concerned with the area in the neighbourhood of the Ištar-temple, in which case the extension of the city area would be towards the north-west, the corner where later a huge palace and the main gate of the city was located.⁵⁵ None of the two gates mentioned by Ilušuma can be placed on the plan.

Erišum I seems simply to have added to the height of the walls built by his father, so there is no reason to believe that his dedication of some areas within the city to Aššur was connected with another extension of the area of the city. In a text which is mainly concerned with the *isāru* of the Aššur-temple he writes:

52. *IAK XI*, 3, where he is called Puzur-Aššur IV, and Kirk Grayson, *ARI* 1, 35. The three later kings who credit this king with the building of the wall round the New City are Aššur-bēl-nišēšu (*IAK XIII*, 1, Kirk Grayson, *ARI* 1, 38), Aššur-uballit I (*IAK XVII*, 3, Kirk Grayson, *ARI* 1, 44), and Adad-nirārī I (*IAK XX*, 6, Kirk Grayson, *ARI* 1, 64–65).
53. *IAK IV*, 2, Kirk Grayson, *ARI* 1, 8. The fluctuation between the use of first and third person is typical for the Old Assyrian building inscriptions.
54. The word is written BI-ra-kam; Weidner suggested in his first edition of the text that this stood for the expected *pirkam*; some support for this view can be found in the inscription of the king Puzur-Sin (see Landsberger, *JCS* 8, 32) where we find a wall described as: *pariktum ša bāb Ilulaja*, which could mean “the cross-wall of the Ilulaja Gate”.
55. The excavated copies of the inscription were discovered as follows: three copies in the Ištar-temple, one in the Old Palace, one close to the Anu-Adad-temple, and three in the residential area; the last three might have helped us but it is not said where in the residential area of the city they were discovered.

Divine Aššur, my lord, assisted me, and I laid out the area from, the Cattle Gate to the People Gate. My father had constructed a wall and I added to the height of the wall, more than my father had done.⁵⁶

In another text he mentions this dedication of land to the god without referring to the walls.⁵⁷ As shown by Landsberger and Balkan the area in question was located in the western part of the city, i.e. far from the temple in the north-eastern corner;⁵⁸ it is therefore quite uncertain what purpose this apparent evacuation could serve and it is striking that there apparently was room for such purposes within the city area itself. The Inner City takes up an area of ca. 0.5 km², and presumably one-third of this was taken up by temples – such at least was the situation in later times. It should also be mentioned that building-plots in Assur were very expensive indeed; in one case we hear that a private house which covered three normal lots could be sold for no less than 16 minas of silver.⁵⁹ Compared with the prices known from southern sources such a price is outrageously high and even though the general level of prices was higher in Assur for all commodities, it is surely probable that this is to be explained as being partly due to the city being crowded.

From Kanesh we have a letter which orders the colonies to raise an amount of ten minas of silver as a kind of extraordinary tax which should cover part of the expenses of building fortifications at Assur.⁶⁰ We cannot date this text to the reign of any individual king. In view of the otherwise so peaceful nature of our documentation from this period it is somewhat striking to note that practically all the Old Assyrian kings were active as builders of fortifications. This underscores our ignorance of the international scene of the time, for we cannot even point to a likely aggressor.

As far as we know from original inscriptions and from the information contained in the texts of later kings the building projects of the kings in the Old Assyrian dynasty were as follows:

56. *IAK V*, 6, Kirk Grayson, *ARI* 1, 10–11.

57. Landsberger and Balkan, *Belleten* 14, 224, Kirk Grayson, *ARI* 1, 12.

58. Loc. cit., 235–237.

59. See the texts TC 2:11 and Cont. 6, and discussion by J. Lewy, "The Old Assyrian Surface Measure šubtum", *Analecta Biblica* 12, 1959, 217–218.

60. TC 1:1, a letter which will be discussed in some detail below, 163.

Puzur-Aššur I	walls(?)
Šalim-ahum	Aššur-temple
Ilušuma	Ištar-temple
	walls
Erišum I ⁶¹	walls
	Aššur-temple
	Adad-temple
Ikūnum	Adad-temple
	walls
	Ereškigal-chapel
Sargon I	Ištar-temple
	walls
Puzur-Aššur II	walls

c) Ilušuma and Babylonia

A couple of building inscriptions appear to reveal glimpses of quite different aspects of the life in Assur. The passages in question have received the attention of several scholars, and since they have been interpreted as referring to an act of military expansion directed towards the south it is obvious that they must be discussed in this context. The texts have the following wordings:

Text 1: He established the *addurārum* of the Akkadians.

Text 2: I established the *addurārum* of the Akkadians and their sons.
I washed their copper. From the edge of the swamps(?) to Ur and Nippur, Awal and Kismar, Dēr of divine Ištar – as far as the City I established their *addurārum*.⁶²

61. The sequence of the works in Erišum's reign is given not only by the fact that he himself finished the work begun by his father, and that his son finished the Adad-temple after his death; the text *IAK V*, 7, Kirk Grayson, *ARI* 1, 10–11, written on a door socket which must have belonged to his Aššur-temple, and which cannot be much younger than that temple, mentions the walls but not the Adad-temple.
62. Weidner, *ZANF* 9, 1936, 114–123, Kirk Grayson, *ARI* 1, 8. The text is known from 13 copies, most of which are only partially preserved. The most important variants in the section given here concern the enumeration of the cities; the wording chosen by me is found in three exemplars, and in five we find instead: "From the edge of the swamps(?), also Ur and Nippur, Awal and Kismar, Dēr ... etc."

Whatever the meaning of the term *addurārum* may be, it is obvious that these passages refer to events or actions which must be classified as belonging under foreign policy. Some action taken by the king of Assur was directly intended to affect the lives of people living in other cities far from Assur.

Ilušuma's texts must be connected with a passage from one of the texts from the time of Erišum I where we find another example of the use of the term *addurārum*:

For the sake of his life and the prosperity of his city he built the temple (and) all the annexes for divine Aššur, his lord.

When I started the work, my city obeyed my word and I established the *addurārum* of silver, gold, copper, tin, barley, wool – (everything) down to ... and chaff.⁶³

Even though the contexts are different it must be assumed that the term has the same basic meaning in them all. The main difference is naturally that Ilušuma established the *addurārum* of some people in a certain area which is carefully described, whereas Erišum established the *addurārum* of a whole series of commodities, in fact presumably most marketable goods. The latter act was clearly for the benefit of those people, namely the citizens of Assur, who obeyed his command.⁶⁴

Most scholars who have discussed Ilušuma's texts have refrained from commenting on Erišum's text, and it is a fact that some of the translations offered for the word *addurārum* in the Ilušuma-passage would yield no obvious meaning in Erišum's text. It is namely generally agreed that the passages in Ilušuma's inscriptions refer to a brief attempt to

63. *IAK* V, 7, Kirk Grayson, *ARI* 1, 10–11. The text appears to be somewhat carelessly executed and some lines cannot be read. For the emendations necessary to make sense out of the beginning of the last sentence I refer to *CAD* I–J, s.v. *ipšu*. The list of commodities ends as follows: *a-di e.ta gab.kam ù pá-e*; that the last word denotes chaff seems assured, in spite of the objections of Kraus, *Edikt*, 234, n. 1; it is possible that the signs GAB.KAM are meant to render the word *tuhhi*, “bran”, but I see no solution for E.TA. Anyway, it is clear that all three words denote very ordinary and inexpensive commodities.

64. The expression *wašābu ana pī PN*, “submit to the word of PN”, does not necessarily imply a command but can also be used of a situation where something is requested or advised. A good example is the omen apodosis which says: *ummānum ana pī šāpiriša ul uššab ulu šarrum ana pī mālikišu ul uššab*, “neither will the army listen to its commander nor the king to his advisors” (*YOS* 10:11, col. i, 9–10).

expand the power of Assur by military conquest or raiding; when the main text was first published it was under the heading: "Ilušumas Zug nach Babylonien". Support for such a hypothesis of conquest is sought in a catchline from the first tablet of the Babylonian Chronicle where we read: "Ilušumma, king of Assyria, at the time of Suabu."⁶⁵

Before a responsible judgement in this matter can be made it is obviously necessary that the various aspects of the problem be carefully evaluated. The precise meaning of the term *addurārum* should be established, and the last authoritative statement on that concluded that the word was "undurchsichtig."⁶⁶ One will also have to produce an acceptable historical explanation of the alleged conquest, and a third major problem is raised by the synchronism of the Chronicle, for if "Suabu" is to be identified with the known king Sumu-abum of Babylon, we are faced with a clash with the chronological schemes accepted by most scholars. I shall deal with these questions in turn, but first it may be opportune to take a look at some of the explanations which have been offered in recent years.

Current interpretations

Two of the authoritative histories of Mesopotamia are representative of a tendency to see an Old Assyrian "Reich" founded by Ilušuma as a strong and powerful rival of the two major powers in the south, Isin and Larsa. Moortgat tells us in his *Ägypten und Vorderasien im Altertum* from 1950⁶⁷ that Ilušuma conquered areas to the south, the east, and the west, and that his expansion led to conflicts with the kingdom of Babylon: "Beweis ist die Tatsache, dass es zum Kampfe zwischen Sumu-abum von Babylon und Ilušuma von Assur gekommen ist." This is not all, for at the core of Moortgat's interpretation lies the contention that the Assyrians regarded themselves as the true bearers of "the old tradition of Sumero-Akkadian

65. L. W. King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, London 1907, vol. 2, 14; cf. translation in *ANET*, 267.

66. F. R. Kraus, *Sumerer und Akkader*, Amsterdam 1970, 30. The Sumerian texts mentioned by Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden I*, München 1956, 93, n. 9, and again noted in Kraus's treatment, which concern amounts of metals, textiles, grain, etc., will not be taken into account here. I cannot interpret them and although they may provide a link to Erišum's text it is not possible to make use of them.

67. Written together with A. Scharff. The passages discussed here are found on pages 285–289.

culture.” They had this feeling because they were in fact at this time the only people in Mesopotamia “denen nicht fremdes Blut in den Adern floss.” According to Moortgat Ilušuma’s action was motivated by such a feeling of racial superiority, and he can accordingly provide the simple translation “Freiheit” for the term *addurārum*:

Ob [Ilušuma] dabei nicht einfach daran denkt, dass er die Städte von der Herrschaft der Elamiten und der Westsemiten befreit hat? Die Fürsten von Assur waren völkisch wohl berechtigt, so zu denken und zu handeln.⁶⁸

Hartmut Schmökel expresses the same ideas in slightly different words in his *Geschichte des Alten Vorderasiens* from 1957;⁶⁹ he mentions “eine erhebliche Machtausweitung Assurs” and interprets Ilušuma’s action as “eine ‘akkadische’ Reaktion gegen die ostkanaanäische und elamitische Überfremdung.”⁷⁰ The idea that *addurārum* corresponds to our modern concept “freedom” in the sense of a liberation from foreign domination is accepted by other scholars, for instance van Dijk; he connects Ilušuma’s texts with some passages in a Sumerian literary composition which deals with a general revolt in the land of Larsa in southern Babylonia, events which took place at the end of the reign of the king Sumu-el (1894–1866 B.C.), and which appear to have been inspired by an invasion. However, van Dijk’s interpretation gives a new twist to the meaning of the word, for he points to some lines in his text which say that local collaborators aided the invading enemy and gives the comment: “l’histoire en a connu de ces ‘libérations’.”⁷¹

Moortgat goes from this theory to the conclusion that the “liberation” was only the first step in the fulfilment of the dream of “Weltherrschaft”, a dream which the Assyrian kings had taken over from the Old Akkadian emperors. As proof of such ideological links with the past he refers to the

68. Op. cit., 288.

69. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Zweiter Band, Dritter Abschnitt, Leiden; discussion referred to here, pages 93–96.

70. In fact, Schmökel accepts all the solutions proposed so far: he half rejects the idea that *addurārum* should denote a political liberation, and instead he accepts that it is an act of an economic nature; but he argues that this must be based on military activity. W. W. Hallo, *JAOS* 78, 1958, 307, has criticized Schmökel’s treatment.

71. J. van Dijk, “Une insurrection générale au pays de Larša avant l’avènement de Nûr-Adad”, *JCS* 19, 1965, 1–25.

fact that one of the Old Assyrian kings was called Sargon, obviously having adopted the name of the great founder of the Old Akkadian empire. The idea of such a link between the Old Akkadian ideology and the Old Assyrian kings is also expressed by H. Lewy in her chapter in the revised edition of *Cambridge Ancient History*, and she adds to Moortgat's Sargon the name of one of the last kings before Šamši-Adad I: Narām-Sin. According to her these names express "the expectation of a new universal empire like that of the Old Akkadian kings."⁷² In other respects her explanation differs radically from Moortgat's.

Edzard has offered two different interpretations, of which the first one rested on the explanation of *addirārum* as a political liberation of some areas from the yoke of the rulers in Isin. He connects Ilušuma's action

72. *CAH* (rev. ed.) I, 2, chapter 25, 741. A comprehensive evaluation of Mrs. Lewy's theories concerning the cyclical nature of Assyrian history cannot be attempted here, but I must say that I find the argumentation extremely precarious. On the basis of a passage in one of Šamši-Adad's building-inscriptions in which he claims that seven *dāru* (perhaps generations, according to *CAD* 70 years, to *AHW* 60 years) had passed between the end (or, with another possible translation: the bloom) of the Old Akkadian empire and his own conquest of Nurru-gum, Mrs. Lewy concludes that periods of 350 years constitute cycles and she thinks it was an established practice to rebuild temples after 350 years. Šamši-Adad I (ca. 1800 B.C.) rebuilt the Ištar-temple in Nineveh which had first been built by the Old Akkadian king Man-ištuš (ca. 2260 B.C.) because he "obviously believed" that 350 years had passed. Mrs. Lewy continues: "That similar calculations had been carried out by Shamshi-Adad's predecessors can be inferred from their names, Sharrum-kēn (Sargon) I, his fourth predecessor, and this king's grandson, Naram-Sin of Assyria, Shamshi-Adad's second predecessor." The story does not end there, however, for Mrs. Lewy goes on to conclude that the reign of the Old Assyrian Sargon must have been remembered as "the apogee of the Old Assyrian period", since "about three 350-year periods later, an ambitious young king chose the name Sargon the Younger in the hope of bringing back the golden age of his two older namesakes." Mrs. Lewy also points to the literary text known as The Legend of Sargon in which Sargon of Akkade admonishes future rulers to repeat his exploits; according to Mrs. Lewy we can think of an expedition to Dilmun in the Persian Gulf, a campaign against the city Dēr, and the conquest of mighty mountains; "The first Assyrian king who emphasized in one of his inscriptions that he had heeded Sargon's advice is Ilušuma who mentions not only that he established 'the freedom of movement of the Akkadians and their children', but also that he conquered the city of Dēr." To my mind, this is at the same time too rational and too irrational a way of interpreting history, but the question of whether the basic contention of Mrs. Lewy's is correct, that the Old Akkadian period had left a very strong ideological impact on Assur, remains problematic, and I shall in a later context return to it.

with events mentioned in the Sumerian literary composition known as the Nippur Lament, a text which refers to an invasion of Babylonia which took place during the reign of Išme-Dagan of Isin (1953–1935 B.C.), and which was blamed on the Amorite bedouins from the desert, the Tidenum.⁷³ Ironically, according to this interpretation Ilušuma becomes an ally of exactly those “foreignors” whose “Überfremdung” and alien domination both Moortgat and Schmökel expected him to combat.

In his second attempt Edzard abandoned the idea of *addurārum* as a political liberation and instead interpreted the term as denoting “Freiheit von Abgaben.” He comments as follows:

In den babylonischen Quellen findet sich nirgends ein Hinweis darauf, dass damals ein Herrscher von Assur in die Geschicke Babyloniens eingegriffen habe. Die Städte, die Ilušuma ausser Ur und Nippur nennt, liegen im osttigridischen Gebiet. Das besagt vielleicht, dass es Ilušuma vornehmlich darum ging, die Handelswege östlich des Tigris in seine Einflusssphäre einzubeziehen. Wir haben bereits auf die Schlüsselstellung der Stadt Dēr hingewiesen. Es ist möglich, dass Ilušuma auch nach Babylonien vorgestossen ist. Es dürfte aber kaum den Tatsachen entsprechen, dass er in einem “Reich”, das sich von Ur bis nach Assur erstreckte, Abgabenfreiheit verfügt hätte.⁷⁴

The last sentence points to the difficulty in this interpretation as well, for if Ilušuma’s claim is to be understood in this way, we are practically forced to the conclusion that he must have been able to back up his economic measure with real power. Paul Garelli, who in his recent history, *Le Proche-Orient antique des origines aux invasions des Peuples de la Mer*, has accepted Edzard’s interpretation of *addurārum*, although seeing in his measure a general abolition of debts, has also accepted the idea that Ilušuma for a time held real power in certain areas of the south.⁷⁵

The latest general history of the Near East, written by W. W. Hallo and W. K. Simpson, follows Edzard to some degree by assuming that Ilušuma’s objective was “to secure the trans-Tigridian trade and military

73. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, 90–93; the possible historical implications of the Nippur Lament are discussed on pages 86–90, and see S. N. Kramer, “Lamentation over the Destruction of Nippur”, *Eretz Israel* 9, 1969, 89–93. For the designation Tidanum for the Amorite bedouins cf. J.-R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari*, Paris 1957, 156–157.

74. Fischer Weltgeschichte 2, Frankfurt am Main 1965, 157.

75. Nouvelle Clio 2, Paris 1969, 108–109.

routes leading from Assur via Eshnunna and Der to Susa." However, Hallo says that it is difficult to determine the exact nature of the intervention.⁷⁶

I have already referred to the two chapters by Mrs. Lewy in the new edition of *CAH*; strangely, each chapter provides a different interpretation of the historical context, even though they are both based on the same understanding of the term *addirārum* as denoting "freedom of movement", an idea which goes back to an earlier discussion by J. Lewy.⁷⁷ According to the interpretation of chapter 24 Ilušuma "compelled the then overlord of Ur and Nippur, King Ishme-Dagan of Isin, and three vassal states of his, to grant the merchants of Akkad access to their cities and the right to market in these their own goods as well as merchandise which they purchased in Ashur."⁷⁸ We are thus in reality faced with an alliance between the "Akkadians", who are thought to be the inhabitants of northern Babylonia, outside the direct sphere of influence of the kings in Isin, and the Assyrians whose interest it was to sell copper. Mrs. Lewy suggested that the copper-trade was a state monopoly which was motivated by the strategic nature of the metal which was used for the production of weapons.

In chapter 25 the situation is explained as follows: There was an alliance between Assur and Babylon where Sumu-abum reigned, and their common enemy was the city of Dēr which represented a "danger to free communications."⁷⁹ In order to explain how Sumu-abum of Babylon could be placed as early as this, being moved about fifty years back in time compared with the standard chronology, Mrs. Lewy assumes that there was a gap in the line of kings in Babylon, in other words that at least one generation separated Sumu-abum from the next king in the Babylonian king-list; such a gap may of course have existed, but it should be said that Mrs. Lewy has not delivered any kind of proof for this theory.

The Synchronism

I have explained above how the "Distanzangaben" in the Assyrian royal inscriptions indicate that Ilušuma ended his reign, of unknown duration, 126 years before Šamši-Adad I seized power in Assur.⁸⁰ The latter king

76. *The Ancient Near East. A History*, New York 1971, 93.

77. J. Lewy, "The Biblical Institution of *DēRōR* in the Light of Akkadian Documents", *Eretz Israel* 5, 1958, 21–31.

78. *CAH* I, 2, chapter 24, 708.

79. *CAH* I, 2, chapter 25, 756–758.

80. Page 41.

is known to have been a contemporary of the Babylonian king Hammurapi, in fact, it is generally agreed that he died in the eleventh year of Hammurapi's reign, i.e. 1781 B.C.⁸¹ This means of course that Ilušuma's reign must have ended in 1940 B.C. As far as I am aware this reconstruction is accepted by all, although the figures given may vary a little in terms of actual dates. All except Mrs. Lewy also agree that Sumu-abum of Babylon, the founder of Hammurapi's dynasty there, died 80 years before Hammurapi did, after a reign of 14 years.

Mrs. Lewy's explanation⁸² is supported by the fact that the later kings in the Hammurapi dynasty in their genealogies pointed to Sumu-la-el, Sumu-abum's successor, as the founder of the dynasty; the explanation provided by Finkelstein, that the two kings were in fact brothers, is not entirely satisfactory, but it is worthy of note that he has pointed out that Sumu-abum's father, a certain Dadbanaja, is likely to have been contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with Bür-Sin of Isin who ruled from 1895–1847⁸³. Unless new arguments are brought forward⁸⁴ one must accordingly accept the evidence of the king-lists and place Sumu-abum immediately before Sumu-la-el, i.e. 1894–1881, some fifty years after the death of Ilušuma. The synchronism of the Chronicle must therefore be incorrect unless Suabu there refers to a ruler of another town in Babylonia; Edzard has suggested that it referred to a ruler of Susa in Elam.^{84A}

On the basis of these considerations we must conclude that Ilušuma

81. See H. Lewy, "The Synchronism Assyria-Ešnunna-Babylon", *WO* 2, 1959, 439, n. 7.

82. She bases it on "a prosopographic investigation into the contemporary dated documents from Sippar, Maradda, and Dilbat", a study which appears never to have been published.

83. *JCS* 20, 1966, 102–103.

84. H. Lewy's historical interpretation is based on the hypothesis that the rulers of Babylon, the allies of Assur, were subjugated by the kings of the Mananaja-dynasty which she wants to locate in Dēr. Mananaja is known to have been a contemporary of Sumu-abum of Babylon, cf. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, 131. For the history of this particular dynasty I refer to Edzard, op. cit., 130–135, M. Rutten, "Un lot de tablettes de Manana", *RA* 52, 1958, 208–225, 53, 1959, 77–96, 54, 1960, 19–40 and 147–152; further, S. D. Simmons, *JCS* 14, 1960, 79–87, E. Reiner, *JCS* 15, 1961, 121–124, and Kupper, *Nomades*, 197–200. The god Nanna played a role for the kings in this line and this led Edzard to suggest that it might reign in either Urum or Akšak (*Zwischenzeit*, 123, n. 644); Simmons (loc. cit., 79–81) thought Kutha a likely possibility, and now Mrs. Lewy has added Dēr to the list. The mention of Nanna could perhaps be explained as due to the king's building of a temple to this god in Ur.

84.A. Cf. also Th. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, Chicago 1939, 7–8.

was contemporary with the kings Iddin-Dagān and Išme-Dagān of Isin, and with Samium and Zabaja of Larsa.

The meaning of addurārum

The key to an interpretation of Ilušuma's action is of course the translation and understanding of the word *addurārum*. The historical explanations referred to in the preceding entailed the following different interpretations:

- 1) liberation from oppression
- 2) exemption from taxes ("Abgabenfreiheit")
- 3) cancellation of debts, a kind of amnesty for debt-slaves
- 4) freedom of movement.

The corresponding Sumerian term is *ama.ar.gi₄*, which literally means "return to the mother" and which typically is used about the manumission of slaves.⁸⁵ It can also be used in a wider sense, however, and denote a kind of general amnesty; according to Urukagina's reform texts as interpreted by Kramer⁸⁶ the citizens of Lagash are "freed" from all kinds of obligations, both debts in silver and barley to private people and to the palace, and imprisonment because of theft or murder even. And in the laws of Lipit-Ištar the expression refers to a political liberation of all the inhabitants of Sumer and Akkad from the slavery imposed on them by unjust rulers.⁸⁷

The etymology of the term points in the direction of a "setting free" as a basic meaning of the noun; in CAD the verb *darārum* is translated as "to become free (of a task), to move about freely, to run off."

The general concept behind the word seems to belong originally in the legal sphere and to refer to the liberation from captivity or slavery; it may be an individual act of manumission or it may be a royal amnesty which concerns persons who have become slaves due to private debts. It is not difficult to see how a more general concept of a political liberation from oppression can fit into this pattern.

Our two modern dictionaries disagree over the meaning of the term. In von Soden's *AHw* we find the translations: "Zustand der Lastenbe-

85. See Falkenstein, *NG* 1, 93.

86. S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians*, Chicago 1963, 321.

87. Falkenstein, "Das Gesetzbuch Lipit-Ištars von Isin", *OrNS* 19, 1950, 106–107.

freiung” and “Freistellung von Abgaben”; the two Old Assyrian examples are cited under the heading: “Abgabenbefreiung durchführen.”⁸⁸

In *CAD* we find three main translations of the term: 1) “remission of (commercial) debts”, 2) “manumission (of private slaves)”, and 3) “canceling of services (illegally imposed on free persons)”. Whereas von Soden’s interpretation is thus not accepted in the headings in *CAD*, we do find that individual texts are translated with the use of such phrases as “freedom privileges” or “(tax) privileges”.

The Old Assyrian examples are given in *CAD* under the heading: “referring to royal acts” together with mainly late texts which refer to the third meaning mentioned above, canceling of services; however, Ilušuma’s text is translated in accordance with the first of *CAD*’s three meanings:

I proclaimed remission of debts for them from the edge of the swamps and Ur, also Nippur, Awal, and Kismar, the Dēr of Ištarān as far (north) as the city of Assur.

Erišum’s text is translated as follows:

I proclaimed a remission of debts payable in silver, gold, copper, tin, barley, wool, down to chaff.

Such translations are inspired by our knowledge of the practices of southern kings in this period, the royal “edicts” which were issued at regular intervals and which contained stipulations concerning remission of debts, release of pledges, reduction of various payments to the crown, etc.⁸⁹ In Babylonian context these measures are presumably to be seen as attempts made by the kings to counterbalance a virtually constant economic and social instability which often resulted in impoverishment, debt-slavery, etc. The decrees themselves were called *śimdatum*, and the action of the royal promulgator was described with the phrase: *mīšaram šakānum*, “to establish equity.”⁹⁰ And in the text of such decrees we find the word under

- 88. The dictionaries of course list the word s.v. *andurāru*, the uncontracted form,
- 89. See F. R. Kraus, *Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-ṣaduqa von Babylon*, SD 5, Leiden 1958; idem, “Ein Edikt des Königs Samsu-iluna von Babylon”, *AS* 16, 1965, 225–231; J. J. Finkelstein, “Ammiṣaduqa’s Edict and the Babylonian ‘Law Codes’”, *JCS* 15, 1961, 91–104; idem, “Some New *Misharum* Material and its Implications”, *AS* 16, 1965, 233–246; idem, “The Edict of Ammiṣaduqa: a New Text”, *RA* 63, 1969, 45–64 and 189–190.
- 90. See B. Landsberger, “Die babylonischen Termini für Gesetz und Recht”, *Symbolae Koschaker*, SD 2, Leiden 1939, 219–234, and Kraus, *Edikt*, 235–236.

discussion used to refer to the manumission of slaves and the release of pledges.⁹¹ To establish *addurārum* was thus typically one element in the wider concept of “establishing equity”, but it cannot be excluded that there was some overlapping and a less clear distinction between the two concepts. At least, the Babylonian king Samsu-iluna claims in one of his year-dates that he established the “ama.ar.gi of Sumer and Akkad”, and this may be compared with a letter from the same king wherein he states his intention to grant a remission of certain dues to the crown and uses the phrase “to establish equity”.⁹² It is of course possible that the use of the word *addurārum* in the year-date reflects a more general idea, the liberation of the entire people from all kinds of unjust obligations; it does not strike me as very probable that the passage refers exclusively to “freedom from commercial debts”, as is suggested by CAD.

Royal edicts or decrees which proclaim the reform of old malpractices are known from all periods in Mesopotamia, and the practices in later Assyria may be mentioned here since they often are connected with the term *addurārum*. Postgate has recently published a couple of Neo Assyrian slave sale contracts which contain a reference to an “amnesty” issued by the king; the best preserved text says that the seller will have to pay back the price of some slaves he has sold if “they leave (their condition of slavery) in an amnesty”, i.e. if there will be a decree which cancels the debts for which they have become slaves.⁹³ A decree of this nature is mentioned in the Esarhaddon-text which commemorates his rebuilding of the Aššur-temple, in which he writes as follows about the inhabitants of Assur:

I wrote afresh their tablet of exemption and increased and magnified it higher than it had been before; I exempted them from corn-taxes and

91. Cf. the Ammi-ṣaduqa Edict, § 18' (according to the new text of Finkelstein: § 20), which ends with the phrase: *aššum šarrum mišaram ana mātim iškunu uššur andurāršu šakin*, “because the king has established equity for the land he is released, his freedom has been reestablished.” We find the phrase also in Codex Hammurapi in such paragraphs as 117, 171, and 280, where its use corresponds to the one found in the edict.

92. Cf. J. Lewy, *Eretz Israel* 5, 27–28; new discussion in Kraus, *Edikt*, 225–227, where doubts about the two texts as referring to the same affair is expressed; it can hardly be doubted, however, that both references are to a kind of royal edict.

93. J. N. Postgate, *The Governor's Palace Archive*, CTN 2, London 1973, texts 10 and in particular 248.

straw-taxes, (and) from dues on quay and crossing. I established their *andurāru*, and I erected the *kidinnu*-symbol for all time at their city gate.⁹⁴

Again it seems that the word is used in a wide, general meaning, denoting freedom from obligations and restrictions. It is for such examples that von Soden's translation "Lastenbefreiung" or "Freilassung von Abgaben" seems particularly appropriate.

That such edicts or decrees were used also by the Old Assyrian kings cannot be proven, but K. Balkan has published a few tablets from Kanesh level 2 which record loans between Anatolians and shown that a special phrase occurring in them: "to wash the debt", must refer to a general cancellation of debts ordered by the king of Kanesh. He has also pointed out that this phraseology may be connected with the somewhat mysterious expression found in Ilušuma's text: "I washed their copper".⁹⁵ Already in an earlier volume of *CAD* do we find the translation: "I freed the Akkadians and their sons (from forced labor) and cleared (lit. washed) them of their (obligation to pay) copper (as tax.)"⁹⁶ It would appear to be more in line with the later *CAD* treatment as well as with Balkan's interpretation of the texts from Anatolia to suggest that the "washing" of the copper of the Akkadians reflected a cancellation of debts payable in copper.

However, the texts concerning cancellation of debts in Kanesh are not necessarily relevant for either Ilušuma's or Erišum's inscriptions. It seems to me that the idea of a tax to be paid in copper, and apparently no other commodity, gives rise to more questions than it solves; why is copper singled out when one would expect silver to be mentioned as the common means of exchange? The same question arises if we understand his statement as a reference to commercial or other debts which were payable in copper, for debts were most often expressed in terms of silver or barley. The fact that copper is mentioned as the only commodity surely

94. R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien*, AfO Beiheft 9, Graz 1956, 3; see also translation in J. N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire*, Studia Pohl Series Maior 3, Roma 1974, 132; Postgate suggests that the term refers "specifically to the annulment of enslavements for debt".
95. K. Balkan, "Cancellation of Debts in Cappadocian Tablets from Kültepe", *Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans G. Güterbock*, Istanbul 1974, 29–41, especially 32–33.
96. *CAD* E, 321a.

indicates that neither of these explanations is likely to be valid. I am therefore not convinced that there is any connection between Balkan's evidence from Anatolia and Ilušuma's text, and I believe we must retain the old idea that the "washing" of the copper in some way refers to the refining of the metal. We know from the Old Assyrian commercial texts that "washed copper" and "good quality copper" were identical concepts.⁹⁷ It must be admitted, however, that it is still obscure what exact measure Ilušuma is referring to; it is probable that it is connected with the international trade in which copper was one of the most important items.

The explanation of *addurārum* which was offered by J. Lewy and taken over by H. Lewy, namely that the term denotes "freedom of movement", was connected with the idea that the kings of Assur originally had a monopoly on the trade in a great number of commodities and that this was relinquished by Erišum I: he established "free movement" for all the commodities mentioned in his text.

I cannot see that our material allows any very precise conclusions to be made, for all of the four translations mentioned at the beginning of this section are at least possible. If we postulate that *addurārum* must have the same meaning in Ilušuma's and in Erišum's texts, we can exclude the notion of a political liberation, but it is of course quite possible that the word could be used with different shades of meaning. It is therefore only by way of an evaluation of the historical situation that we can hope to judge the plausibility of these translations of the term.

The Historical Background

As pointed out by Edzard in the passage quoted earlier, it is quite impossible to maintain that Ilušuma should have been in a position to hold real power in the area or even in the cities mentioned by him. The texts from Babylonia show not the least trace of an Assyrian advance into any part of the south. One cannot, of course, exclude the possibility of a military raid which perhaps was connected with other, more dangerous invasions such as the Nippur Lament may be dealing with. One must admit, however, that the wording of Ilušuma's text is rather strange if it is such an event which is being referred to. The term *addurārum* would then have to denote a liberation from oppression and be used in a propagan-

97. See Garelli, *AC*, 294–298. Westenholz suggests to me that the phrase could refer to an abolition of import-taxes.

distic meaning; if it should refer to either a remission of debts or a cancellation of taxes, we would either have to assume that Ilušuma was able to control large areas in the south for some time, or that his statement is an empty boast. A general remission of debts demanded a strong administration which could enforce it and take care of the many lawsuits that were bound to follow. From Babylonian sources we know that at least in some cases such a decree was administered by special committees set up in the different cities,⁹⁸ and it is not possible to imagine that Ilušuma could have the authority to back such measures in for instance Ur and Nippur. Since it appears somewhat strange for Ilušuma to boast a military victory in such a way I feel that we have to abandon the idea of *addurārum* as denoting a remission of debts or cancellation of taxes to the local authorities.

Edzard suggested that Ilušuma only held power in the areas east of the river Tigris and made no more than "brief incursions" into Babylonia,⁹⁹ and other scholars have pointed out that three of the five cities mentioned appear to have been located in the trans-Tigridian area; we know that for certain about Dēr, a highly important town which was located on the main road to Susa and beyond into the Persian Plateau, but the two other names, Kismar and Awal, are otherwise practically unknown.¹⁰⁰ It is in fact a major problem to find any acceptable explanation of why they appear here in the company of some of the most important cities in the south. The common interpretation which is based on the idea that Ilušuma was trying to protect important caravan routes east of the Tigris is perhaps not so easy to combine with these names which never appear to have had any prominence. But any explanation, in fact, will have some difficulty coming to terms with these unimportant towns being singled out for mention. The appearance of Ur and Dēr makes good sense in the context of trade and caravan routes; Ur was a major import-station for the trade overseas, and from at least the time of Gungunum of Larsa (i.e. about ten years after Ilušuma's death) large quantities of copper were being imported via Ur from Makkān.¹⁰¹ It is certainly tempting to see

98. See Finkelstein, *AS* 16, 242, for some reflections.

99. See above, 68.

100. Cf. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, 90, n. 443; for Awal see Cameron, *History of Early Iran*, Chicago 1936, 34, and *MSL* XI, 102, 1. 201, and 141, 1. 8; it is mentioned in an unpublished Shemshara letter. For Kismar see *MSL* XI, 58, 1. 163. All references point to the east-Tigridian area.

101. See A. Leo Oppenheim, "The Seafaring merchants of Ur", *JAOS* 74, 1954, 6–17, Leemans, *Foreign Trade*, 23–26, and W. W. Hallo, "A Mercantile Agreement from the Reign of Gungunum of Larsa", *AS* 16, 199–203.

a connection here with Ilušuma's remark about "washing copper", and perhaps even the fact that he specifically mentions "the edge of the marshes", i.e. the lagoons in the extreme south,¹⁰² indicates that we have to look further out, across the sea. Dēr is known to have played an important role as the major station on the way connecting Babylonia with Elam.

Mrs. Lewy suggested that the "Akkadians" in Ilušuma's text must be the people of northern Babylonia, but I am not convinced that such a distinction between northern and southern Babylonia is really relevant for this time, and that e.g. the inhabitants of Ur would not also be called "Akkadians" by the king of Assur. I think Veenhof is right when he says that the term most probably denotes the "Babylonians", i.e. the people in middle and southern Mesopotamia.¹⁰³ Moreover, Mrs. Lewy's idea has far-reaching ramifications, for it would mean that Ilušuma was somehow in a position to grant to the inhabitants of northern Babylonia certain privileges in southern Babylonia. Such a theory does not agree with our knowledge of the history of the area.

Finally, the question of the copper should be tackled. Mrs. Lewy claimed that the Assyrians exported copper to Babylonia at this time, using the people of northern Babylonia as middlemen. First of all, although it is undoubtedly true that the Assyrian traders a couple of generations later had access to the rich copper mines in south-eastern Turkey, we are not allowed to conclude that this situation existed at the time of Ilušuma. And secondly, it is somewhat strange to think that the Assyrians should have been able to compete with the copper coming from Makkan; bringing copper from Turkey to Ur hardly sounds like a profitable business, considering also that as far as we can establish the copper-prices in the south were always lower than in the north.¹⁰⁴ A certain trade in nor-

102. The translation of the word *midrum/mitrum* as "swamp" is not certain. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, 90, n. 442, refused to translate it, and in *AHw* it is rendered: "eine Art Land"; in *MSL XI*, 28, 11. 5'-7', it is equated with *pa₅-šita₃*. One may perhaps compare Arabic *maṭar, miṭr*, "rain", and think of a connection with *mitru, miṭirtu*, translated "Wasserlauf" (cf. also Meissner, *AS* 4, 1932, 14-15). Whichever solution one prefers, it does seem likely that the word here refers to the lagoons in the south towards the Persian Gulf.

103. *Aspects*, 99, n. 163.

104. Cf. for this entire problem the brilliant synthesis provided by J. D. Muhly, *Copper and Tin. The Distribution of Mineral Resources and the Nature of the Metals Trade in the Bronze Age*, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences XLIII, 1973, 155-535. The Anatolian resources are discussed on pages 199-208, the Sumerian and later trade over the Persian Gulf on pages 220-232.

thern copper cannot be entirely excluded, and it may be that a text from Tell ed-Der near Sippar in northern Babylonia directly refers to imports from Assur, but it can hardly have been a trade which could compete with the imports from Makkān.¹⁰⁵

On the other hand, it seems at least as likely that what Ilušuma referred to was import to Assur of copper from the south. It cannot be excluded that this was a viable trade as long as the Assyrians had not yet established their commercial contacts towards the west.

Conclusions

It is possible, although in my view not entirely probable, that Ilušuma in his text refers to a military campaign directed towards certain cities in the lands east of the Tigris. Although I do not exclude this possibility I think that it is more profitable to concentrate on the economic aspects of the situation and try to explain Ilušuma's action in that light. Accordingly I suggest that the Old Assyrian commercial expansion under the later kings of the dynasty to a large extent rests on a clear policy which took its beginning (as far as we can see) under Ilušuma, who attempted to attract traders from the south to the market in Assur by giving them certain privileges. Whether this meant abolition of old taxes or of a previous state monopoly remains undecided, and there may be other possible explanations. Ilušuma's action is thus placed in a wider perspective and Assur would already in his time have functioned as an entrepot where Babylonian traders went to get tin and probably sell copper. In the later Old Assyrian system the Babylonians come to Assur, presumably in order to obtain tin, but as far as we know they bring only quality textiles

105. The text mentioned is published by Edzard, *Altbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tell ed-Dēr im Iraq Museum, Bagdad*, München 1970, no. 190; it is quite correct, as pointed out by Muhly, op. cit., 207, that the text cannot prove that Assur exported copper to the south since it simply mentions that some of this metal is in Assur. On the other hand, one might maintain that the period between the fall of Ur III, around 2000 B.C. and the reign of Gungunum in Ur, ca. 1925 B.C., to which time we must date Ilušuma, could have seen a disruption of the traditional copper trade from Makkān and that this gave the northerners a chance to compete for a short while. We should also remember that the king of Lagash Gudea, who is to be dated to the last half of the twenty-second century B.C., appears to have mined copper at a place called Kimaš which is likely to be located in the Zagros, within relatively easy reach from Assur.

with them, a large part of which were re-exported to Anatolia. The geographical part of the inscription could refer to major caravan routes from the south.¹⁰⁶

Coming to Erišum I we would have to conclude that his action represents a further development of this commercial policy. I am unable to describe or explain the precise nature of his reform but it seems likely to be one which was designed to facilitate the trade in, and perhaps in particular the trade from Assur.

This explanation is in fact not so different in its general aspects from the one offered by J. Lewy. He suggested that Erišum carried out a reform which entailed the abolition of a state monopoly on the trade in all these goods,¹⁰⁷ and he noticed that the trade on Anatolia as known to us is likely to have begun during the reign of Erišum I. I cannot accept the further conclusions that all this was due to a desire to "leave the initiative for commercial transactions on a large scale entirely to his individual subjects which means, in modern terms, he initiated, or at least perfected, the first experiment of free enterprise on a large scale."¹⁰⁸ There is a somewhat quaint aura of anachronism over his description of Erišum as "a great ruler" and an "outstanding organiser of commercial activity and enterprise."¹⁰⁹

We have no knowledge of the situation before the body of texts from Anatolia but it does not appear exceedingly likely that the king of Assur ever was in effective control of the commerce of his city. The texts certainly reveal a society which was dominated by the free flow of private capital,

106. Very tentatively one may suggest three routes: one from Ur via Nippur, one via Awal and Kismar, perhaps along the river Tigris, and one from Elam via Dēr.

107. Cf. J. Lewy, *Eretz Israel* 5, 23, n. 20; after the abolition of the state monopoly there were still some commodities which could only be obtained from the government, and these were in fact left out of the list in Erišum's text (cf. J. Lewy, *IEJ* 5, 1955, 156, and *HUCA* 27, 1956, 26, n. 109). This fact is surely significant and must indicate that Erišum's measure had lasting effect, it was in other words most probably not a remission of debts in the style of the southern kings. See further below for some remarks about the monopoly or state control which was directed from the City Hall in Assur, 198–200.

108. This conclusion is formulated by Mrs. Lewy in *CAH* I, 2, chapter 25, 759.

109. J. Lewy, "Some Aspects of Commercial Life in Assyria and Asia Minor in the Nineteenth Pre-Christian Century", *JAOS* 78, 1958, 101. Curiously, H. Lewy thought that "posterity did not consider [Ilušuma] a successful ruler", since she believes that his operations in the south were without lasting success (*CAH* I, 2, chapter 25, 758).

with the state playing a limited role on the entrepreneurial level. The reform of Erišum I as interpreted by Lewy seems more like a complete revolution. It should also be said that we must be careful not to overestimate the power of the king in a society like the Old Assyrian, for – as will appear from the following chapters – he was most definitely not a despotic monarch, and decisions of the nature mentioned by Lewy are more likely to have been the result of debates which involved the city-assembly of Assur. However, I cannot envisage that body as being engaged in a debate about the question whether or not to go in for the idea of private capitalism. What I can believe is that a recently started, heavily expanding trade directed towards the west and ultimately towards Anatolia could begin to create problems which could be solved by a reform of the existing system of regulations and restrictions, perhaps taxation.

Returning to Ilušuma, there is really nothing which proves that he ever went to Babylonia with an army, for if the interpretation suggested here is correct, then he could well have been working through the normal diplomatic channels. But even if we accept his words as reference to a military campaign, there is no reason whatever to connect this with ideas of an Old Assyrian "Reich", let alone with dreams of world domination in the style of the kings of Akkade.

d) The History of the Colonies

It is very difficult to establish guidelines for the internal chronology of the Old Assyrian Period, primarily because of the lack of lists of year-eponyms giving the sequence of the individual years. We know about 70 names of year-eponyms from level 2 texts and nearly one-half of those are attested only once or twice;¹¹⁰ it is thus a logical assumption that such eponyms stem from the first years of the colonies, for it is unlikely that the old texts should be in majority in the archives. In fact, it is sometimes surprising that so old documents were still being kept, texts which must have recorded business transactions which had been concluded long before the time of the man who inhabited the house at the end of level 2. There are certain possibilities for a re-structuring of the eponymic data, however, primarily by way of a statistical treatment of the quite numerous "Sammelurkunden" or memoranda, a special type of texts where we

¹¹⁰. Some of the names in the list provided by Balkan, *Observations*, 78–101, must be removed in accordance with the interpretations suggested below, 333–345.

find several year-dates mentioned; on the basis of the assumption that the year-dates found on the same tablet are not far from each other in time, it is possible to order 38 year-eponymies in a chart which covers a total period of about forty years.¹¹¹ That period is the one from which we have the majority of our texts, and it can be shown to correspond to the reigns of the kings Sargon I and Puzur-Aššur II; as no. 9 in the preliminary edition of the list of eponyms, i.e. about 30 years before the end of level 2, we have the year-eponym Elāli who occurs in a date on a document which carries the royal seal of Sargon.¹¹²

There is nothing surprising in this conclusion for it has long been agreed that the reigns of the two kings mentioned must have coincided with the main period of our documentation. From Kültepe we have documents which directly mention the kings Erišum I,¹¹³ Sargon I,¹¹⁴ and Puzur-Aššur II,¹¹⁵ and Ikūnum is indirectly mentioned in a letter written by his son Sargon. It is of course not entirely proven that Erišum I was contemporary with the colony at Kanesh for the text found there which refers to him is a copy of a building-inscription; the other kings are mentioned in current, commercial or legal texts. However, we can connect the line of kings with the pattern of generations of the merchant families and thus it appears probable that the colonization of Kanesh level 2 started during the regn of Erišum I.

A detailed analysis cannot at the moment be offered for any one of the more important merchant families, for the necessary preparatory work in the form of prosopographic studies does not yet exist. The following notes are therefore of a rather preliminary nature, even though I shall use one of the best-known families, the one whose most prominent member in our material was Pūšu-kēn, son of Suejja.¹¹⁶ His father is to my

111. My preliminary chart is reproduced as an appendix, 381, but the detailed analysis will be published elsewhere.

112. EL 327–329 belong together, reflecting stages in the same court case; EL 327 carries the seal of Sargon I, and 329 is dated to the week of Šamaš-bāni and Aššuriš-tikal, month *Kuzallu*, eponymy Elāli.

113. The text published by Landsberger and Balkan, *Bulleten* 14.

114. EL 329 and the letter L 29–573, discussed below, 135.

115. j/k 201, a contract cited by Balkan, *OLZ* 60, 1965, 152; it mentions both Sargon I, Puzur-Aššur II, and the latter's brother Aduaja.

116. For literature I refer to the comments in J. Lewy, "On some Institutions of the Old Assyrian Empire", *HUCA* 27, 79, n. 333, Garelli, *AC*, 233–235, Veenhof, *Aspects*, 110–118 and 318–319, and Trolle Larsen, *OACP*, 60.

knowledge not attested as a living person in any document, but he had a grandson by the same name, here called Suejja II, who appears frequently in the texts. It seems to have been a custom in the Old Assyrian families to let certain names pass on through the generations by giving a boy the name of his recently deceased grandfather.¹¹⁷ Since Suejja II was Pūšu-kēn's eldest son, his grandfather is likely to have died while Pūšu-kēn was still a young man. Pūšu-kēn's wife was a certain Lamassi who lived all her life in the capital, in spite of the fact that her husband spent all his time in the colonies. This was apparently a quite ordinary situation in that particular generation, but in the following generation it seems to have become common for the Assyrian traders either to bring their wife with them from Assur or to marry a local girl of good family, in some instances as second wife only. This change in custom, which is well documented e.g. for Pūšu-kēn's sons, surely indicates that Pūšu-kēn's own generation was the first one to take up permanent residence in the colonies.

Pūšu-kēn had four sons, Suejja II, Aššur-muṭtabbil, Buzāzu, and Ikuppāša, and one daughter, the priestess Ahaha. His wife Lamassi died before him; as we know from a letter he sent to his representatives in the capital.¹¹⁸ Pūšu-kēn's own death is reflected in several texts which deal with the various claims that had to be settled in connection with the division of the estate.¹¹⁹ Whereas it is obvious that these two generations cover most of the well-documented phase of level 2, it is equally certain that there was a third generation, Pūšu-kēn's grandchildren, one of whom was called after him; Buzāzu's son Pūšu-kēn II.¹²⁰ The rich correspondence between a certain Puzur-Aššur and Buzāzu appears to belong in

117. Paponymy is known also from the Kassite period, cf. Landsberger, *JCS* 8, 1954, 44, n. 63; also J. Lewy, loc. cit., 10, n. 44.

118. TC 1:30.

119. See the survey provided in Kienast, *ATHE*, 30.

120. Mentioned by H. Lewy, *CAH* I, 2, chapter 24, 710. It is likely that the other persons who are known as sons of Buzāzu: Aššur-idi, Hanunu, and Šu-Suen, were also Pūšu-kēn's grandsons. The letter BIN 6:57 is written from Buzāzu to Pūšu-kēn, naming Buzāzu first, and it is therefore most probably addressed to Pūšu-kēn II for a son would never put his own name before that of his father, an unprecedented breach of etiquette. It is in fact probable that the letter is connected with the proceedings in the text EL 11 (one of the documents dealing with the partition of the inheritance after Pūšu-kēn I), and with the letter TC 3:99 in which we find Buzāzu's other son Hanunu.

the period after Pūšu-kēn's death. If Pūšu-kēn II was in fact born after the death of his grandfather, we may conclude that the colony continued to exist at least 15–20 years. It should also be noted that Buzāzu's partner, Puzur-Aššur, died before the end.¹²¹

Pūšu-kēn's family may perhaps be linked with another family which will also be mentioned frequently in the following chapters, the one whose archives are dominated by the names of Aššur-malik, son of Luzina, and his son Enlil-bānī.¹²² It seems likely that Aššur-malik was married to a sister of Pūšu-kēn, a woman called Tariš-mātum. Also in this family can we see that the very first generation, represented by Luzina, does not occur as being alive in our texts,¹²³ but on the other hand we know that Enlil-bānī's son Nāb-Suen was very active; and we also find a certain Dadaja, who may have been Enlil-bānī's nephew, in our texts, a man who is directly mentioned together with the king Puzur-Aššur II.¹²⁴

As will be shown in a later context,¹²⁵ Pūšu-kēn received some letters from the king Sargon I, and we can conclude from them 1) that he was somewhat older than Sargon, and 2) that he also had contacts with his predecessor Ikūnum, although he may have been younger than him. The generation scheme can accordingly be shown in a table as follows:

<i>kings</i>	<i>Suejja's family</i>	<i>Luzina's family</i>	
Erišum I	Suejja	Luzina	I
Ikūnum	Pūšu-kēn	Aššur-malik	II
Sargon I	Suejja II	Enlil-bānī	III
Puzur-Aššur II	Pūšu-kēn II	Dadaja	IV

The preliminary data from the chart of year-eponymies confirm this picture; Pūšu-kēn is directly associated with eponymies 9–21, his sons with eponymies 24–38; Enlil-bānī is associated with eponymies 22–38, and his nephew with eponymies 23–32. Obviously, there cannot be a complete

121. See L. Matouš, "Der Streit um den Nachlass des Puzur-Aššur", *ArOr*, 1969, 156–180. The Puzur-Aššur whose death is reported in the letter CCT 2:35, where Pūšu-kēn appears among the writers together with Imdi-ilum, cannot be identical with Buzāzu's partner.

122. See for this family Trolle Larsen, *OACP*, 15–18 and 76.

123. In spite of CCT 3:29 cited by me, op. cit., 16.

124. In j/k 201; see note 115 above.

125. Below, 135–140.

state of synchronicity between the three families but the general consistency of the patterns from Assur and Kanesh is gratifying.

It is of course essential in this connection to keep in mind that the colonies in Anatolia represent the end result of a long evolution. They do not represent the consequences of one simple command: "let there be trade and colonies!" Some crucial decisions must surely have been taken along the way, and I have in the last section tried to show how we may push some of them back to the time of Ilušuma, but the Old Assyrian merchants most certainly must have expanded gradually, making use of an already existing network of communications which linked Anatolia with Syria and Mesopotamia. Looking at the evidence from Kanesh solely, we must conclude that the colony at Kanesh was established, or began to flourish, at some time during the reign of Erišum I, and it seems to have been destroyed during the reign of Puzur-Aššur II.

Whatever the precise nature of the catastrophe may have been,¹²⁶ it is not very probable that it was a series of events in Assur which caused it. Puzur-Aššur II may therefore have continued to reign after the conflagration had destroyed the Kanesh colony. It is even possible that the other colonies in Anatolia, or some of them, survived and continued to function.

126. Cf. Mellaart, *CAH* I, 2, 702–703 with chart on page 693; he dates the destruction to ca. 1900 B.C. and sees it as only one incident in a whole series of catastrophic events which took place in the Anatolian area. See also Muhly, op. cit., 326, who regards the destruction as "some sort of local event." K. Bittel, *Hattusha: Capital of the Hittites*, New York 1970, 46–47, claims that no comparable destruction touched the Assyrian colony at that site but that it simply continued in existence during the time of the hiatus at Kültepe.

CHAPTER THREE

The Old Assyrian Economy

Like most cities in Mesopotamia, Assur had to rely on foreign trade simply in order to ensure its own existence. With its position on the fringe of the rainfall zone and its lack of an extensive agrarian hinterland which could guarantee a steady and adequate supply of food, its life was perhaps even more precarious than that of most urban centres in the area.¹ If for the moment we disregard the religious and cultural background and concentrate our attention solely on the geographical and ecological aspects, we must conclude that Assur's *raison d'être* was its strategic position; it was a fortress and it functioned as a transit town on the network of caravan roads. It is also clear, of course, that we find other urban centres in the same region which could have served the same purpose, the most obvious example being the much older city at the site of Nineveh which was located at the best crossing of the Tigris. It is also fairly clear that Assur's crucial role as the main Mesopotamian entrepôt for the trade in tin was to some extent taken over by other cities in the periods which followed; Mari on the Euphrates seems to have controlled much of the tin trade with the Syrian and Palestinian area.² It is naturally impossible to pinpoint exactly which factors gave to Assur its special position in the Old Assyrian period, but to some extent the historical explanations given in the preceding chapter of the acts recorded in texts from the time of Ilušuma and Erišum I may provide a reasonable basis.

A general frame of reference for the historical situation is constituted by the level of technology which in fact determines the name of the period in archaeological parlance: "The Middle Bronze Age". The relevant feature is of course the ubiquitous use of the metal bronze, an alloy of copper and tin. In terms of metallurgical techniques the period is distin-

1. Max Weber stated in *The City*, New York 1966, 71, that "the full urbanite of antiquity was a semi-peasant", and that may be correct for most Mesopotamian cities but hardly for Assur in this period. It was at one time a consumers' and a producers' city which depended on long-distance trade to satisfy its need for food-supplies (cf. also the classifications given by H. van Werveke in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe III*, Cambridge 1965, 3–41.)

2. Cf. Muhly, *Copper and Tin*, 293–294.

guished by the predominance of tin-bronze, completely replacing the originally predominant arsenical bronze. The determining factor must be a better supply of tin, and that situation is probably to be explained by a major evolution in commercial techniques. A network of caravan routes was in existence in the entire Middle East from the very earliest periods, but the startling phenomenon of the Old Assyrian commercial expansion marks a major step in the evolution of commerce.³

The political aspects of such a general frame of reference are twofold: there must have been peace in the areas most directly affected by the trade, and it must have been possible for the merchants and for their governmental agencies to cooperate with effective authorities in the foreign countries. A relatively secure and stable political system must have been in existence in Anatolia and in the areas which were traversed by the Assyrian donkey caravans, and a system of regulations or treaties which could ensure a mutual profit must have been elaborated.

a) The International Trade

The textual material from Kanesh illuminates only one branch in what must have been a considerably vaster network of commercial contacts, and it should also be kept in mind that the documents necessarily center our attention on that one colony while it is *a priori* likely that the merchants of Assur were in direct contact with other areas in Asia Minor in such a way that this would only very occasionally be mentioned in the texts from Kanesh. The material which could illuminate such contacts must be found in Assur instead. Nevertheless, in a general way it is possible to place the trade on Anatolia in a wider perspective.

The basic pattern of the Old Assyrian trade known to us is very simple: large quantities of tin and textiles were shipped from Assur to Anatolia where these goods were exchanged for silver, occasionally gold. We find a few other commodities in the trade, but only in insignificant quantities, and it should be emphasized that copper was not sent either from Assur to Kanesh or the other way. Bronze was only quite rarely exported from

3. Cf. A. Leo Oppenheim, "Trade in the Ancient Near East", *V International Congress of Economic History*, Moscow 1970, 16, n. 39, and J. D. Muhly, *American Scientist* 61, 1973, 404–405.

Anatolia to Assur, and apparently only in the form of manufactured goods, usually household utensils.⁴

The problem of the location of the tin sources is a difficult and hotly debated one and a definitive solution has not been found as yet. It is obvious that it was imported to Assur, presumably from mines located far from the city, but the distribution of ore deposits in the Middle East is imperfectly known and it has not been determined where the ancient tin mines were located.⁵ Since tin is a quite rare metal it is likely that those who controlled such mines held a powerful international position, but we know nothing about this and it may well be that it was instead those who – like the inhabitants of Assur – controlled the supply routes and the trade in this metal who drew both economic and political profit. It seems to be generally agreed at this time that the tin most probably was mined in northern Iran, perhaps in the Karadagh Mountain east of the modern town of Tabriz. As pointed out by Muhly, there are certain difficulties with such an explanation, apart, of course, from the fact that the actual mines have not been discovered, but these reflect primarily the pattern of trade between north and south in the period which followed the Old Assyrian dynasty.⁶ It is perhaps not certain that Leemans is right in his suggestion that Babylonian traders came to the north in order to buy tin at the time of Šamši-Adad I,⁷ but it remains distinctly probable that this was in fact the situation during the Old Assyrian period. The role of the other cities in the area east of the Tigris, first of all Gasur, remains unknown but it seems that Assur was the most important centre, and the attracting force for traders from all other areas was surely the trade towards Anatolia which was organised from Assur. Texts from Kanesh show that "Akkadian" traders came to Assur in order to sell their textiles.⁸ We do not know for certain what they bought in Assur but it

4. See for instance Garelli, *AC*, 265–317, for a review of the various types of merchandise; Veenhof, *Aspects*, has devoted the entire Part Two to a discussion of the textiles.

5. Cf. Muhly, op. cit., 288–338.

6. Muhly, op. cit., 294–301.

7. *JESHO* 11, 1968, 201–215.

8. Cf. Veenhof, *Aspects*, 98–103. The most illuminating reference stems from an unpublished text in the museum in Berlin, VAT 9249, a letter from Aššur-malik and Šalim-Aššur to Pūšu-kēn, in which we find the passage: (4) *a-šu-mi ši-im*^{kl} TÚG *ša a-ki-di-e* (5) *ša ta-áš-pu-ra-ni* (6) *iš-tù tù-uš-ú a-ki-di-ú* (7) *a-na A-lim^{kl} ú-la e-ru-bu-nim* (8) *ma-sú-nu sá-hi-a-at-ma* (9) *šu-ma a-ku-sí im-ta-ag-tù-nim-ma*

is likely that their basic need was tin which had come down through the passes in the Zagros Mountains.

The Danish expedition to the Rania Plain, which excavated the ancient town Šušarra, found some textual evidence which may throw a little light on the conditions in this area which must have been traversed by the tin caravans from Iran – provided, of course, that it really did come from there. The texts are mainly letters which formed part of the correspondence of a certain Kuwari, the ruler of Šušarra; they can be divided in two major groups, one which concerns local matters primarily, and one which deals with the relations between Kuwari and Šamši-Adad, and it seems that these groups reflect two different political and historical situations. Kuwari started his career as a governor in a town which appears to have been the westernmost outpost of a local Turukkean state in the mountain valleys; the stability of these political structures is threatened by invasions said to be due to Gutians, i.e. other mountain tribes which apparently move north at this time, and at the same time Šamši-Adad's armies are moving around in the area east of the Tigris where the cities Qabra and Arrapha are conquered.¹⁰ While Kuwari's own overlord in the mountain-state appears to be overthrown by the invaders, he himself enters an alliance with Šamši-Adad, and Šušarra from then on functions as the easternmost outpost of Šamši-Adad's empire. Still later, after the death of Šamši-Adad, we hear in a letter from Mari that Šušarra has had to be abandoned and we may assume that the destruction of Kuwari's palace dates to that time.¹¹ If it is correct that Šušarra was located on the tin-route from the north-east, and one letter which mentions rather substantial deliveries of tin from this town may support such a theory,¹² the political events reflected in this archive are of obvious importance for our problem, for it should be remembered that

(10) *ši-mu-um ša ba-la-ti-kā* (11) *i-ba-ši ni-ša-a-ma-ku-um*, “Concerning the purchase of Akkadian textiles which you have written about, since you left the Akkadians have not entered the City; their country is in revolt, but should they arrive before winter and if it is possible to make purchases profitable for you, we shall buy some for you.”

9. Cf. J. Læssøe, *The Shemshara Tablets. A Preliminary Report*, København 1959.

10. See J. Læssøe, “IM 62100: A Letter from Tell Shemshara”, *AS* 16, 1965, 189–196, for the publication of a crucial text which refers both to Šamši-Adad's campaign against Arrapha, Qabra, and Nurrugum, and to the threatening manoeuvres of the man Indašu who is otherwise identified as a Gutian chief.

11. ARM 4:25; Cf. Læssøe, *ShT*, 31–32.

12. Cf. J. Læssøe, “Akkadian Annakum: ‘Tin’ or ‘Lead’?”, *Acta Orientalia* 24, 1959, 83–94; see also Leemans, *JESHO* 11, 1968, 207.

according to K. Balkan the texts from the later colonies at Kanesh and other sites in Anatolia indicate that the import of tin from Assur had been stopped. The supply route through the Zagros seems to have been closed by invasions of new tribes at precisely this time, and the texts from the south may therefore deal with tin which arrived from other mines or at least along new routes.

Most of the textiles which were sold by the Assyrian traders in Anatolia were most probably produced in Assur itself from wool which was imported. Veenhof has dealt with the available evidence concerning the textile production in Assur which appears to have been largely in the hands of the ladies of the merchant houses, often women whose husbands worked in Anatolia.¹³ As to the imports from Babylonia, the figures which can be established from our texts indicate that they played a quite minor role in the trade; however, it is uncertain whether all textiles which had come from the south would be referred to as "Akkadian textiles". Even if we assume that Babylonian imports hide under some of the neutral figures for "textiles" in our texts, it is probable that they never constituted more than a few percent of the textile-export to Anatolia.

Assur was thus not just a transit town for the trade in tin, for it must have produced large quantities of textiles itself. Veenhof has gone through the published material and found direct references to shipments of in all some 17.500 textiles sent from Assur.¹⁴ Obviously we must multiply this figure with somewhere between five and ten in order to reach the total which may be assumed to have been recorded on the texts from Kanesh. I would on that background suggest as a conservative estimate an export of about 100.000 textiles from Assur over a period of ca. fifty years. Obviously, the city must have imported large quantities of wool from the surrounding areas. The importance for Assur of this textile trade must of course have been very considerable; in sheer bulk it overshadowed the trade in tin as can be seen from Veenhof's statistics: the preserved figures

13. Veenhof, *Aspects*, 103–123.

14. Op. cit., 79–80. I should like to stress that I agree wholeheartedly with his comments about the dangers inherent in such statistics and the following very tentative conclusions must of course be seen in this light: we have a limited number of texts, relative both to the total number of texts actually excavated and to the number of documents which must have existed, some of which were of course destroyed in antiquity; further, we do not know whether there were major changes in the pattern of the trade and we cannot say whether the transactions which we know about are really typical for the entire material, since individual firms may have specialised in certain types of trade.

show a ratio of 3:1 in terms of donkey-loads of textiles and tin respectively. On the other hand, one load of tin was some five times as valuable as a load of textiles.

The amount of tin recorded on the available texts is about 13.500 kgs, i.e. some 200 donkey-loads sent from Assur to Kanesh. Again as a conservative estimate, I suggest an export from Assur over a period of fifty years of about eighty tons. Since the tin was used for the fabrication of bronze in an alloy which presumably contained about ten percent tin and 90 percent copper,¹⁵ the production of bronze out of this import would amount to about eight hundred tons during the same period of time.

The texts from Kanesh never say precisely how the tin came to Assur, but when there was a shortage of either wool, tin or Babylonian textiles, the people in Assur could apparently do nothing about it but simply had to wait.¹⁶ We are told that Akkadian merchants came to Assur, bringing textiles, but we are never told the *name* of a man who has brought anything to Assur; no text contains an order or request that a man of Assur should go to Babylonia or to a town on the eastern plain, for instance Gasur.¹⁷ When the supply was cut off, the men in Assur simply advised their correspondents in Anatolia of the unfortunate state of affairs and promised to buy as soon as the missing goods were again offered for sale in Assur. It therefore seems an inescapable conclusion that the men in Assur concentrated all their efforts on the colonies in

15. As long as we do not know precisely the composition of the tinbronze of the Old Assyrian period it is naturally impossible to say whether these figures are correct; it should be mentioned, however, that Muhly, op. cit., 243–244, has provided a number of examples of a composition which shows the ratios between 6:1 and 8:1, i.e. about from 17–12 1/2 percent tin in the bronze. If we estimate instead of my figures that the finished alloy contained 15 percent tin the total bronze production would be ca. 535 tons. Such calculations underline the fragility of our statistical evidence.

16. See also comments in Trolle Larsen, *OACP*, 153–155.

17. The only possible exception may be found in the letter TC 3:112 from the woman Ištar-baštī in Assur (thus J. Lewy, *ArOr* 18:3, 1950, 420, n. 300) to her brother Puzur-Ištar in Kanesh; she writes as follows: (3) *a-bu-kā iš-tū ITI 5. KAM* (4) *a-na ši-ip-kā-tim a-na* (5) *Qá-âb-ra i-li-k-ma a-di-ni* (6) *ú-lá i-li-kam*, “five months ago your father left for Qabra in order to store (barley?), and he has not yet come back.” For the location of Qabra see Læssøe, *Sht*, 17. Another possibility would be to emend the text to *kā-âp-ra<-tim>*, “the villages”.

Anatolia and left the supply of tin and Babylonian textiles, and presumably of wool, to men from the areas where these goods originated.¹⁸

The problem of copper is more complicated, for this obviously essential commodity is practically absent from the international trade.¹⁹ It is true that the Assyrians in Anatolia can be seen to conduct a brisk trade in copper, but the transactions mentioned take place inside the borders of Anatolia.²⁰ I can see only one plausible explanation of this state of affairs: that copper was brought to Assur from a source which was located outside central Anatolia so that the traffic in this metal completely bypassed Kanesh from where we have our texts. That source is likely to have been the copper mines at Ergani in south-eastern Turkey, where excavations have produced evidence for very early mining activities.²¹ It may be that copper was mined at other locations as well, since we have a number of references to copper said to stem from specific places; according to J. Lewy and Garelli some of these were in the Pontic region,²² and others have sought some of the localities in Syria,²³ but no certainty has been established. The place which appears to have been called Taritara was the source of much copper (so-called "tiri-copper") and it seems that the area round the important city Durhumit played a role in this production.²⁴ Curiously, one of the texts mentions "copper which does not contain

18. In the case of the tin it is perhaps more probable that middlemen from the states in the Zagros Mountains or even from the cities on the eastern plain brought the metal to Assur.
19. It is therefore incorrect when for instance Orlin, *ACC*, 56, says that "a chief aim of Cappadocian trade appears to have been the procurement of copper for the Assyrian government, and many texts testify to the large quantities which were moved by the caravans." Cf. also Muhly, op. cit., 207.
20. In many ways the trade in copper seems to be similar to the Assyrian trade in wool which was also a local business, since wool was only very rarely sent from Anatolia to Assur; for the wool-trade I refer to Veenhof, *Aspects*, 130–139.
21. References and discussion in Muhly, op. cit., 206–207.
22. See Garelli, *AC*, 294–295; the identification of Habura with classical Cabira in the Pontus region seems very doubtful to me.
23. J. Lewy, *HUCA* 27, 1956, 22, n. 95, suggests that the town Harana which seems connected with large amounts of copper in the text KTH 14 was located very close to Ergani.
24. See Balkan, *OLZ* 60, 1965, 149, for the name Taritara. For the location of Durhumit one may see J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, London 1959, 17, where a site at Yenihan is proposed.

hematite" (*šadwānum*), which points to the surprising fact that iron was a waste product from the refining of copper.²⁵

The figures mentioned above concerning the import of tin lead to the tentative conclusion that some 720 tons of copper was used in the production of bronze,²⁶ and our texts certainly indicate that very substantial amounts of copper were transported and traded in by the Assyrians. The largest shipment known consisted of the truly enormous amount 30.000 minas,²⁷ or about 15 tons; the second-biggest shipment comprised 10.000 minas, or about 5 tons.²⁸ If we take the fifteen largest shipments known from our texts we reach a total of 67.185 minas of copper, or about 35 tons.²⁹ There is accordingly no doubt that the recorded copper-production was substantial enough to fit the figures proposed earlier concerning the volume of the tin trade.

With an import to Assur of copper directly from the mines at Ergani it is understandable why such shipments are absent from the texts found in Kanesh; we must assume that there was a special "copper road" which branched off from the route to Kanesh somewhere near the Euphrates crossing, but only texts from Assur can illuminate that branch of the Old Assyrian trade.

b) The Organization of the Trade

The basic economic facts behind the colonial system will hopefully emerge in the course of this presentation but I do not intend to present a

25. ICK 2:54: (1) [x GU] URUDU SIG₅ (2) [ša T]a-ri-ta-a[r] (3) [x] GU 30 MA.NA URUDU (4) [š]a ša-ad-wa-na-am (5) la ú-kà-lu (6) ŠU.NIGIN 6 GU 30 MA.N[A] (7) i-sé-er (8) Id-na-a-a (9) DUMU Sà-li-a (10) Im-di-DINGIR i-šu (11) iš-tù ha-muš-tim (12) ša A-la-hi-im (13) DUMU I-dí-Sú-in (14) ú E-na-ma-nim (15) Im-di-lúm a-na (16) Du-ur-hu-me-et (17) sú-ha-ar-šu i-ša-par (18) a-na Kà-né-eš a-na (19) ni-ga-li-im URUDU (20) ú-ša-ak-ša-dam, "x talents of fine copper from Taritar (and) x talents 30 minas of copper which does not contain hematite, in all 6 talents 30 minas, Idnaja, son of Sallija, owes to Imdi-ilum. Reckoned from the week of Alähum, son of Idi-Suen, and Ennam-Anum, Imdi-ilum will send his servant to Durhumit and have him take the copper to Kanesh before harvest."

26. Or, if we use the other figures suggested in note 15, 455 tons of bronze.
27. See Gol. 14, 35, now republished by Jankowska, KTK 20. It is true that the text is not entirely clear so we cannot see whether the amount was in fact delivered.
28. KTH 14, 4, and CCT 2:13, 6, texts which appear to deal with the same affair; they may also belong together with the text mentioned in the preceding note.
29. See the texts collected in Garelli, AC, 296, n. 3.

discussion of all aspects. It should be mentioned, however, that the Old Assyrian commercial penetration of Anatolia – like presumably all primitive long-distance trade – was characterised by what is called “venturing”, by which is meant that shipments were sent abroad to be sold as profitably as possible, but without previous, binding agreements which ensured the owner of the shipment a certain price for it.³⁰ The risk of losses was thus permanently present since it could never be a matter of course that the shipments could be sold immediately or profitably in Anatolia. The Old Assyrian trade seems to differ from at least the kind of maritime trade which was led in the Mediterranean area in the Middle Ages in so far as the risk of losses due to piracy or shipwreck was largely or totally absent.³¹ There are references to caravans lost in the mountains, of course,³² and the famous incantation from Kültepe speaks of the uncanny dangers which face the caravan: “A black dog crouches on the hill, waiting for the scattered caravan. His eyes watch for a good man.”³³ Nevertheless, such references are rare and the risks do not find any mention for instance in transport-contracts; also the traffic in letters appears to have been continuous and without any appreciable risk that the tablets would not be delivered to their destination. The Geniza material shows that in the Middle Ages it was customary to send several copies of a letter with persons who traveled in different ships, this of course being due to the dangers of travel;³⁴ on the other hand, overland mail was apparently quite secure, being operated commercially by private individuals or specialized firms.³⁵ This difference between overland and maritime trade appears to be of crucial importance and I shall return to the subject.

The establishment of trading posts and colonies on foreign territory obviously provides a much more sophisticated context for the international commerce than a system in which we have itinerant merchants. The latter system is known from southern texts, and in Codex Hammurabi

30. See R. de Rroover, *CEH III*, 44–46, for a discussion of this feature in Medieval trade.

31. For the dangers see e.g. de Rroover, loc. cit., W. Ashburner, *The Rhodian Sea-Law*, Oxford 1909, cxli-clii, or S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society I*, Berkeley 1967, 313–332.

32. CCT 2:11a, 15–18.

33. Cf. Hirsch, *UAR*, 82.

34. Goitein, op. cit., 304.

35. Goitein, op. cit., 281–295; it should be said, however, that in general the people of the Geniza texts preferred to travel with their shipments by boat rather than overland, cf. op. cit., 275–281. Obviously, overland travel was a highly dangerous business also in Europe in the early Middle Ages.

rapi we find some paragraphs which regulate the relationship between investor and traveling partner; we also have actual contracts which concern such procedures and they are invariably concerned with a single journey undertaken with a specific, stipulated purpose.³⁶ On the return there is a division of profit between the investor and the traveling partner. Such a procedure is of course a basic ingredient also in medieval trade and it is certainly present in the Old Assyrian material, but there we find it enmeshed in a framework of representation and agency which linked the home city with certain centres abroad, a factor which shows the complexity of the Old Assyrian system compared with the one found in Babylonia.

There is no doubt that the establishment of commercial colonies has its basis in an effort to reduce the risks of long-distance trade, but one may probably overestimate the importance of the element of risk and it may be that such trading-posts also were necessary in order to facilitate the growth of the trade.³⁷ The eleventh century Arab author Abū Faḍl al-Dīmašqī divided the merchants of his time in three categories: the traveler, the hoarder who stocks goods and sells when the price is right, and the man who stays put and sends his shipments with others; about the last type he wrote:

Know, my brother – may God guide you – that the operations of the merchant who exports consist in employing in the locality to which he exports some one who takes care of the wares sent to him. The latter is then entrusted with selling the wares and buying others in exchange, and he ought to be a trustworthy, reliable, and well-to-do man who has devoted himself fully to commerce and who is also

36. Cf. G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws*, I, 186–202, and II, 38–45; W. F. Leemans, *The Old-Babylonian Merchant*, Leiden 1950. The contracts have been treated in W. Eilers, *Gesellschaftsformen im altabylonischen Recht*, Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien, Leipzig 1931; Eilers insists on regarding the Old Babylonian “partnerships” as loans and says that we are faced with a kind of association which is described as a partnership but which in fact builds on a lack of equality between investor and *tractator*, “eine Erscheinung des Rechtslebens, die für modernrechtliche Begriffe etwas geradezu Ungeheuerliches bedeutet.” The same argument has of course been used about the *commenda*, but cf. the comment by de Roover: “legal writers tend to exaggerate the importance of their categories and they tend to overlook the fact that, in economics, partnership agreements and loans are basically alternative and interchangeable forms of investment” (*CEH* III, 50).

37. See J. Hicks, *A Theory of Economic History*, Oxford 1969, 42–59.

well experienced in it The profit, with the assistance of God, depends on suitable purchase. Lastly, one must send a ware only with reliable carriers who keep it under their protection until it is received by the appointed representative.³⁸

Our documents show that this basic model is relevant also for the Old Assyrian period. The sedentary merchants who directed their affairs by way of agents and representatives are most typically found in Assur and we know the names of several of these men from the letters they sent to Kanesh. The recipients of all these letters were really agents of the bosses in Assur. Some of the men of Kanesh, as for instance such a prominent merchant as Pūšu-kēn may have taken up a kind of intermediary position, being the leader of the Anatolian branch of a large firm; he seems to have been essentially a sedentary merchant who traveled very little, and he had a large staff of employees or subordinates in Anatolia who took care of the transportation and the procedures in other colonies.

The Geniza material as well as the texts from the Italian trading cities shows that the long-distance trade was based on a firm pattern of what may be called "family-firms".³⁹ The "great houses" of Genoa or Venice or Florence had their counterparts in the Muslim and the Jewish world and it is obvious that the basis of the Old Assyrian economic system was the "house", "family", or "household" (*bītum*).⁴⁰ But just as the actual financing of the trade, for instance by way of *commenda* or *muqāraḍa*,⁴¹

38. From the book *al Ishāra ilā mahāsin al-Tijāra*; here quoted from the English translation in R. S. Lopez and I. W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World*, New York 1955, 26–27; the original publication is H. Ritter, "Ein arabisches Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft", *Der Islam* 7, 1917, 1–91 (the passage quoted here is found on pages 70–71). See also Goitein, op. cit., 149–161.
39. Cf. Goitein, op. cit., 180–183, and idem, "Commercial and Family Partnerships in the Countries of Medieval Islam", *Islamic Studies* 3, 1964, 315–337.
40. It should be noted neither *AHw* nor *CAD* give a satisfactory treatment of this term or of the comparable expression *bīt abim*, "paternal house". The latter phrase is given four different translations in *CAD*, but all Old Assyrian examples are listed under "business house, firm" (under which heading one finds no examples from any other dialect), and consequently we have no references under "family"; such a distinction seems clearly artificial and is bound to create confusion rather than order.
41. For *commenda* see simply *CEH* III, 49–59, and Lopez and Raymond, op. cit., 174–184; for *muqāraḍa* (or the other types called *ḥulṭa* or *ṣirkā*) I refer to the literature mentioned in note 39, and to A. L. Udovitch, "Commercial Techniques in Early Medieval Islamic Trade", in D. S. Richards (editor), *Islam and the Trade of Asia*, Oxford 1970, 47–50.

cut across the family pattern, we find as another vital element in the Old Assyrian system the "partnership" based on "the sack", *naruqqum*, the capital fund invested by several investors in the merchants who took active part in the long-distance trade.⁴² Contrary to the southern partnerships, usually called *tappūtum*, the Old Assyrian institution clearly has the character of a long-term partnership which was entered into by a large group of people, and which on the basis of a very considerable capital was designed to carry on a general, commercial activity. The one single contract known⁴³ which regulates such a partnership or "society" states that fourteen men have invested in all 26 minas of gold in the "sack" of a certain Amur-Ištar, who has added four minas himself so that the total capital amounts to 30 minas of gold. He is to "conduct trade" with his money for a period of twelve years, and there are certain rules for the division of the profit of which he can take one-third; the last stipulation says that the men who might want to withdraw their investment before the stated time must accept a certain, disadvantageous, exchange rate for the gold and will receive no share of the profit.⁴⁴

We do not know, unfortunately, how such partnerships came about, for instance whether all men who could afford it were free to invest money in another man's "sack"; it is certain, however, that the men who stayed in the colonies could do it and thereby become the *ummeānum*, "investor", of their colleagues in the colonies.⁴⁵ It should also be reasonably clear that a substantial part of the capital invested in a man's "sack" came from members of his own family, but the exact relationship between the concepts *naruqqum* and *bit abini*, "our father's house", remains to be elucidated by studies of individual firms and families. The importance of the family and the closeness of the ties binding close kin together is very evi-

42. The basic discussions of this procedure are still: EL 2, 86–109, with a number of texts interpreted, and B. Landsberger, "Vier Urkunden vom Kültepe", TTAED 4, 1940, 20–26, where the only *naruqqu*-contract known was published; see now also A. Leo Oppenheim, "Old Assyrian *magāru* or *makāru*? ", *Festschrift Gütterbock*, 229–237.

43. See preceding note.

44. It seems clear that all *naruqqu*-transactions were reckoned in gold but that this was a special accounting feature, and there is no doubt that the actual sums paid were in silver.

45. See for instance the letter TC 3:54, sent from Imdī-illum in Kanesh to his representatives in Assur, in which he asks them to see to it that he is credited with an investment of two minas of gold in the *naruqqum* of his associate Pilah-Ištar when the latter's "*naruqqu*-tablet" is to be written. The term *ummeānum* is accordingly not a title, just like *tamkārum* is not a title in the texts from level 2; both words refer to contractually regulated situations and capacities.

dent from our letters; it is true that close kin could become involved in legal disputes, and the sons and daughter of Pūšu-kēn provide a good example for they at one point had their case over the partition of their father's estate brought before the city-assembly in Assur.⁴⁶ We have contracts recording loans from brother to brother, and in such features we are reminded of the Arabic saying which has been quoted as typical for much of the Geniza material: *tahābabū wa-tahāsabū*, "love each other, but make accounts with each other."⁴⁷

Nevertheless, it may be regarded as certain that the family-firm was a basic element in the Old Assyrian system, and it is likely that each one of the more prominent families in Assur had its own "branch" or *factory* in a colony in Anatolia. As a probably typical example of a not too big and powerful family I propose to look a little closer at the family-firm led by Aššur-idi, the father and boss who lived in Assur.⁴⁸ We have some 125 letters which were exchanged between the members of the group of persons, mainly in Anatolia, who were more or less closely associated; the man who directed Aššur-idi's affairs in Anatolia was his son Aššur-nādā, and he cooperated very closely with a certain Ili-ālum⁴⁹ and with his brother Aššur-taklāku. Sometimes we find that Aššur-nādā has to deal intimately with persons whose rank exceeds his own, for instance a certain Alāhum, and such a person certainly was connected with the firm although not concerned with its daily affairs, so he was probably a more distant relative. It should be noted that the study of such an "archive" is hampered by very serious difficulties and the conclusions which can be given here must necessarily be of a tentative character.⁵⁰ It is possible to reconstruct a nucleus of persons who correspond fairly frequently with each other, of course, and in this case we find some ten persons in that group.

46. Cf. for instance BIN 4:106, discussed further below, 167; see also such a text as CCT 5:11d recording Aššur-muttabbil's questioning of his brother Buzāzu before witnesses.

47. Goitein, op. cit., 183.

48. See for some preliminary remarks about this family, Trolle Larsen, *OACP*, 106–109 and 163–166.

49. Ili-ālum may also have been a son of Aššur-idi, cf. the inscription on seal b on VAT 9227 (EL 274).

50. Some of the difficulties are simply due to our lack of precise prosopographical knowledge and the fact that the Old Assyrians were fond of a rather limited number of personal names; hereto comes that patronymics are rare in letters so we have to reckon with the possibility that for instance more than one letter recipient by the name of Aššur-nādā is attested in our material. Also, since we do not have any complete archive in published form, there is no adequate model which could give us a better understanding of what an "archive" in fact was.

Aššur-idi has sent letters from Assur to four persons: Aššur-nādā (30), Aššur-taklāku (14), Ili-ālum (6), and Alāhum (2);⁵¹ we have five letters from Aššur-nādā to Aššur-idi, four of which must have been archive copies which were not actually sent off from Kanesh, whereas the last one is the sole letter known from Assur.⁵² The four persons in Anatolia correspond with each other, i.e. they traveled in Anatolia and were probably sometimes in Assur as well and thus they could send letters to Kanesh; Aššur-nādā sent five letters to Aššur-taklāku and received ten; he sent five to Alāhum and received five back; and he sent two to Ili-ālum and received five back.

The main task of Aššur-nādā in Kanesh was to take care of the ongoing pendulum trade between Assur and Anatolia, managing the sale in Anatolia of the shipments he received from Aššur-idi, and sending back the money gained.⁵³ The sale in Anatolia often entailed sending out agents to other parts of the area, visiting other cities on the plateau where the retail could be carried out. Such agents were of course often men who had close connections with the family and whose names appear frequently in the correspondance, first of all Aššur-taklāku, Uṣur-ša-Aššur, Ennam-Bēlum, and Ennam-Aššur. But in other cases the retail was handled by commissioned agents, other Assyrian traders who traveled in Anatolia, and such deals were organised on a credit basis which meant for Aššur-nādā that he constantly had a certain number of credit operations running. The task of collecting debts outstanding to the firm and the accrued interest figures prominently in the correspondance. It should also be noted that Aššur-nādā himself occasionally accepted such retail commissions from others when he was going on business trips in Anatolia.⁵⁴ He is known to have visited Assur frequently,⁵⁵ and some letters refer to a

It should also be mentioned that the Old Assyrian letters very frequently have several senders and/or recipients so it is often quite difficult to know to which “archive” the individual texts should be assigned.

51. It is hardly meaningful to present a long list of textual references in this context. The three first men very often appear together as co-recipients of letters from Aššur-idi: three times all three appear, four times we have Aššur-nādā and Aššur-taklāku, once Aššur-nādā and Ili-ālum, and once Ili-ālum and Aššur-taklāku.
52. See note 26 on page 55.
53. These procedures are exemplified by the texts discussed in my *OACP*, 106–109.
54. Cf. *OACP*, 163–168, and Veenhof, *Aspects*, 84 and 408.
55. Cf. TC 3:93, BIN 6:30, and TC 1:29; these texts refer to actual visits but the last text makes it clear that at this time it is four years since he has been to Assur; in the following texts he is being urged to come: KUG 48, CCT 4:2a, and L 29–563.

special trip where he is going to be entrusted with a “sack”-capital; he is in that connection being urged by his father to get hold of as much money for this purpose from men in Kanesh as he can manage.⁵⁶ His travels in Anatolia take him to such cities as Uršu, Mamma, Kunanamet, Purušaddum, Nihrija, Durhumit, and Tišmurna.⁵⁷ He was married in Kanesh to the local woman Šišāhišušar but we know from one letter that a son of his and some daughters spent at least part of their childhood in Assur with their grandfather.⁵⁸

It is obvious that father and son in such a relationship function as partners, practicing mutual agency and probably mutual surety as well. It is difficult to establish exactly to what extent partners in such a family-firm could enjoy personal ownership to capital, but it seems unlikely that we have an all-inclusive partnership in the same manner as for instance the Arabic *mufawada*, which involved total joint liability “except for food and clothing for their respective families.”⁵⁹ On the one hand we do find references to what appear to be individually owned shipments and amounts of money; but on the other hand we have some letters in which the father in excited tones speaks of an impending disaster for the family and orders the men in Kanesh to sell everything they own, even their house, and send the money to Assur.⁶⁰ We also have a situation in

56. Cf. especially L 29–563.

57. Cf. TC 1:18, CCT 3:7a (letter to his wife), Cont. 14, KTS 12, CCT 3:16b, CCT 5:7b.

58. CCT 3:6b, a letter from Aššur-idi in which we read: (24) *me-ra-kà ú-ra-bi-ma* (25) *um-ma šu-ut-ma lá a-bi a-ta* (26) *it-bi-a-ma i-tal-kam* (27) *ù me-er-ú-wa-ti-kà* (28) *ú-ra-bi-ma um-ma* (29) *ši-na-ma la a-bu-ni* (30) *a-ta i-na ša-al-ši-ma* (31) *u4-ml-im* (32) *it-bi-a-ma i-tal-kà-ku-ma* (33) *ti-ir-ta-kà lu i-di*, “I have raised your son, but he said: ‘You are not my father!’ He went and left. Also your daughters I have raised, and they said: ‘You are not our father!’ Three days later they went and left to go to you, so let me know your decision!” – In the very emotional letter TC 3:93 Aššur-idi accuses Aššur-nādā of neglecting his own children while he himself suffers from pity for them; and a certain Kukkulānum writes in KTS 9a that he and one Aššur-bēl-awātim have had to borrow some copper which Aššur-nādā’s son and daughters have used to live for.

59. Cf. A. L. Udovitch, op. cit., 42–44.

60. TC 3:88, addressed to Aššur-nādā and Ili-älüm: (4) *i-na ba-áb ha-ra-ni-kà* (5) *aq-bi4-a-kum um-ma* (6) *a-na-ku-ma ú-za-kà-ma* (7) *a-ša-pá-ra-kum* (8) *ú-za-ki-ma a-wa-at* (9) DINGIR-*li da-na* (10) *a-pu-tum i-na u4-ml-[im]* (11) *ša DUB-pá-am ta-ša[-me-ú]* (12) É-tí 2 GEMÉ.HI-tí-kà (13) *ki-lá-al-ti-ma* (14) *ù té-i-tí-in ki-lá-a[I]-ti-m[a]* (15) *a-n[a ši-mi-im di-na-ma]* (16) KUG.BABBAR šé-bi4-lam *ù* (17) É-tám *ag-ra-ma* (18) *ta-áš-ba*, “When you were about to leave I said to you: ‘After I have cleared (myself of claims) I shall write to you.’ I have now cleared (myself) and the words of the gods are urgent! Please, on the very day

which Aššur-nādā complains to his father that he is being severely hampered in his own business in Anatolia because the men there have noticed that no shipment has arrived from Aššur-idi for a long time, so they fear that the father may be bankrupt and accordingly do not want to entrust his son with their goods.⁶¹

We do not have any partnership-agreements involving these types of relationships, and we must anyway assume that the system was a loose one which made use of the same kind of "informal business cooperation" which according to Goitein was typical of at least half of the international trade of the Geniza-period.⁶² Such informal cooperation could last for a lifetime, or even for several generations. From the Old Assyrian texts we do have a set of expressions which refer to the pattern of mutual representation: *šazzuztum*, "agency" (lit. being made to stand), and *ša kīma PN*, "representatives of PN" (lit. those who are like or on behalf of PN). We also have a legal text which expressly deals with the conditions of a case of mutual agency; the document in fact terminates the relationship because the two partners had died and their heirs did not want to continue the relationship:

[The heirs] seized us by mutual agreement (as arbiters) and swore the oath by the City, and we brought an end to their dispute: Irrespective of whether Amur-Ištar has functioned as the agent of Pūšukēn, and Pūšu-kēn has functioned as the agent of Amur-Ištar; whether one of them has sent *maškattum*-deposits⁶³ to the other; whether one of them has collected current debts on behalf of the other, either (on the basis of) certified tablets bearing their own seals or witnessed documents;

you hear the letter you must sell the houses, both of the two maid-servants and both of the grinding-girls, and send me the money! Then rent a house and stay there!" – Later in the letter Aššur-idi most urgently asks the men to sell everything (24: *kā-lá-ma dí-na*), and he says that as the commands of the gods are urgent they will perish if they do not obey. – What all this precisely refers to is not clear but one should note that a number of the letters written by this gentleman contain similar references to orders from the gods and impending disasters; cf. Hirsch, *UAR*, 39–40, for some further examples.

61. CCT 3:8b, treated in Trolle Larsen, *OACP*, 163–166.
62. Goitein, *Islamic Studies* 3, 1964, 316. The precise meaning of such terms as *ebrum*, "friend", and *ebaruttum*, "friendship", remains to be determined.
63. The word appears always to denote deposits with private persons, whereas *šipkātum* mentioned later in the text refers typically to deposits made in the office of the colony; for the latter see further below, 339–341.

whether one of them has made *šipkātum*-deposits for the other, be it in the City or abroad –
the sons of Amur-Ištar, the daughter of Amur-Ištar (who is) a *gubabtum*-priestess, (and) the sons of Pūšu-kēn and the daughter of Pūšu-kēn (who is) a *gubabtum*-priestess, will raise no claims against each other regarding any thing.⁶⁴

This text deals with the relations between two firms, both of which were led by men who appear to have spent most of their time in Anatolia. A quite similar system was certainly in effect also between the men in the capital and the men in Anatolia. We have several letters addressed to *ša kīma jāti*, “my representatives”, or written by *ša kīma kuāti*, “your representatives”, and it is in fact clear that the majority of all business letters were exchanged between persons who were in some way “representing” each other. People who act *ša kīma* others are sometimes described as *suhāru*, “servants” or “employees”,⁶⁵ and from the documents we can see that such men paid debts on behalf of others, collected debts outstanding together with accrued interest, organised sale or purchase for others, conducted negotiations with other people (who are sometimes said to be the local representatives of another man), represented others in lawsuits, and even took care of the supply of food for their family.⁶⁶

64. ATHE 24 A: (13) *i-na mī-iq-ra-ti-šu-nu* (14) *iš-bu-tū-ni-a-ti-ma* (15) *ni-iš A-lim^{kī} it-mu-ú-ma* (16) *a-wa-ti-šu-nu nu-ga-me-er-ma* (17) *lu A-mur-Ištar ša-zu-ú[z-tí]* (18) *Pu-šu-ki-in i-[zi-iz]* (19) *lu Pu-šu-ki-in 3[a-zu-úz-tí]* (20) *A-mur-Ištar i-zi-[iz]* (21) *lu a-hu-um a-na a-hi-im* (22) *ma-dăš-kă-tám ú-še-bi-i[l₆]* (23) *lu a-hu-um ša a-hi-im* (24) KUG.BABBAR *i-na ba-áb-tim* (25) *il₅-qé lu DUB-pu-um* (26) *ha-ar-mu-um ša ku-nu-ki-šu-nu* (27) *lu ša ši-be lu ši-ip-kă-tim* (28) *a-hu-um a-na a-hi-im* (29) *iš-pu-uk lu i-na* (30) *A-lim^{kī} lu i-na eq-li-im* (31) *me-er-ú A-mur-Ištar me-er-at* (32) *A-mur-Ištar gu₅-ba-áb-tum* (33) *me-er-ú Pu-šu-ki-in* (34) *ú me-er-at Pu-šu-ki-in* (35) *gu₅-ba-áb-tum a-hu-um* (36) *a-na a-hi-im a-na mī-ma* (37) *šu-mī-šu lá i-tù-ar*.
65. VAT 9223; compare the passage: (6) URUDU *i-na Ú-la-ma ša ki-ma* (7) *i-a-ti Ku-da-tám i-ša-bi-ú*, “as to the copper – my representatives paid Kudātum in full in Ulama”, with the later passage: “say as follows there (to Kudātum)”: 24 GÚ 10 MA.NA URUDU *ma-st-am* (22) *ša ^dIM-sú-lu-li* (23) *i-hi-ib-lá-ku-ni sú-ha-ru-šu* (24) *ša ^dIM-ANDUL i-na URUDU-i-šu* (25) *ša ^dIM-ANDUL iš-qú-lu-ni-ku-ma* (26) *ú-ša-bi-ú-kă*, “the 24 talents 10 minas of washed copper which Adad-ṣulūli owed to you, the servants of Adad-ṣulūli have paid you out of the copper belonging to Adad-ṣulūli and they have paid you in full.”
66. See such texts as KTS 11, 10–11, CCT 5:2b, 9’–10’, BIN 4:52, 19–22, KTS 28, 5–11, and TC 2:34, 15–17, which all deal with representation in connection

In this complex social and economic system, incorporating the family structure which to a large extent equals the economic structure, the investment-contracts which amount to long-term partnerships, and a highly evolved pattern of representation and agency, we have the framework for the success of the Old Assyrian commercial expansion.

c) The Trade on Kanesh

The basic techniques used in the overland trade have been investigated with some success in recent years and there is no need to provide a detailed discussion in this context. I refer in particular to Veenhof's study which has been mentioned repeatedly and to my own study of the caravan procedures.

Donkeys were used as pack-animals for the transportation of tin and textiles from Assur to Kanesh. The return journey appears to have taken place without the assistance of any pack-animals, which is understandable since the load consisted of silver and was much lighter. The donkeys were therefore in a way part of the "goods", and they were sold in Anatolia together with the tin and the textiles. A normal donkey-load of tin consisted of 130 minas (ca. 65 kgs) of sealed and specially packed tin plus about ten minas of disposable, "loose", tin which was meant to cover expenses en route; finally also a few textiles, perhaps about ten pieces – in all some 90 kgs. When the load consisted primarily of textiles a donkey carried about 30 pieces plus accessories – in all some 75–80 kgs.⁶⁷ The goods were loaded in two half-packs and one top-pack, and it is worth mentioning that the figures found in the caravan documents reveal a high degree of standardisation; for instance, the reality and consistency of the figure of 65 minas for each half-pack of tin is illustrated by the fact that the import-tax on tin in the Anatolian kingdoms was 2/65, i.e. it was com-

with legal disputes. In TC 3:35 Pūšu-kēn is told by his wife that his representatives have been negligent with regard to the storing of grain for the winter; a man writes in BIN 4:97 about domestic matters in Kanesh to his representatives and his wife; things are sent "to his mother, his sister, and his representatives" in TC 3:22, 7–8. Note also that a number of texts mention letters or shipments destined for "my shareholders and my representatives" (CCT 5:3a, ICK 1:63, and ICK 1:116).

67. The entire Part One in Veenhof's study is devoted to "The Donkeys and their Loads."

puted as two minas for each half-pack.⁶⁸ It should also be noted that the shipments were sealed on departure from Assur by the city authorities, probably in connection with the payment of the export-tax which is known as *wasitum* and which was computed on the basis of the silver-value of the shipment.⁶⁹

The caravans sent off from Assur do not appear to have been very big. A normal consignment as known from the caravan documents could be carried by a couple of donkeys, and it is unusual to find such large shipments as e.g. 350 textiles, a load which demanded 14 donkeys.⁷⁰ However, it seems that several separate consignments, each led by its own personnel, very often traveled in a kind of convoy;⁷¹ nothing is known about possible measures taken in order to protect the caravans and it can be said with certainty that the expenses on a caravan never included money paid to guards or soldiers traveling with the shipment. Payments to guards were made occasionally, but apparently only in Anatolia.⁷²

Naturally, the men in Assur often sent their goods with trusted men from their own family and we know that such caravan-leaders could be entrusted not only with the physical transportation but also with the sale of the shipment in Anatolia; there were complex rules for the distribution of responsibility and profit but the terminology is not entirely transparent. It was also possible to entrust a consignment to a stranger who was anyway leaving with a shipment belonging to another firm, and that procedure was of course particularly common when only small amounts were involved.⁷³

In a way it can be said that the transportation between Assur and Kanesh reflected a "domestic" or "internal" trade because of the existence of the commercial colonies. Apparently very little commercial activity took place en route and the profits were only realised by the sale of the shipments in Kanesh or the other Anatolian cities. It is true that our material is one-sided and may give us a somewhat incorrect picture, but it is an inescapable fact that the documents from Kanesh indicate that the cara-

68. Cf. Trolle Larsen, *OACP*, 157, n. 75.

69. Levied according to the rate 1:120 and paid to the office of the eponym; cf. *OACP* 43 and 152, and Veenhof, *Aspects*, 231, n. 362. See also below, 195–198.

70. See the table of caravan texts in Veenhof, *Aspects*, 70–76.

71. The usual phrase denoting such a group of travelers was *āliku*.

72. Cf. Veenhof, *Aspects*, 252.

73. I refer to the section entitled "Summary" in my *OACP*, 173–178.

vans from Assur usually reached Kanesh intact, and that only after their arrival there did the sale take place. The very considerable capital gains in the form of silver- and gold-reserves which accumulated in Assur stem from the commercial activities which took place in Anatolia.

Shipments which arrived at Kanesh could either be sent further on to another city intact in order to be sold for cash; or the caravan could be dissolved and the goods entrusted to retail agents who would travel round Anatolia.⁷⁴ Sale for cash appears to have taken place most often in the city of Purušhaddum whose exact location is unknown, but which was quite obviously the most important Anatolian centre for the silver-production; it is likely to have been located relatively close to the silver-mines in the Taurus Mountains, perhaps in the neighbourhood of modern Bor.

Sale through retail agents resulted in higher prices; whereas textiles sold for cash on delivery fetched prices from 10 to 20 shekels of silver, the retail-prices appear to have been ca. 50 percent higher, between 13½ and 30 shekels;⁷⁵ for tin the cash price was 1:8 or 1:9, but the retail-price was 1:6 or 1:7; and for donkeys we can observe that when sold for cash their price was about 20 shekels, the same price which was paid for them in Assur, but the retail-price was usually 30 shekels.⁷⁶ These prices should be compared with the average purchase prices in Assur, which were between 4 and 8 shekels for textiles and the ratio 1:15 for tin. The gross profit for a shipment of tin can be estimated as just about 100 percent, to be realised presumably within one year if the transaction went smoothly, and for textiles we may assume with Veenhof that the profit was considerably higher, up to 200 percent.⁷⁷ The capital investments and the taxation was higher for textiles than for tin, however, and it is hardly possible to provide completely satisfactory figures at present.

This enormously profitable trade depended also on distinctly defined and standardised codes of behaviour, as is shown clearly by the caravan procedures. We encounter a rigid control over all phases of the transac-

74. This is the *q̄iptum*-procedure to which reference has been made in the preceding pages. The terminology used in the letters is: *luq̄tam ana ūme qurbūtim* (or: *pati'ūtim*) *ana tamkārim kēnim* (*ša kīma qaggidikunu*) *tadānum*, "sell the goods on short term (or: on open term) to a reliable agent (as reliable as you yourselves)." See for instance Type 2:6 in my *OACP*, 81–82. Sale for cash on delivery was: *ana itaqlim tadānum*.

75. Cf. the prices collected in Veenhof, *Aspects*, 82–87.

76. Cf. the table in Trolle Larsen, *OACP*, 167.

77. Cf. Garelli, *AC*, 280–281, and Veenhof, *Aspects*, 85.

tion, each man involved being assigned a clearly defined role. The entire procedure was regulated by way of a series of highly standardised documents:⁷⁸ 1) a transport-contract regulating the relationship between consignor and transporter, 2) a letter from the consignor to his representatives at the place of destination which signalled the departure of the caravan and expressed requests concerning the sale or purchase; and 3) a caravan account written by these representatives after the arrival of the caravan and usually also after the sale or purchase had been arranged. Finally, 4) contracts set up to regulate the conditions of the retail sale in Anatolia; such texts were styled as promissory notes which simply stipulated a certain amount in silver which was to be paid before a certain date.

It is obvious then that in the level 2 texts it is the caravan trade which formed the basis for the Assyrian presence in Anatolia, and it is this trade which constituted the source of Assur's wealth. The documents from Kanesh mention numerous other commercial transactions, notably a very lively trade in copper and wool within Anatolia, but it seems clear that these activities existed as a consequence, or as after-effects of the international overland trade. Money-lending to natives took place on a limited scale but it is interesting to see that it was to a large extent the work of those local people who somehow became attracted to, and to some extent incorporated into the Assyrian colonial society. Such operations never played a vital role for the Assyrian economy. It was the constantly flowing overland trade which brought enormous fortunes in silver and gold to the big merchant houses in Assur and which kept the colonies in Anatolia alive.

78. These different types have been studied by me in *OACP* where many examples of each are given. The fourth type mentioned here has not been systematically treated by me, though, for it is in fact the normal promissory note of which we have scores of examples in *EL*. The type of loan document which specifically is concerned with credit-sale is the one which stipulates repayment within a fixed term and contains a section about penal interest in case of non-punctual payment. The parallels in Old Babylonian practice is the *hubuttatu*-loan (also called *qiptum*). The Old Assyrian material contains two other types of loan documents: 2) texts which mention a fixed date for repayment but have no reference to interest; such texts often record loans to Anatolians. And 3) texts which do not stipulate any term for the repayment but which instead mention a monthly interest which starts to accrue from the day of the loan; such transactions are referred to with the phrase: *kaspam ana sibtim laqā'um*, "borrow money on interest."

PART TWO

The Political Structure of Assur

CHAPTER ONE

The King

Assur's special position both geographically and culturally on the border of the main Sumerian and Akkadian centres in the south is of great relevance in the context of this chapter. We find that the symbiosis between Sumerian and Akkadian ideas and institutions which resulted in the complex "Babylonian" civilization had a profound impact on the north, and especially on Assur, but it is also clear that the northern civilization had its own, local basis. It has for instance long been recognised that there are marked differences between the later Assyrian and Babylonian concepts of kingship; a basic difference is clearly to be found in the religious foundations where the southern kings were divinely appointed servants of the gods, whereas the Assyrian kings had a closer, more intimate relationship to the gods, especially to Aššur, whose chief priest they were.¹

Since the city was in fact under the direct political control of the south in several periods during its earliest history, it is not surprising that several elements in the religious and political structure must be seen as direct loans from the south. The basic terminology has been taken over and together with it undoubtedly some of the fundamental institutions. But even though Assur must have been under very strong influence from the Sumerian city-states in the third millennium, it was never a Sumerian city. Its relationship to the south was comparable to that of such other "marginal" centres as Susa or Mari on the middle Euphrates; in Elam we are of course in the special situation that the inhabitants spoke a completely different language and we also have a very early independent formulation of the local traditions, features which probably caused a

1. I refer to R. Labat, *Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne*, Paris 1939, especially the pages 15–25 where one may find a fine exposé of the typically Assyrian ideas; also to H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, Chicago 1948, in particular 228–230; and one must also mention C. J. Gadd, *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East*, although it is of less direct relevance in the present context. Even though the differences between Assyrian and Babylonian traditions are noted, even discussed with care in Labat's work, there is a general tendency to accept a common "Assyro-Babylonian" idea of kingship. There is a real danger in this both synchronic and diachronic synthesizing, for the result may well be an artificial entity which is neither Babylonian nor Assyrian.

greater resistance to the influences from Sumer². And with regard to Mari we are likewise faced with a special situation, since it was destroyed in the Old Babylonian period and therefore never evolved its own distinctive variant of the southern civilization.

Most of the political institutions found in Assur have their counterparts in the cities of the south. In fact, the city-state concept is shared by south and north, although at the time of the Old Assyrian dynasty the political evolution of the south had already led to the establishment of larger territorial units, even to empires. After the collapse of the Ur III dynasty the ancient pattern of independent or semi-independent city-states had been re-established, however, although at least the kings in Isin and in Larsa were in control of larger areas which must be regarded as territorial states. In some respects Assur may represent a more archaic stage than the contemporary cities in the south, especially with regard to the political and religious role of the king. In the Isin-Larsa society the king appears to have held an extraordinarily strong position which to some extent was based on religious concepts which are very difficult to grasp. It is not uncommon for these kings to claim a divine status and the royal hymns from the time of the Isin kings contain long sequences of eulogies³. The royal palace was the undisputed centre of the political and economic power of the city and the land, and there is no doubt that the Old Babylonian kings exercised some direct control over the temples as well. If we look at the political program expressed in royal inscriptions and their titulary we see that the old claims to universality, legitimacy, and strength were retained in such titles as: *šarrum dannum*, "strong, legitimate king", *il mātim*, "god of the land", *šar kibrātim arba'im*, "king of the four quarters of the world", or *šar māt Šumerim u Akkadim*, "king of Sumer and Akkad".⁴

The Old Assyrian kings were exceedingly modest in comparison, for the only title ever used in their building-inscriptions was the archaic *išši'ak Aššur*; in letters the kings call themselves *waklum*. We find one single epithet in their texts: *narām Aššur u Ištar*, "beloved of Aššur and Ištar". The standard title of the south, LUGAL/*šarrum*, is basically re-

2. See the comments in A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, Chicago 1964, 63–69.
3. See W. H. Ph. Römer, *Sumerische 'Königshymnen' der Isin-Zeit*, Leiden 1965.
4. See W. W. Hallo, *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles*, AOS 43, 1957; and M.-J. Seux, *Épithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes*, Paris 1967.

stricted for the gods in the north, and when others wish to refer to the king they use the term *rubā'um*, usually translated "prince", or they may use the expression *bēlī*, "my lord". Since these titles were kept apart with a noticeable consistency, each one being found in a relatively well-defined context, we must assume that they refer to different aspects of the Assyrian concept of kingship. I shall therefore concentrate my attention on an analysis of them in an attempt to reach some understanding of the position of the king in his relationship to the gods and to the city. The city-institutions, assembly and year-eponymy, will be the subjects taken up in the following chapters.

a) ENSÍ *Aššur, išši'ak Aššur*⁵

In the following centuries this became the traditional Assyrian title, last known to have been used by Esarhaddon. We cannot say when it was introduced to Assur but the first attested example is found on the seal of Šilulu who ruled shortly before the Old Assyrian Dynasty. As pointed out earlier⁶, it is likely that the title written PA on the Ititi inscription from the Old Akkadian period is to be read UGULA or *waklum*; it is true that the writing is known as a short form of ENSÍ, but it would be very strange for the latter title to stand alone without direct reference to a divine or geographical name.

According to Thorkild Jacobsen the Sumerian word ensi refers to "the ruler of a single major city with its surrounding lands and villages",⁷ and it is in other words a political concept which is most intimately linked with the ancient pattern of city-states in the Sumerian south. The two other Sumerian titles, en and lugal, were explained by Jacobsen as denoting rulers "over a region with more than one important city."⁸ It is uncertain, however, whether such a distinction is valid or whether other considerations played a role, determining which title was used by the

5. Normally written PA.TE.SI, i.e. ensí; occasionally abbreviated as PA, and once spelled out: *i-ši-a-ak* (cf. Landsberger and Balkan, *Belleoten* 14, 230).

6. Page 32.

7. Th. Jacobsen, "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia", *ZA* 52, 1957, 123–124, n. 71 (reprinted in *Toward the Image of Tammuz* (ed. W. L. Moran), Harvard 1970, 384).

8. Loc. cit.

individual ruler. It seems obvious that these titles became loaded with local traditions, and one may wonder whether it is possible to obtain a truly unambiguous interpretation of the material in its entirety.⁹

It is usually assumed that the term en was used as a title long before either ensi or lugal; but there is not necessarily any direct relation between en and ensi and the etymological explanations which have been offered for the latter term have not been generally accepted. Jacobsen has suggested the analysis: en-si-ak, "manager of the arable lands", and he stated that the title originally referred to the person who was "the leader of the seasonal organization of the townspeople for work on the fields¹⁰." Diakonov explained the word as "the priest who lays the foundation (of temples and other buildings)", and he noted that "all the most ancient inscriptions of Sumerian rulers are devoted to construction or reconstruction of temples and canals."¹¹ The latest interpretation has been given in *CAD* where a derivation from a "substratum"-word tensi/ensi is proposed.

The politico-religious basis for the title in the Sumerian city-states is relatively well defined. The southern alluvium was split up into a considerable number of independent city-states which were bound together in a common culture; it seems likely that the formulated "Sumerian" civilization of the third millennium incorporated elements from a substratum, about which practically nothing can be said with certainty,¹² and it is also possible that Semitic-speaking groups were present and active

9. Cf. also Hallo, op. cit., 34–48; I. M. Diakonov, "The Rise of the Despotic State in Ancient Mesopotamia", *Ancient Mesopotamia* (idem, editor) Moscow 1969, 181–182, suggested that the ruler who had the title lugal "enjoyed greater authority in his own state" and combines this with the power to head a levy of the citizens of the state. According to Jacobsen the lugal was originally a "war leader" who was appointed for a limited term in connection with an emergency (op. cit. 103, n. 19).

10. Op. cit., 123, n. 71.

11. Op. cit., 181.

12. See for instance the scattered remarks in Oppenheim, op. cit., 34, 110, 194, 237, where it is suggested that the Sumerians took over or assimilated a great number of basic elements in their culture (the urban centres, the script, some of their main gods, a great deal of loan words, etc.) from an undefined substratum; in his book *Letters from Mesopotamia*, Chicago 1967, Oppenheim enumerates five phases of Mesopotamian civilization of which the first two are: "The Basic Aggregate (The Substratum)" and "The Catalyst (The Sumerians)". For a linguistic treatment of a number of so-called "substratum-words" in Sumerian I refer to A. Salonen, *Die Fussbekleidung der alten Mesopotamier*, AASF B, Helsinki 1969, 97–119.

In the area at a very early time.¹³ It is furthermore obvious that the many city-states represented or evolved local traditions of a religious, cultural, and perhaps even linguistic nature, but these differences are nevertheless relatively insignificant for all the cities were bound together in a common language, a common culture and a common religion. The gods of the Sumerian pantheon were both local and universal gods in the sense that each god had its own city or "demesne" where its main temple was, while at the same time its universal power was accepted on the basis of its position in the common pantheon.¹⁴ For the Sumerians the gods were present in this world, they lived in their cities, visited each other and quarreled and fought each other. The early historical inscriptions make it very clear that the conflicts between the city-states were really determined by disputes among the gods involved. A text containing a lamentation over the destruction of one of the cities ends with the revealing statement: "As to Lugal-zagesi, the ensi of Umma, his goddess Nisaba must carry this sin on her head!"¹⁵ Man's place in this universe was humble, for he was created as a substitute for the small gods and his task was to act as the servant of the divine lords of his city, doing the hard work of managing the estate of the gods.

This social philosophy formed the basis for the political pattern in Sumer, and the ensi was the man who functioned as the "steward" of the god, entrusted with the duty to manage the demesne of the god and thus acting as the intermediary between the human community and its divine ruler. This may also explain the aspect of dependency connected with the title in some connections, since the relationship between the god of the city and his human steward was transformed into a political relationship between overlords and dependent rulers. However, the pattern is not very clear for in some places and periods the titles ensi and lugal appear to

13. See the many Semitic names, some of them names of scribes, in the texts from Abū Salābih, R. D. Biggs, *Inscriptions from Tell Abū Salābih*, OIP 99, 1974, 27.
14. Cf. Th. Jacobsen in H. Frankfort and others, *Before Philosophy*, Pelican Book 1959, 201-207 (originally published under the title *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, Chicago 1946).
15. See e.g. E. Sollberger, *Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes*, Paris 1971, 82; S. N. Kramer gives another translation in his book *The Sumerians*, Chicago 1963, 323: "May Nidaba, the (personal) goddess of Lugalzagesi, the ensi of Umma, make him (Lugalzagesi) bear all (these) sins." Thereby he effaces the basic element in the relationship between man and god, and it should be said that the choice of the translation "let him bear" instead of the simple "bear" is wholly arbitrary and not based on the morphology of the verbal form.

be used in free variation. One may observe that when Lugal-zagesi had established a kind of Sumerian state he called himself lugal kalama, “king of the Land”, and referred to “the enthroned rulers of Sumer” and “the ensis of the foreign lands”.¹⁶ In the ensuing Ur III period, when the entire area came under a strongly centralised imperial authority, the title ensi was used about officials who were installed as governors in the major cities, and in certain areas – apparently those where the control was less secure – we find the title šagina, “general” or “military governor”; this was the case e.g. in Mari and Assur.¹⁷

After the fall of the Ur III empire the title was taken over by the men who established their independence and founded new dynasties in the cities of the south. Once again the city-god becomes the “king” of his city and the human ruler is his ensi. This is expressed clearly in the programmatic formula: “The God is lugal! PN is the ensi of his city!”, a phrase which is attested on royal seals from Eshnunna¹⁸ and perhaps also on an inscription from Nippur;¹⁹ it is of course known also from the previously mentioned Silulu seal, and it is repeated in the long Erišum-text from Kanesh. Its importance for the political traditions of Assur is furthermore proven by the occurrence of the shortened form: “Aššur is king!”, cried by the priests in the procession which took place at the occasion of the coronation of the Middle Assyrian kings.²⁰ It seems clear that the Assyrians in this feature have preserved at least an echo of a

16. For the text see Kramer, op. cit., 323, and Sollberger, op. cit., 94. Edzard, in *Le Palais et la Royauté*, 141–148, comments on the use of these titles in the Early Dynastic periods.
17. Cf. A. Goetze, “Šakkanakkus of the Ur III Empire”, *JCS* 17, 1963, 8; Hallo, op. cit., 100–107. See also Kupper, *RA* 65, 113f, for the šakkanakkus in Mari.
18. See Jacobsen in H. Frankfort, Seton Lloyd, and Th. Jacobsen, *The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar*, OIP 43, 1940, 141–151.
19. UET 1:87; the interpretation of this text is somewhat uncertain, however, for we find that an ensi of Nippur acknowledges the god Nanna as king of Ur. But it seems relatively certain that the basic idea behind the lugal – ensi formula at least from Asmar and from Assur is that the city-god assumes the place previously held by the king of Ur, the imperial overlord.
20. Landsberger and Balkan, *Bulleten* 14, 230–231, discussed the Old Assyrian examples; they noted it is in this formula that we find the reason for the omission of such titles as *rubā'um* or *šarrum* in the royal titulary, since it refers to “die Fiktion der Theokratie”. For the ritual I refer to K. F. Müller, *Das assyrische Ritual*, MVAeG 41, 1937, 8–9: “They enter the god’s temple and Aššur’s šangū-priest beats [the drum] in front of them and says: ‘Aššur is king! Aššur is king!’ He says it until they reach the Azu’e Gate.” See also H. Frankfort, op. cit., 246–247.

fundamental southern concept which was intimately linked with the structure of the city-state in its Mesopotamian form. The title directly illuminates the very close relationship between the later Assyrian kings and the god Aššur, which constituted an important element in the royal ideology, and also the close connections with the old capital where all later kings were crowned. From the time of Aššur-uballiṭ I around the middle of the fourteenth century the title could be written with the sign SANGA, which usually stood for the term *šangūm*,²¹ the title of a high temple official.²²

The complete title could of course be understood as either "steward of the city of Assur" or "divine Aššur's steward". The southern parallels combine ensi with the name of a city but the Old Assyrian evidence is somewhat confusing. The script allows a distinction to be made, of course, since the name could be associated either with the divine determinative dingir (^dAššur) or the locative determinative ki (Aššur^{ki}); the distribution found in the Old Assyrian royal inscriptions is as follows:²³

<i>išši'ak Aššur^{ki}</i>	Šilulu
	Šalim-ahum
	Ilušuma (seven times)
	Erišum I (eight times)

21. See Seux, op. cit., 110 with n. 21.

22. The title is known from an Old Akkadian seal found at Kültepe, cf. below, n. 23, and a certain Elāli who functioned as year-eponym was given this title, cf. Balkan, *Observations*, 86; the latter may be identical with the eponym of the same name who was known as the son of Ikūnum; he may perhaps have been the son of the king Ikūnum, cf. further below, 380. For the title I refer to J. Renger, "Untersuchungen zum Priestertum der altbabylonischen Zeit", *ZA* 59, 1969, 104–121; for the Neo Assyrian material see van Driel, *Cult of Aššur*, 172–180.

23. The Old Akkadian seal which was discovered by the Turkish excavators at Kültepe, and which has been published by Balkan, *Letter of King Anum-hirbi of Mama to King Warshama of Kanish*, Ankara 1957, 2, n. 5, has the legend: (1) *A-bu-a-hi* (2) ^dIM (3) DINGIR-su (4) SANGA(!) *šu* ^d(!)IM (5) AN ŠIR KI; if the last line is meant to refer to the name of the city of Assur the writing is unique, and it should perhaps be given as ^dŠIR^{ki}. It is certainly worth pointing out in this connection that the sign ŠIR is used in most Old Assyrian writings of the name Aššur, normalised with the value /šūr/, and there is no good explanation of this feature; the sign itself may be one of the "standard"-signs which occur frequently in the logograms for city-names. However, in view of the fact that the seal exhibits some grave mistakes it is surely at the moment preferable to emend also this line so that we get the same writing which is known from Sarriqum's building-inscription: ^d<*A*->šūr^{ki}.

<i>išši'ak Aššur</i>	Ilušuma (once) Erišum I (ten times) Ikūnum (once)
<i>išši'ak ^dAššur</i>	Ilušuma (nine times) Erišum I (thirty times) Ikūnum (three times) Sargon I

There seems to be a pattern which shows that the writings with the locative determinative are the oldest ones, and that they are gradually being replaced by writings with the divine determinative. The distribution of the textual material over the entire period is very uneven, however, and it is obviously dangerous to draw conclusions on such a basis. It should be noted that whenever the god is being referred to in these texts they use the divine determinative or the form without determinatives,²⁴ and when the city as a geographical entity is meant they use the word *ālum*. It has been suggested very tentatively that Aššur as a *deus persona* evolved relatively late out of the *numen* of the site;²⁵ and another kind of speculation concerns the possible evolution of the political ideology behind the kingship of the city, a shift from the concept "Fürst der Stadt" to "Priester des Gottes".²⁶

It is a fact that the name Assur is used about the city as early as the

24. Cf. for instance Šalim-ahum's text which begins: *Šalim-ahum išši'ak Aššur^{k1} mera Puzur-^dAššur išši'ak Aššur^{k1} ^dAššur bitam ... etc.*
25. Cf. the cautious formulation in Hirsch, *UAR*, 78: "Versuchen wir, daraus ein vorläufiges Ergebnis zu formulieren, so können wir sagen, dass uns Aššur teilweise nicht als *deus persona*, sondern als nicht persönlich fassbares, an der Stadt gleichen Namens haftendes Numen entgegentritt; Spekulationen sind vorläufig noch verfrüht und verfehlt, auch lässt sich schwer mit Sicherheit sagen, in welcher Richtung dieser Entwicklungsgang – offenbar hat doch ein solcher vorgelegen – abgelaufen ist."
26. Landsberger and Balkan, *Belleten* 14, 230–231; they conclude that the original form was "Fürst der Stadt" and state that the concept "ensi des Stattgottes" was alien also to the Sumerians; this is not entirely correct as can be seen from the examples, mainly from Lagash, collected in Seux, op. cit., 399. They also noted the alternation between the writings, of course, and speculated whether this was based on the idea "dass der Gott Aššur quasi 'die vergöttlichte Stadt Aššur' sei, bzw. ein – ursprüngliches oder theologisches – Ineinsetzen von Gott und Stadt?" J. Lewy, "On some Institutions of the Old Assyrian Empire", *HUCA* 27, 1956, 28, n. 111a, rejects these ideas and stresses the "interchangeability and the indiscriminate use" of the various spellings.

Old Akkadian period in the texts from Gasur, whereas the god of this name occurs for the first time in our textual material in the Ur III period. But it is hardly sufficient reason for the belief that it was only as late as this that the god Aššur somehow evolved out of vaguer ideas about the sacredness of the place. In fact, *the city* could not be referred to with the name Assur in the Old Assyrian period, at least not in the daily speech of the private documents where it is invariably called *Alum*, "the City"; we do find a few more elaborate phrases with the forms: *ālum Aššur*, or *ālum^{k1} Aššur*, or even *ālum^{k1} ḫAššur*,²⁷ but such writings rather indicate that there was no distinction between god and city. The same conclusion can be drawn from the very early writing of Sarriqum's building-inscription where he styles himself *šakkanak ḫAššur^{k1}*, "the governor of the divine city of Aššur". The formulaic legend on Silulu's seal supports this conclusion for it says: "Aššur^{k1} is king! Silulu is ensi of Aššur^{k1}!" That it must have been the *god* who was king is obvious, of course, but the writing of the locative determinative in both places should not just be brushed aside as a mistake.²⁸ The basic insight that can be gained from these writings is that in the Old Assyrian texts the concepts merged, for the city was the god and *vice versa*.²⁹ On such fragile questions as the anthropomorphic nature of the deity versus the numinous nature of the site we are not likely to reach any firm conclusions, for our categories are hardly applicable.

I am not convinced that it makes any more sense to attempt to introduce a distinction between the political concepts mentioned above. We must assume that the ensi was in any event the steward of the divine ruler of the community, irrespective of which determinative was used. And I regard it as premature to speculate about a development in the Old

27. Cf. Lewy, loc. cit.; in Ilušuma's long inscription concerning the granting of *addirārum* (cf. above, 63, for a translation of the passage in question) we find that some exemplars have simple *a-lim^{k1}*, whereas others have the full formula *a-lim^{k1} ḫA-šūr*.

28. Borger, *Einleitung*, 4, writes: "in Z. 1 des Silulu-Siegels steht *A-šūr^{k1}*, wo deutlich der Gott gemeint ist, was man doch schwerlich als korrekt bezeichnen kann." Instead of Lewy's "interchangeability" Borger refers to "Inkonsequenzen und Fehler".

29. See also P. Garelli, "La religion de l'Assyrie ancienne d'après un ouvrage récent", *RA* 56, 1962, 199, who notes "une indistinction fondamentale entre le nom du dieu et celui de la ville, à tel point que le terme 'la Ville' puisse désigner le dieu Aššur". Garelli was at that place particularly interested in such names as *Ili-ālum* which means "The City (is) my god".

Assyrian period, for instance from a more secular to a more cultic basis for the kingship; or a development where we find that the new dynasty gradually established a more firm relationship to the city-god.

The term *šarrum*/LUGAL was of course known and it was in fact used very occasionally in the Old Assyrian period, but never in the royal titulary. It was the Amorite usurper with the Babylonian background, Šamši-Adad I, who introduced it, using such grand titles as *šar kiššatim*, “king of the world”, but none of his successors followed his lead until Aššur-uballiṭ in the fourteenth century B.C. on whose seal we find the title: *šar māt Assur*;³⁰ this is also the first time that we find mention of a *land Assur* and not just a city of that name. In his building-inscriptions even that ruler retained the old titulary, however, and it was only from the time of Arik-dēn-ili, ca. 1300 B.C., that the kings of Assur regularly used the title *šar māt Assur*, “King of Assur-land”.

Both *šarrum* and *rubā'um* are found in a kind of “indirect” reference to Erišum I in his inscriptions, for the copy of his Stepgate inscription which was found in Kanesh contains the phrase: “any *šarrum* like myself”,³¹ and a text from Assur makes use of *rubā'um* in the same context.³² The texts from Anatolia usually refer to the Anatolian rulers with the common term *rubā'um* which is of course also used by others about the ruler of Assur, but there are some rather confusing references to the term *šarrum* denoting in some instances important and independent kings, but in other cases outright vassals.³³ The one clear fact is that there is no single reference where *šarrum* is used about the king of Assur,³⁴ and these

- 30. *IAK* XVII, 6; Kirk Grayson, *ARI* 1, 46. The same title was also used in Aššur-uballiṭ's two letters to the Egyptian pharaoh, EA 15 and 16; see *ARI*, 47–49.
- 31. Landsberger and Balkan, *Belleten* 14, 224, line 20: LUGAL *šu-um-šu ša ki-ma i-a-ti*.
- 32. *IAK* V, 12, col. ii, 4–5: *ru-ba-[um] ša ki-ma [i-a-ti]*.
- 33. See the evidence collected in Balkan, *Anum-hirbi*, 25–28.
- 34. The one doubtful example is TC 2:54, 17; the text is a transport-contract which enumerates a number of amounts in silver and various commodities which are destined for persons in Assur; we also find this passage: (17) 10 GÍN *ša a-na ša-ri-im i-št-ú*, “10 shekels (of silver) which he ‘carried’ to the king”. The verb used is found very often in contexts which show that it denotes the act of bringing gifts in connection with an audience, such a gift being called *niš'um* (cf. KTS 50c, 6, below, 343), and it is surely this specific meaning which is valid here; the text says that someone *has brought* a king this gift and it is accordingly likely that it was given in Anatolia; the amount sent back to Assur may represent a refund of some kind.

confusing examples from Anatolia must not lead to the conclusion that the word could in fact serve as a royal title in Assur. This reluctance to make use of the word which was surely quite prestigious can only be explained on the basis of the special nature of the divine kingship of Assur; it is curious to see that the feminine form *šarratum* never came to be used about the Assyrian queens but was restricted for goddesses and foreign queens. J. Lewy has communicated a few lines from an unpublished text in which we find reference to *šar ălim*, “the king of the City”, and he argues convincingly for the view that this phrase denoted the god Aššur.³⁵

In his capacity as *išši'ak Aššur* the king obviously functioned as intermediary between the god and the community; this appears to be directly expressed in some of the inscriptions, the most striking example being Šalim-ahum's remark that the god asked him to build a temple. We have parallels to this from the south where the most famous examples are found in the texts of the ensi of Lagash, Gudea, and of the Neo Babylonian king Nabonidus.³⁶ Building the temples for the gods is a basic duty for all Mesopotamian kings. Another example of this close relationship to the god is found in Ilušuma's long text where he says that Aššur opened up two new springs for him, making it possible to mold the bricks on the spot;³⁷ in Erišum's texts we find twice the phrase: “with the god Aššur, my lord, standing by me”, and in both cases the king refers to the expropriation of an area of the city for the temple. In the same way this king was supported by the presence of the god Adad when he built his temple.

In accordance with the ideology of the royal inscriptions from all periods it is the ruler who is personally responsible for the building of the temples of the city's gods, and by doing this properly he ensures the welfare and wellbeing of his city.³⁸ According to some royal letters he was also in a position to intercede with Aššur and his own personal god on behalf of others. In four out of the five private royal letters which we have we find the expression: “I shall pray for you to Aššur and my

35. J. Lewy, *HUCA* 27, 14, n. 63, and 26, n. 109; Labat, op. cit., 17–20.

36. A. Leo Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, Philadelphia 1956, 245–246 and 250. See also the remarks in Frankfort, op. cit., 251–258, and Labat, op. cit., 177–202.

37. See translation above, 61.

38. The phrase found in the building-inscriptions is *ana balātišu u ana balāt aliu*.

god!" The fifth letter is an angry one, full of threats, so it is understandable why this phrase does not occur.³⁹ The king was certainly not the only person who could plead directly with the gods but it is remarkable that practically all royal letters refer to it and it is difficult to believe that this is accidental.⁴⁰

The phrase also indicates that although a special relationship existed between the king and the city-god, this deity was not identical with the personal god of the king. In two inscriptions Erišum I uses the formula: "Aššur, Adad, and Bēlum my god",⁴¹ indicating that the personal god of at least this king was Bēlum. It is probable that the god Bēlum was a kind of dynastic god, or perhaps rather a deity who was directly related to the office of kingship in Assur, for instance in the sense of the divine protector of the royal family. The Middle Assyrian texts contain reference to a deity called *Bēlum ibrija* or *Bēlum LUGAL*, where the epithet must point to a direct connection with the position of the king (*ibrija* is related to Hurrian *ewri* which means "king").⁴²

A special relationship to the god Aššur could perhaps also be postulated on the basis of the building which was located so close to the Aššur-temple that it could almost be said to form part of it, and which was

39. See for a treatment of these letters below, 132–142.

40. Mrs. H. Lewy claims that only the king uses the formula (*CAH I*, 2, chapter 25, 765), so she concludes that the letter ICK 1:189 in which the same expression is found (left edge, 2) was "written on the king's initiative"; unfortunately, the beginning of the text is broken so the names of sender and addressee are lost, but there is nothing in the text which indicates that we have to do with a royal letter; I suggest instead that it belongs to the Imdī-ilum archive. In slightly different phrases we find that others could pray to various gods, sometimes on behalf of other persons, cf. Hirsch, *Untersuchungen*, 69, n. 372, and *CAD* s.v. *karābu* 3. The letter Chantre 12, 9'–10', which was sent from one Ilabrat-bāni, may contain the "royal" formula, but it is partly broken; in the badly damaged letter AAA 1:6 (discussed further below, 252–253) a man addresses himself to a local Anatolian ruler and asks him to consider what "his fathers", i.e. the Kanesh colony, have written to him, and he adds: "they will pray for you to Aššur!" Women who may have been priestesses also give such promises: in KUG 39, 18, Lamassutum says she will pray for a man to Aššur, and in ICK 1:28, 13–15, Ištar-bāšti promises to pray to Ištar and Ištar.ZA.AT for her brother.

41. See below, 150–151, for a translation of one of the texts.

42. Cf. Landsberger and Balkan, *Belleten* 14, 258; Hirsch, op. cit., 22, n. 113; for the later material and the Hurrian word I refer to R. Frankena, *Tākultu. De sacrale Maaltijd in het assyrische Ritueel*, Leiden 1954, 80–81, and E. A. Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian*, AASOR 20, 1941, 14.

called the palace of the “Priesterfürst” by the excavators of Assur.⁴³ The building is very poorly preserved and could not be adequately dated, and its location relative to the later Middle Assyrian temple may indicate that it too stems from the later period. However, if it was in fact the domicile of the Old Assyrian kings it would provide a dramatic illustration of the king’s position, and we may at least point out that until the end of the Neo Assyrian empire we find that temple and palace formed part of the same architectural unit, as can be seen for instance from Sargon II’s palace complex in the new capital Dür-šarru-kēn.

b) *rubā'um*

This term constituted the general, neutral Old Assyrian word for a human ruler, irrespective of his nationality or the size and importance of his realm. A ruling queen, a phenomenon met with in some Anatolian states, was accordingly *rubātum*,⁴⁴ and the concept “kingship” was *rubā'uttum*. The term *šarruttum* does appear a few times, mainly in connection with textiles of very fine quality which are described as *ša lubiš šarruttim*, “royal clothing”; as pointed out by Veenhof, this expression

43. Cf. C. Preusser, *Die Paläste in Assur*, WVDOG 66, 1955, 28–29, where it is dated to Shalmaneser I; cf. also Tukulti-Ninurta I’s text KAH 1:17, in E. F. Weidner, *Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I und seiner Nachfolger*, AfO Beiheft 12, 1959, 14.

44. References can be found in Orlin, op. cit., 75–87 (chart on page 75). Ruling queens are attested for the countries of Ankuwa, Kanesh, Luhusaddija, and Wahšušana, and we also know of kings from all these states. It is difficult to imagine that the references to queens and kings can be contemporary, for there does not seem to be any reasonable model for a sharing of power in the way that is indicated by our texts. One could perhaps understand the situation on the basis of the hypothesis that the Anatolian kingdoms were ruled by a royal couple in the sense that both king and queen had to die before a new couple took over; such a system is in agreement with the evidence about the Anatolian marriages where man and woman appear to have enjoyed equal rights. When both were alive, and when the queen died before her husband, our texts would simply refer to the king, so the ruling queen would in the nature of things constitute a relatively rare phenomenon. Such a theory could probably also provide a basis for an understanding of the later Hittite practices which obviously constituted a kind of compromise between different social systems; there we find that the queen, *tawananna*, retained her powers after the old king had died, even though a new king was in fact installed with his own wife.

parallels the use of LUGAL in Sumerian texts as a mark of exceptionally high quality.⁴⁵ The word is once used about "the royal court" in one of the local Anatolian states.⁴⁶ The word *rubā'uttum* occurs in the phrase: *inūmi Labarša rubā'uttam išbutuni*, "when Labarša seized the kingship",⁴⁷ and it thus refers directly to the royal office.

The Sumerian correspondance to our word is nun, a term which is not used as a royal title but which has been explained as denoting an "arbitrary office" by Thorkild Jacobsen; he added the comment that "the essence of the term nun, usually translated 'prince', [was] one of authority based on respect only, settling disputes without recourse to force."⁴⁸ As pointed out by other Sumerologists this interpretation cannot be substantiated at the present time for we have practically all of our references from literary texts. The only other interpretation which, as far as I know, has been offered recently is that of van Dijk who thinks of a "Grundbedeutung 'über andere erhaben sein', also Fürst in etymologischer Bedeutung."⁴⁹

As a title or epithet the word is connected with a number of Sumerian gods and goddesses, but it does appear to have a special relationship to the city-god of Eridu, the god Enki who is often called "the great nun".⁵⁰ The sign with this value is obviously originally a drawing of a kind of standard and it is used as the logogram for the name of the city Eridu,

45. Cf. Veenhof, *Aspects*, 192–194.

46. BIN 6:23, a letter from Pūšu-kēn's eldest son Su'eja to his brother Aššur-muttabbil in which he writes: (6) *a-na-kam É.GAL-lam₅ i-ša-tum* (7) *e-ku-ul-ma li-bi₄ ša-ru-tim* (8) *i-ša-ba-at-ma lá na-ju-ma KUG.BABBAR* (9) [GAJL] *si-ki-tim lá e-ri-iš* (10) *a-wi-lúm KUG.BABBAR-áp-šu* (11) *a-na ma-tim ig-da-ma-ar* (12) *lá-li-kam-ma* (13) *e-ni-kà la-mu-ur* (14) *ú a-di ma-tum* (15) *i-ša-li-mu* (16) *TÚG-ba-ti 5 ša ša-ru-tim* (17) *la-ni-ši-a-ma iš-tí* (18) *ši-ip-ri ša kà-ri-im* (19) *le-ru-ba-ma a-wi-lúm* (20) *i-na TÚG-ba-ti 5 ša a-na-ši-ú-šu-ni* (21) *i-ba-dáš-ma*, "A fire has consumed the palace here and has upset the mind of the court, so it was not appropriate for me to ask the *rabi sikkitim* for money. The man has spent his money for the country. I shall come and meet with you; then, as soon as the country has become peaceful again, I shall bring along five textiles of royal quality, and I shall enter into audience together with the envoys of the colony and the man will be ashamed because of the five textiles which I shall bring to him."

47. ICK 1:178, 2'-4'. Cf. also Labat, op. cit., 17.

48. Jacobsen, ZA 52, 1957, 136, n. 102.

49. J. J. A. van Dijk, *Sumerische Götterlieder 2*, Heidelberg 1960, 120–121.

50. Cf. Å. Sjöberg, *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns*, TCS 3, New York 1969, 52–53.

NUN^{k1}. It is therefore likely that the word as an early title had a specific relationship to this city-state, in the same way that the title en appears to have had a specific relationship to the city-state of Uruk. As a political title it must have become obsolete at a very early time for it is known that as early as the end of the Ubaid period (last half of the fourth millennium) the city of Eridu was to all practical purposes abandoned,⁵¹ and it became a sacred place consisting of a group of temples. The title was retained in literary texts only.

The correspondance nun/*rubā'um* is in fact somewhat surprising, for the Akkadian word is derived from the root which means "big, great", and it would accordingly yield a very satisfactory translation of Sumerian lugal (lú gal, "big man"). If we are to trust our available evidence it is clear that *šarrum* became fixed in the tradition as the translation of lugal at a much earlier stage than the first appearance of the correspondance nun: *rubā'um*. The relationship between these two words is in fact quite obscure and it is unlikely that the Sumerian material will provide us with any real help for a definition of the meaning of the Akkadian term. The first ruler who used the title was Ibbi-Sin, the last king in the Ur III dynasty, and it was taken up by the southern kings in the following period.⁵² At the same time it became the common term for a king in the Old Babylonian omen collections, so we may perhaps assume that for a relatively short period the word *rubā'um* enjoyed a very great prestige in the south and that it was exported to Assur, where it retained its old prestige, however, and became the normal word for "king". Again we seem to be faced with a retention of archaic features in Assur. Already in the Old Babylonian period we find the word used to denote non-royal persons, what we might call "noblemen"; we have a single Old Assyrian reference which gives an example of this use but it is again in an Anatolian context. The text, CCT 4:30a, will be discussed in some detail in the following⁵³ and in this context it should just be mentioned that Assyrians report on the conditions in the kingdom of Hahhum that the king (*šarrum*) has committed bloody deeds and his throne is blemished so the princes (? – *rubā'u*), who are scheming among each other, are unwilling to enter serious negotiations with the Assyrians. However, this text is unique, and

51. Cf. the remarks in H. T. Wright, "The Administration of Rural Production in an Early Mesopotamian Town", University of Michigan, *Anthropological Papers* 38, 1969, 27.

52. Cf. Seux, op. cit., 432–433.

53. Page 271.

the term *rubā'um* or *rubū* remained the general title of the kings of Assur down to the end of the Middle Assyrian period.

According to Thorkild Jacobsen the Sumerian title *lugal* (*lú gal*) denoted originally a “great householder” who presided over a “great house”, i.e. *é.gal*, *ekallum*, the word which we usually translate “palace”. The “greatness” involved in the terminology should thus refer to the fact that the “great man” had a very large household consisting naturally of his family and “his personal servants and retainers bound to him by exceptionally strong ties of dominance and obedience.”⁵⁴ The use of the term *rubā'um* in Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian texts could indicate that the concept of “greatness” had a similar background also in the Akkadian society. At least, it seems very probable that the difference between “great” and “small” could be one of social status. The counterpart to *rubā'um* in these two dialects is of course the term *suḥārum* which means literally “the small man”, and it is clear that this word denoted a person who was in some way in a state of dependency;⁵⁵ at least in Old Assyrian the word is always used with a possessive suffix or in a genitival construction: it is “someone’s *suḥārum*”. In the social structure these two terms do not mirror each other so that *suḥārum* denoted a dependent member of a household whereas *rubā'um* denoted the head of a household, for the latter term was restricted in use for the king. However, the dichotomy small – great does manifest itself by way of another set of terms: *awīlu rabi'ūtum* and *sahhurūtum*, “the great men” and the “small ones”, and the reality of this distinction in terms of specific social status-relations appears from the use of them in the texts which contain the fragmentary Statutes of the Kanesh colony. There can hardly be any doubt that it is the same distinction which is referred to in the customary expression: *kārum saher rabi*, “the colony: small (and) big”, i.e. the plenary assembly of the colony. I shall deal in greater detail with these questions in my discussion of the Statute texts;⁵⁶ it is my conclusion that it is very probable that the terms in question refer to status-relations which are bound up with the family pattern. It is hardly profitable to make use of such terms as “nobility” or “aristocracy”, and although the Old Assyrian material does

54. Jacobsen, op. cit., 119.

55. The translation “jeune serviteur” used in *ARM* 15 puts too much emphasis on age. See also A. Finet, “Le *suḥārum* à Mari” in Edzard (ed.), *Gesellschaftsklassen im alten Zweistromland*, München 1972, 65–72.

56. Cf. below, 288–300.

favour the idea of social rank based on descent, it is equally clear that this criterion merged with that of age and surely also of wealth. These categories are in fact attested only for the colonial society so far, but there can be no doubt that they were relevant also for the society of the capital. The "great men" of Kanesh are likely to have been the leaders of the local factories of the main firms in the City.

It should be stressed that the Old Assyrians laid an extraordinary emphasis on the social status of individuals. This is shown with particular clarity by their epistolary style, for the introductory formula of the letters invariably reflected the relative status of the correspondants: the higher ranking person was always mentioned first.⁵⁷ Since many letters had several senders and recipients it must occasionally have been a quite complicated affair to determine the correct sequence of all the names, and those who dictated such texts must have had a clear awareness of the status-relations which they had to acknowledge. This may be illustrated by some examples from the family of Aššur-idi which has already been discussed.⁵⁸ Aššur-idi is invariably mentioned first, whether he is the writer or the recipient; most of his letters are to Aššur-nādā and sometimes Ili-ālum and Aššur-taklāku appear as co-recipients, invariably in this order.⁵⁹ In Aššur-nādā's correspondence with these two men he is always mentioned first. Aššur-idi has written two letters to Alāhum, one of them addressed to: Amur-Ištar, Alāhum, Ili-ālum, and Aššur-taklāku;⁶⁰ the other one to: Alāhum, Elamma, Pūšu-kēn, and Aššur-taklāku.⁶¹ Alāhum is thus of lower rank than Aššur-idi, but above Ili-ālum and Aššur-taklāku, and we have five letters from Alāhum to Aššur-nādā which show that he was also of higher rank than this man.⁶² When the two persons occur together as recipients Alāhum is always mentioned first, for

57. To my knowledge this feature has never been acknowledged for the Old Assyrian material, but the same principle applies for the Hittite letters as pointed out by Otten, "Hethitische Schreiber in ihren Briefen", *MIO* 4, 1956, 184.
58. Above, 97–99.
59. L 29–559, TC 3:88, 89, 91, CCT 3:3b, 4, 5b, CCT 4:2b.
60. L 29–558 and duplicate BIN 4:53.
61. CCT 5:6a.
62. L 29–572, KTS 9b, 10, TC 2:31 (both together with Puzur-Anna who is mentioned last), and KTS 11 (also from Zuba who is mentioned after Alāhum; note: KTS 12 is from Aššur-nādā, last, to Alāhum, Šu-Aššur, Zuba, and Ili-ālum; CCT 4:34b is from Aššur-nādā, first, to Zuba, [...], and Ušur-ša-Aššur; Zuba is thus below Aššur-nādā but above e.g. Ili-ālum, and he appears before Aššur-nādā simply because he is associated with Alāhum).

instance in a letter from Ili-ālum,⁶³ and Aššur-nādā's own letters to Alā-hum acknowledge the same situation.⁶⁴ It is of course possible to carry such an analysis further still and for some of the larger "archives" which mention very many persons in the introductory formulae it should be possible to establish quite extensive lists which reflect the relative rank of many individuals. Such analyses will of course only become possible after the many letters have been ordered in "archives", but it is not difficult to see that there is a relatively clear pattern showing that the men in Assur generally felt justified to put their own names before those of their correspondents in the colonies, and another obvious criterion was age: father comes before son, elder brother before his juniors;⁶⁵ finally, it was the rule that men were named before women.⁶⁶

The royal inscriptions from the Old Assyrian dynasty emphasize a similar concern for the correct status of the individual by providing complete lists of the genealogy of the kings in their introductions. One of the fragmentary inscriptions from the reign of Ikūnum is typical of this tendency, giving the genealogy of the king in four generations back to Puzur-Aššur I,⁶⁷ and we find the same in texts from Ilušuma and Erišum. Individually, such observations are of little demonstrative force, but it seems to me that they most profitably can be combined in the hypothesis that the title *rubā'um* contained a reference to the king's position as head

63. KTB1 4; cf. also BIN 4:60 and TC 1:4.

64. KTS 12 (cf. note 62), BIN 4:52 (before Aššur-taklāku), BIN 4:49, CCT 3:7b, and 9 (in all three cases before Ememe and Aššur-taklāku).

65. Note also that for instance the children of Pušu-kēn are mentioned in the same order in all texts, not just letters (see EL 11 and ATHE 24).

66. There are certainly exceptions to this rule; an elder sister may be mentioned before her brother (TC 3:57, from Imdi-ilum to Ištar-baštī and Amur-ili), a man may write to a presumably older woman (ATHE 36, to Abaja from Aššur-nādā; cf. CCT 4:8a to Innaja from Abaja, and TC 3:76 where Innaja as expected is mentioned before Aššur-nādā); or brothers may out of courtesy mention their sister first (BIN 6:59, to Puzur-Aššur from Ahaha, Su'ejja, Buzāzu, and Ikuppāša), even though she places herself last when writing to them (TC 2:46, to Aššur-muttabbil, Buzāzu, and Ikuppāša from Ahaha).

I should also like to mention that there must obviously have been some fluctuation; two persons who were of equal rank may use one or the other formula, probably in some cases on the basis of courtesy or because they want something, and others may not always agree about which person has the higher rank; thus, such men as Pušu-kēn and Imdi-ilum do not present a clear picture in their interrelations.

67. IAK VI, 3; Kirk Grayson, *ARI* 1, 16.

of the royal lineage, so in a sense we can say that he was the only “nobleman” of the Old Assyrian society.

As already pointed out the word was used by others when they referred to the king, and it was generally used in such a way that it defined the king in his relationship to the City, *ālum*. The phrase *rubā'um ša GN*, “king of GN”, is used a couple of times for Anatolian kings,⁶⁸ but not once for the king of Assur. Instead, the appropriate formula was: *ālum u rubā'um*, “the City and the king”, and this terminology indicates that the *rubā'um* was an institution on the same level as and somehow a counterpart of *ālum*. The latter concept had a dual nature, being at the same time a divine entity and the community, the inhabitants of the city and in particular the city-assembly.

The City and the king are associated for instance in the oath formula which was used in the legal proceedings in the colonies in Anatolia. We find the following three phrases:

By the life of the City,

By the life of the City and of the king,

By the life of divine Aššur, of divine Anna, and of the king.⁶⁹

In Babylonia the custom was to swear by the life of the king and some god(s), often Šamaš and Marduk or Adad. From Sippar we have some examples where the city appears together with the king, and in a few instances we find only the god and the city⁷⁰ and this could provide a

68. The letter kt f/k 183 from level 1b, published by Balkan, *Observations*, 73, has the line: *ana ru-ba-im ša Ta-am-ni-a*. When *rubā'um* is associated with the name of a city in Anatolian context the texts always use a nisbah: *rubā'um Kanišjum*, “the Kaneshite king”, and it is very common to leave out the word *rubā'um*; a good example of the mixed terminology is the text KTK 10 (cf. Trolle Larsen, “A Revolt against Hattuša”, *JCS* 24, 1972, 100–101), where we read: (3') *ru-ba-um ša Št-na-hu-tim* (4') *A-am-ku-a-i-um* (5') *ú Kà-pí-it-ra-i-um*, “the king of Šinahuttum, the man of Amkuwa, and the man of Kapitra”; perhaps we may in the use of the formula *rubā'um ša* see another criterion for a late date for this text.

69. References can be found in Hirsch, *UAR*, 68–69, and Garelli, *AC*, 325, n. 4. The third formula is found once only, in ICK 1:32, a text which records the divorce of an Assyrian from his Anatolian wife, and that fact surely explains the occurrence of the god Anna; cf. p. 46, n. 74.

70. Cf. G. Boyer in *ARM* 8, 1958, 173, n. 3, whose examples are somewhat uncertain. See also Schorr, *Urkunden*, pp. xxxii–xxxiv, and text no. 169.

link with the Old Assyrian practice. There most references are simply to the City, and the king never occurs alone. The precise background for oaths of this nature is somewhat obscure, although we are clearly faced with a kind of magical act; in the present context it is alone significant that the formulae place the king on the same level as the City and the gods, apparently as authorities who had the power to punish perjury. This observation also throws a little light on the religious basis for the power of the king, his position as the god's steward and priest.

Whereas it must remain a moot question how precisely we are to define the concept *ālum* in the oath formula,⁷¹ even though it seems to the point to stress the unity of the concept, we have a great many references where we find *ālum* and *rubā'um* associated in such a way that there is no doubt that the former term denotes specifically the city-assembly. I intend to discuss these references in greater detail in a later section, but it may be said that the majority of the cases are concerned with the sending of a letter to the colonies, most often written simply in the name of the City but occasionally also mentioning the king as sender. There are some rare references to letters written by the prince alone.⁷² These documents were issued as the result of a preliminary decision in a lawsuit, and the typical formulations indicate that the king in such matters functioned in close connection with the city-assembly. This is underlined by the fact that we find that the texts which must be described as "letters from the City" were in fact signed by the king, under the title *waklum*.

Perhaps the most revealing single text is the letter TC 1:1, sent to the Kanesh colony from some writers who hide under the term *nibum*, a word which may denote the official spokesmen in the capital for the Kanesh colony. I shall provide a discussion of this text in a later section,⁷³ and here I shall simply point out that the letter refers to a message sent from Assur to Kanesh with the following words:

You must take care there to write to the other colonies in accordance with the letter of the City, and have them pay the money! Let every single colony hear the letter of the king, and let them pay the money.

71. Cf. Boyer, op. cit., 172–177 for some remarks on this problem; he concludes that "l'idée de sanction ou de contrainte par la puissance publique est seule admissible, car la ville n'a jamais été une divinité à Babylone." Cf. however Garelli, *RA* 56, 1962, 199.

72. Cf. TC 3:1, 30–34.

73. Cf. below, 163.

The representatives of the colony refer to discussions they have had with "the elders", and it seems clear that the three authorities: elders, City, and king, acted in unison and on the same level of competence; the letter of the City appears to be identical with the letter of the king.

c) *waklum*

It has been doubted that *waklum* was a royal title in the Old Assyrian period⁷⁴ and some scholars still refuse to commit themselves, while others maintain that it usually, but not exclusively designated the king. Outside Assyria the Akkadian word and its Sumerian correspondence *ugula* refer to officials who are placed well below the king in the bureaucratic hierarchy. It is in fact only from Assur that we have clear and undisputed evidence of the use of the word as a royal title, for the reference from Eshnunna, where *Ilšu-ilija* is called "the PA of divine Tišpak"⁷⁵ is more likely to represent an abbreviated writing of the title *ensi* (PA.TE.SI). On the other hand, it is probable that we find the title in the Old Akkadian inscription of *Ititi* from Assur, and it seems therefore that this title was one which had a special connection with Assur from very early times.

In the juridical and administrative documents from the Middle Assyrian period we find the term used as a royal title, and it occurs also in a few instances in royal building-inscriptions.⁷⁶ Weidner explained these references as evidence that the term denoted the king "als massgebende Instanz in kultisch-religiösen und juristischen Fragen."⁷⁷ According to the theory of Diakonov the title denoted "an official of the city-community of Aššur dealing with matters of landownership." Both scholars pointed out that we have one Middle Assyrian example of a prince of the royal house bearing this title, i.e. the office was "usually but not necessarily combined with that of the ruler, *išši'akku*", as noted by Diakonov.⁷⁸

74. See Balkan, *Observations*, 70–71 (note 46).

75. Cf. Frankfort, Lloyd, and Jacobsen, *Gimilsin Temple*, 143, for the seal of this ruler which has the legend: (1) [^a]Tišpak (2) LUGAL da-núm (3) LUGAL ma-at Wa-ri-im (4) LUGAL (5) [ki]-ib-ra-at (6) ar-ba-im (7) DINGIR-šu-l-lá-a (8) PA(?)-šu; should PA here in fact be read DÚMU?

76. See Seux, op. cit., 358–359, for references.

77. E. F. Weidner, "Hof- und Harems-Erlasse assyrischer Könige", *AfO* 17, 1954–56, 269.

78. I. M. Diakonov, "Agrarian Conditions in Middle Assyria", in idem (editor), *Ancient Mesopotamia*, Moscow 1969, 219, n. 64; Diakonov points out that the king did not appear in these contexts "in the role of the supreme owner of all

There are some unusual Old Assyrian references which may show that even in that period the word could be used about others than the king. A certain Šu-Bēlum is said to be *mera PA*, i.e. presumably “son of the *waklum*”, in the text TC 3:264B, and his seal carries the following legend: *Šu-Be-lüm mera En-na-[x(x)] mera PA*, i.e. “Šu-Bēlum, son of Enna-[..], son of the *waklum*.” According to the seal Šu-Bēlum was thus the grandson rather than the son of PA. Another seal published in ICK 2 may also contain the phrase *mera PA*, but the names are completely destroyed and it does not seem to be the same seal.⁷⁹ J. Lewy has suggested that the name of Šu-Bēlum’s father was Enna-Suen and he has attempted a reconstruction of the family and its business-connections.⁸⁰ He has suggested that Šu-Bēlum had a brother by the name Šu-Anum and has pointed out that one of the letters written by the *waklum*, KTS 31a,⁸¹ was addressed to Šu-Anum, son of Enna-Sin. The names involved are quite common – we have some ten different persons called Šu-Anum and some twenty different persons called Šu-Bēlum – so it is perhaps not quite certain that the reconstruction proposed by Lewy is correct, but it does seem very likely. The two men are often mentioned together and are therefore presumably brothers as postulated by Lewy: in KTS 33b we are told that Šu-Anum is in possession of Šu-Bēlum’s seal⁸², and in the letter TC 1:45 Šu-Bēlum writes to Innaja and Aššur-tukulti about Šu-Anum’s affairs; furthermore, a certain Mannum-ki-Aššur, who may be the son of Šu-Bēlum, corresponds with a Šu-Anum.⁸³ It is therefore also likely that Lewy was correct in his suggestion that the same persons appear in contexts which mention trade in various luxury items such as *husārum* and *amūtum*,⁸⁴ and this is surely significant since we know that the autho-

land. He was rather the representative of the city-state community of Aššur which was the original actual owner of all land in the state.”

79. Ka 470, a fragment of an envelope published as ICK 2:172.

80. HUCA 27, 26, n. 109.

81. See below, 142.

82. Letter to Sukallija, Šu-[...], and Šu-Anum, from Idī-Su’en(?).

83. Mannum-ki-Aššur as son of Šu-Bēlum appears in CCT 1:13, 13; he has written the letter CCT 3:36b to Šu-Anum, a text which is largely concerned with smuggling of textiles carried out by the assistant Šumi-abija; Veenhof, *Aspects*, 320, has pointed out that these two men otherwise are known to have engaged in smuggling. These activities do not constitute a viable argument against their being important, high-ranking men in the Assyrian establishment.

84. These commodities are mentioned in the following letters addressed to Šu-Anum: BIN 4:50, CCT 3:36b, KTS 33b, KTS 39a, and TC 3:81.

rities held a kind of monopoly on these commodities. Lewy used these references as arguments for a high social position of the persons involved, just as he pointed out that Šu-Bēlum in his letter TC 1:45 appears to be in a position to make use of the official "envoys of the City" as transporters; one might add that also the letter TC 3:80 which is addressed among others to a Šu-Anum, contains a reference to these envoys.⁸⁵

These texts constitute a somewhat unpleasant problem for it is not very easy to find a satisfactory explanation of the use of the title *waklum* in such contexts. It seems *a priori* quite improbable that the phrase *mera PA* should refer to royal princes, for the proper expression would surely be *mera rubā'im*; when *waklum* occurs as a royal title we find it in very specific contexts where the king appears in a sharply defined capacity, and it was not a general designation which would make sense as a patronymic. Furthermore, if also Enna-Suen, Šu-Bēlum's father, was indeed a *waklum* as suggested by Lewy, it is of course obvious that the title must refer to a man who was not a king. I cannot find a truly satisfactory explanation of these references but I remain skeptical, mainly because it seems assured that the title was in fact used as a royal title. It is also to be noted that Lewy himself in a later article adopted the view that *waklum* was restricted for the king, stating that a new text from Philadelphia "removes the previous doubts as to the identity of the so-called *waklum* with the Assyrian king."⁸⁶ In that context Lewy unfortunately did not mention the troublesome question of the status of Šu-Bēlum's father and grandfather.

The "previous doubts" referred to in Lewy's statement were expressed by Landsberger, and they were based on an analysis of some of the private letters which were sent by persons who signed themselves *waklum*. Landsberger found it "kaum vorstellbar" that letters like KTS 30 could have been written by a king, the reason being that the writers quite obviously were men of limited powers.⁸⁷ These doubts were maintained in spite of the fact that one of the official *waklum*-letters, addressed to the Kanesh colony rather than to private individuals like the private *waklum*-letters,

85. Letter from Ili-imitti to Aššur-iddin, Šu-Anum, Aššur-imitti, and Amur-Ištar. It should be noticed that the last two men are among the persons who appear in the *waklum*-letters (cf. below, 145–146), and they are also co-recipients with Šu-Anum of the letter TC 3:81.

86. J. Lewy, "Some Aspects of Commercial Life in Assyria and Asia Minor in the Nineteenth Pre-Christian Century", *JAOS* 78, 1958, 100 with n. 72.

87. *TTAED* 4, 1940, 22, n. 2.

carried an imprint of the royal seal of Sargon I. Landsberger's suggestion, that the *waklum* was a high official who was entitled to use the royal seal, was never very satisfactory, and it has been completely undermined by the fact that a recently published *private waklum*-letter also carries Sargon's seal.⁸⁸ Whereas it was conceivable that an official could use the royal seal in an official capacity, it is utterly implausible to think that he could use it to seal his own private correspondence. Moreover, precisely the letter which was mentioned by Landsberger as unlikely to have been written by a king can now be directly connected with the new letter which is known to have been sent by Sargon. Accordingly, there is at the moment no very good reason to doubt that all *waklum*-letters are in fact royal letters.

The official *waklum*-letters may best be discussed in the section which deals with the function of the city-assembly,⁸⁹ and in this context I shall limit myself to pointing out that the three preserved texts confirm the existence of very close ties between the assembly and the king. Two of the letters in fact record verdicts issued by the city-assembly, and they begin with the phrase: *Alum dinam idinma*, "the City has given a verdict". It was of course the *waklum* who communicated these decisions to the colonial authorities, and it therefore seems a reasonable conclusion to describe him as the executive official of the city-assembly in such matters. It is surely also relevant to point to the fact that we have a whole series of letters written in the name of the various colonies in Anatolia, i.e. texts where we find the formula "Thus (speaks) the Kanesh colony"; we have no examples of letters or documents of other types which were issued directly in the name of the City. Accordingly, the *waklum* was the man through whom the orders of the city-assembly were communicated, and it seems very probable that he functioned as the chairman of the assembly.

We have in all five private *waklum*-letters,⁹⁰ three of which belong together; they are concerned with an affair which involved a certain individual by the name of Asqudum, son of Abu-šalim, and two – perhaps three – successive kings. There is reason to believe that Asqudum was a royal palace employee, for in another text we find a certain Asqudum

88. L 29–573, published by H. Lewy in *HUCA* 39, 1968, 30–31.

89. Cf. below, 153–154 and 175–178.

90. At least two unpublished *waklum*-letters are known to be in Ankara, b/k 576 and c/k 261 mentioned in Balkan, *Observations*, 70–71 (n. 46); it is not clear whether these are private or official letters, but the latter one is known to be dated to the eponymy of Puzur-Nirah.

described with the unique expression: *wardum ša ekallim*, literally “palace slave”.⁹¹ One of the three texts carries the imprint of Sargon’s seal but it is not certain that all three letters were written by this king. In fact, the text of the letters makes it clear that more than one king was involved in the Asqudum-affair, and J. Lewy has attempted to show that the three letters in fact refer to all the three kings Erišum I, Ikūnum, and Sargon I. If this is correct, it is obvious that there are certain chronological difficulties, even if Lewy is right in his further suggestion that the reign of the middle king, Ikūnum, was a short one. I believe that Lewy’s reconstruction is not entirely satisfactory and I shall accordingly present the letters in a different sequence; Lewy’s arguments will be taken up for discussion after my own presentation.

One of the letters is addressed to Asqudum himself and in my view this text is likely to represent the beginning of the affair:

From the *waklum* to Asqudum, son of Abu-šalim:

You left long enough ago and no message has come from you. Your son did come, bringing with him at least 40 minas of silver, but he did not tell me! He purchased [tin] outside the City and [sent] it off to you. . . . Why haven’t you sent me . . . ? Take care and send me some silver, lest I shall write to have you discredited in the colony! You have changed your attitude a couple of times now! You have not sent me a . . . letter. Take care and send it!⁹²

91. KTS 55b, a note which has the following text: (1) *i-na* 8 GÍN KUG. BABBAR
 (2) *ša li-bia* (3) *As-qu-dim* ḪR (4) *ša E.GAL-lim* ŠA.BA (5) 2½ GÍN KUG.
 BABBAR (6) *ki-iš-da-tù-a* (7) *iš-ti Ba-zí-a* (8) DUMU *As-qu-dim*, “Out of 8
 shekels of silver in the possession of Asqudum, the palace slave, thereof 2½
 shekels of silver, my assets, are with Bazia, Asqudum’s son.” See the numerous
 examples from other periods in CAD, s.v. *arad ekalli*.
92. CCT 4:32a: (1) *um-ma wa-ak-lím-ma* (2) *a-na As-qu-dim* DUMU *A-bu-DI*
 (3) *qi-bi-ma iš-tù* (4) *ma-lá-šu u-a-me tù-sí-ma* (5) *ti-ir-ta-kà-ma* (6) *lá i-li-kam*
me-ra-kà (7) *t-li-kam-ma* (8) KUG.BABBAR 40 MÁ.NA *ub-lá-ma* (9) *ú-lá*
ig-bi-a-am (10) *i-ki-dim ši-a-ma-tim* (11) [AN.N]A *iš-a-ma* (12) [*uš-té-ši*] *ra-ku-*
um (13) [x x x x x] *i me* (14) [x x x x] *ra-ši-šu* (15) [x x (x)] *mi-šu-um lá*
tù-šé-ba-lam (16) *[i]-hi-id-ma* KUG.BABBAR (17) [*s*] *é-bia-lam lá a-ša-pá-ra-ma*
 (18) *i-kà-ri-im* (19) *lá ú-qá-lu-lu-kà* (20) *a-dí ma-lá ù 2 ši-ni-šu* (21) *qá-at-kà té-ni*
 (22) DUB-pá-am *ma* *ra-ka-ma* (23) *lá tù-šé-bia-lam* (24) *i-hi-id* *šé-bia-lam*.
 line 2: the name of Asqudum’s father is usually written *A-bu-ša-lim*; to be sure,
 this writing is not attested in that precise context but instead one can point to
 ATHE 55, 2, 17, and 19, where we have *A-bu-ša-lim* DUMU *As-qu-dim*. There
 is no name Abudi or Abusa as claimed for instance in the index to ICK 1. -

The basic situation is not at all atypical in our texts; Asqudum has been entrusted with a shipment of goods which were brought to Anatolia in order to be sold, and he should take care to send back the money gained. Instead he has rather nastily sent an employee off with some of the money without informing his principal, and this employee has apparently had the job of purchasing a new shipment of tin outside the City, i.e. presumably in the surrounding villages. That procedure is unique, and it must surely have been highly irregular also from the point of view of the city-authorities since they were cheated out of the export-tax. One wonders whether the men who sold the tin to Asqudum's transporter can have been ignorant of the nature of the transaction in which they involved themselves.

The threat expressed by the *waklum* is presumably to be understood as referring to a letter which would discredit the man by making public his unethical behaviour.⁹³ That something of this nature actually happened can be seen from the two other letters, both of which are addressed to Pūšu-kēn, the well-known Kanesh merchant who has been mentioned several times already. It seems obvious that some letters which formed part of this entire correspondence have been lost, and the following document may have been written some time later than the first one. It is the text L 29-573 which was found unopened in an envelope on which Sargon's seal was imprinted.

Lines 14–15: one could perhaps suggest the restoration: [...] *wa-s]i-ti-šu* (15) [*lá iš-qul*], “he did not pay his export-tax”; however, it is more likely that the object for *tušebalam*, perhaps simply KUG.BABBAR, was in 1. 15. – Line 22: the slightly damaged sign looks like KI or DI; I cannot suggest a good solution, for neither *ma-ak!-na-kam* nor *-ma al-na-kam* seem very plausible, and I do not know what to do with the sentence: *tupparamma sanāqam la tušebilam*.

93. We have numerous references to the verb *qallulum*, “discredit”, and the derived noun *qulālum*; exact parallels to the example from this text are found in private letters, for instance BIN 6:74, 38, 187, 16–17, and TC 2:41, 22–23; the last example is particularly instructive since it contains a threat to “get a tablet of the City and the king, and send it to you and have you discredited in the colony”. As a parallel one can point to KTS 42a, the second page of a letter which contains the passage: (9) *šu-ma* (10) *iš-ti E-me-er-Ši* (11) *lá ta-hi-id-ma* (12) *lá ta-at-bi-a-ma* (13) *lá ta-ta-al-kam* (14) DUB-pá-am *ša kà-ri-im* (15) *a-la-qé-md ú-ša-sà-ha-kà-ma* (16) *qú-la-li-kà a-ša-kan*, “If you do not take care to leave and come together with Emerši, I shall get a tablet of the colony to have you transferred and bring you into bad repute!” A virtual synonym is the verb *ba'āšum* in the D-stem. It should be noted that the verb can be used also about insulting behaviour towards others; in BIN 6:91, 7–8, and 199, 5’, the word *šūmum*, “name, reputation”, is the object, and in BIN 6:59, 9, we find the ancestral spirit of a family being “insulted” (cf. for the passage below, 288).

Envelope:

[Seal of the *waklum*; [to P]ūšu-kēn, son of Su'ejja:

Pay heed to the words of the letter! And as for the letter which Amur-Ištar, son of Amur-ili, brings – take the letter and send it here! You personally must do whatever you can! They bring a ... for your waist to you.

Open one tablet and read it; keep one tablet in reserve.

Do be full(?) for ... and act on your own authority!

Tablet:

From the *waklum* to Pūšu-kēn:

It was here that my father gave you the following instructions: "If you are truly my son and if you love me, then seize Asqudum's money!" Now you have written as follows in your letter to me: "The man is in a dangerous position. I cannot seize the money on my own authority." If you are truly my father and if you love me – there, they bring two letters to you; read one letter (and) keep one letter in reserve. If you are truly my father and if you love me – our father gave him many goods, seize at least one talent of silver on your own authority – preferably more! Not a single shekel of silver should be lost!

Make me as glad as if you gave it to me as a present. I shall pray for you to Aššur and my own god. Exert yourself as if it were your own money!

Concerning your words which you revealed to me during my father's lifetime, after (?) I have read(?) the letter I personally assume responsibility for you.⁹⁴

94. Envelope: (1) [KIŠIB *wa-ak-*]lim (2) [*a-na P*]u-šu-ki-in DUMU Sú-e-a (3) [*a-]*wa-at DUB-pi-im (4) [*i-]*h[i]-id ù DUB-pá-am (5) [*ša*] A-mur-Ištar DUMU A-mur-DINGIR (6) [*na-*]áš-ú DUB-pá-am (7) [*l*]e-qé-ma šé-bi₄-lam (8) a-ta ki-ma ta-le-e-ú (9) e-pu-uš ša KU(?) KAM/DAM(?) (10) a-na qá-áb-li-kà (11) na-áš-ú-ni-kum (12) DUB-pá-am iš-tí-in (13) pè-té-ma ší-ta-me (14) 1 DUB-pá-am kà-i-il₅ (15) a-na BE AM lu ma-al-a-tí-ma (16) lu e-ta-lá-tí.

Tablet: (1) um-ma wa-ak-lúm-ma (2) a-na Pu-šu-ki-in (3) qí-bi-ma a-na-kam-ma (4) a-bi ú-na-hi-id-kà (5) um-ma šu-út-ma šu-ma me-er-i a-ta (6) šu-ma ta-ra-a-ma-ni (7) KUG.BABBAR-áp Ás-qú-dim (8) sa-ba-at a-ni i-na DUB-pi-kà (9) ta-áš-pu-ra-am (10) um-ma a-ta-ma a-wi-lúm (11) i-na qá-qí-ri-im (12) da-nim wa-ša-áb (13) lá¹ el-ta-lá-ku-[m]a (14) [KU]G.BABBAR lá a-ṣa-ba-at (15) šu-ma a-bi₄ a-ta (16) šu-ma ta-ra-a-ma-ni (17) a-ma 2 DUB-pè-en (18) na-áš-ú-ni-ku-um (19) iš-tí-in DUB-pá-am šé-me (20) 1 DUB-pá-am i-na qá-tí-kà (21) kà-i-il₅ šu-ma a-bi₄ a-ta (22) šu-ma ta-ra-a-ma-ni (23) a-bu-ni lu-qú-tám ma-a-tám (24) i-di-šu-um

In spite of the many obscurities in this text the general situation is clear: Pūšu-kēn has received instructions from Sargon's father, Ikūnum, to get hold of the money which Asqudum is still withholding in spite of the fact that it represents the selling price of a large shipment which was entrusted to him. For some reason which unfortunately cannot be quite elucidated Pūšu-kēn has not been able to carry out the instructions of the king, and the letter represents the son, Sargon's, attempt to have the matter pursued and to spur Pūšu-kēn to action.

The third letter, KTS 30, seems in my opinion to stem from a still later phase where Pūšu-kēn finally has begun to do what he has been asked to:

From the *waklum* to Pūšu-kēn:

You have written as follows to me: "I have seized five minas of silver belonging to Asqudum here, and I have also borrowed ten minas against interest and sent the money to you. Asqudum's goods which I have seized I shall exchange for silver to pay back the money (I have

lu e-ta-lá-tí-ma (25) *iš-tù KUG.BABBAR 1 GÚ* ù *e-li-iš* (26) *ša-ba-at KUG.BABBAR 1 GÍN* (27) *lá i-ha-li-iq ki-ma* (28) *ša a-ta ta-qí-ša-ni* (29) *li-biá ha-dí IGI A-šur* (30) ù *i-li-a a-ká-ra-ba-kum* (31) [*k*]i-ma KUG.BABBAR-áp *ra-mí-ni-ká* (32) *šu-tám-ri-iš* (33) *a-šu-mí a-wa-tí-ká ša i-bu-lu-ut a-bi-a-a* (34) *ta-áp-tí-a-ni* ù *DUB-pá-am dš-tá-l-me* (35) *a-na-ku a-na-kam ma-ga-a-ku-um*.

Envelope, line 9: since the word must denote something meant for Pūšu-kēn's waist (cf. Veenhof, *Aspects*, 196, n. 315) one thinks of course of a belt or some kind of textile; cf. perhaps *ša-ma-tim*, a word of unknown meaning discussed in Veenhof, op. cit., p. 54, n. 99. – Line 15: I know of no parallel to the phrase attested here; one could perhaps suggest the reading: *ana pi-ká! lu mal'ati*, and very tentatively offer the translation: "Do live up to your promise!"

Tablet, line 13: a photograph kindly provided by D. I. Owen shows no break and the signs are quite clear. – Line 34: J. Lewy suggested the transliteration *ta-áp-di-a-ni*, thus referring the form to the verb *paddum*, "to spare, be gentle"; this word does not occur elsewhere in Old Assyrian texts, and it seems difficult to find a reasonable meaning for the passage on that basis. On the other hand, the phrase *awātim patāum*, "reveal some words", is not exactly well attested and I can only refer to TC 2:17 for a parallel: (22) *a-na sé-ri-ká a-lá-kam-ma* (23) *a-na a-wa-tim ša ta-dš-pu-ra-ni* (24) *i-nu-mí-šu pé-té-a-ši-na* (25) *ki-ma a-wa-tim a-na ki-dim* (26) *lá wa-sa-i-im mī-ma* (27) *a-wa-tim ša i-na-dš-pé[-ra-tí-]ká* (28) *lá-áp-ta-ni ú-lá ú-di-a-a[m]*, "I shall come to you, and as to the words which you wrote about, reveal them only at that time! In order that the words do not leak out I shall not make known any of the things which were written in your letters!" – The reading *áš-ta-me* was offered by Lewy in *JAOS* 78, 100, n. 76; according to the copy it is just barely possible. – Line 35: cf. discussion below, 256–259, of the verb *mašāum*.

borrowed) against interest, and I shall then send you the rest of your money."

It was two talents five minas of tin, 30 *kutānum*-textiles, two black donkeys, five minas five shekels of *husārum* of extrafine quality, 11 shekels of iron, in a lump – all this my father gave to Asqudum! I shall pray for you to Aššur and my own god. My dear son, just as you exert yourself over every single shekel of your own silver, thus take care and go up to at least one talent of silver – preferably more, and seize the man's money! You have my letter stating that you may seize (the money) on your own authority in accordance with (the specifications of) my letter. The man has treated my father and me with contempt. Exert yourself and act so as to please me! He has caused the death of my two servants and carried off their money. A message from me has already been sent to Timelkia, but you too should write to them from there so that they send my money to you. They are not to dispose of a single shekel of silver!

My servant Išar-bēlī stays with Asqudum. Take care and send him as soon as possible.⁹⁵

95. (1) *um-ma wa-ak-lūm-ma a-na* (2) *Pu-šu-ki-in qī-bi-ma* (3) *ta-dš-pu-ra-am um-ma a-ta-ma* (4) 5 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR *ša Ās-qū-dim* (5) *a-na-kam as-ba-at* 10 MA.NA (6) *a-na ši-ib-tim al-qē-ma* (7) KUG.BABBAR *ū-šé-biā-lá-ku-um lu-qū-tám* (8) *ša Ās-qū-dim ša ú-ša-bi-tū* (9) *a-na KUG.BABBAR ú-ta-ar-ma* KUG.BABBAR (10) *ša ši-ib-tim ú-ta-ar-ma* (11) *ši-ti KUG.BABBAR-pi-kā ú-šé-ba-lá-ku-um* (12) 2 GŪ 5 MA.NA AN.NA 30 *ku-ta-ni* (13) 2 ANŠE *sa-lá-mi* 5 MA.NA 5 GÍN (14) *hu-sà-ra-am SIGs wa-at-ra-am* (15) 11 GÍN *a-mu-tum ki-is-ru-um* (16) *ml-ma a-ni-im a-na Ās-qū-dim* (17) *a-bi-i i-di-in IGI A-šūn* (18) *ú i-li-a a-kā-ra-ba-ku-um* (19) *me-er-i a-ta ki-ma a-na* (20) KUG.BABBAR-pi-kā 1 GÍN *tù-uš-ta-ma-ru-sú* (21) *i-hi-id-ma a-dí* 1 GÚ (22) KUG.BABBAR *ù e-li-š a-lik-ma* (23) KUG.BABBAR-áp *a-wi-lim sa-bi-it* (24) DUB-pi *tù-kā-al* (25) *ša a-na e-ta-lu-ti-kā* (26) *a-na ma-la DUB-pi-a ta-ša-bu-tū* (27) *a-wi-lūm ši-tù-ti a-bi-a* (28) *ú ši-tù-ti tlu-té-qé* (29) *šu-ta-am-ri-is-ma ma-la* (30) *ta-ga-mi-lí-ni e-pu-uš* (31) 2 *sú-ha-ri-a uš-té-mi-it* (32) *ú KUG.BABBAR-áp-šu-nu i-ta-ba-al* (33) *a-na Ti-me-el-ki-a* (34) *ti-i-ir-ti i-ta-lá-ak* (35) *ú a-ta a-ma-nu-um* (36) *šu-pu-ur-šu-nu-ti-ma* KUG.BABBAR-pi *a-na* (37) *šé-ri-kā lu-šé-biā-lu-nim* (38) KUG. BABBAR 1 GÍN *lá i-be-e-lu-nim* (39) *I-šar-be-lí sú-ha-ri* (40) *iš-ti Ās-qú-dí-im wa-ša-áb* (41) *i-hi-id-ma i-pá-ni-im-ma* (42) *šé-ri-a-šu*.

I have been able to make use of the collations made by I. J. Gelb some years ago, but I have not seen the tablet myself; Gelb noted that the somewhat dubious sign in line 5 is a clear KAM; the damaged sign in line 25 is TA; in line 26 we must read *ma-la* instead of the copy's *ma-ZU*; in lines 27 and 28 we have *ši*, not GIŠ; and in line 32 we have a clear ŠU in *-šu-nu* instead of the copy's *-ku-nu*.

The text speaks for itself, really. Apparently the Asqudum-affair is now in its final stage where Pūšu-kēn has seized not only some of his ready cash but also some of his goods; the *waklum* has already received some of the money, although only fifteen minas of silver, an amount which he quite obviously finds far too small. There is no doubt that the shipment mentioned was in fact far more valuable but we do not know precisely what either the *husārum* or the meteoric iron could be sold for; one talent of silver for the entire shipment does not appear to be extravagant.

The reference to a previous letter which authorized Pūšu-kēn to seize the money on behalf of the *waklum* reminds of the fact that the previous text was an unopened letter, i.e. it was the one letter which Pūšu-kēn was ordered not to open but to keep in reserve. This is of course a somewhat unusual situation but there may be a simple explanation; the authorization was presumably meant for the colonial authorities who should have some proof that Pūšu-kēn was entitled to act on behalf of the *waklum*, and only a tablet in a sealed envelope would constitute such proof. It is to be assumed that the text of both the letters received by Pūšu-kēn was completely identical and we must accept that this private letter was to be brought before the colony as evidence of Pūšu-kēn's authority; it was perhaps never made use of since it was not opened, or it may be that the text on the envelope was specific enough to form the basis for Pūšu-kēn's action. A crucial passage in the third letter says that the previous letter stated that Pūšu-kēn could seize the money "on your own authority in accordance with (the specifications of) my letter", and the key term here is *ana etalluttika*, a word which occurs a number of times in the Old Assyrian texts and which denotes a crucial ethical concept such as "boldness, confidence, selfreliance".⁹⁶ People are in some cases reproached for

96. An interesting parallel to the passage in our letter is found in the verdict VAT 9227 (EL 274) issued by the Kanesh colony; certain persons are authorized to seize three "strangers" and enter the house of a deceased merchant in order to search his tablets, and they are to do this *ana etalluttišunu*, "on their own authority"; Lewy translated: "für ihr selbständiges Vorgehen" and he added a footnote where he gave some other examples of the term with the meaning "Eigenmächtigkeit", i.e. the negative aspect. Cf. also Landsberger, *JCS* 8, p. 131, n. 338. It is interesting to see that the colony appears to stand in a completely parallel situation to the *waklum*, and one could perhaps in this find an indication that the tablet referred to in our letter was not the other *waklum*-letter but rather on official document; if it was, however, it must have been styled as a verdict of the City unless it was of a type which is unknown from our textual material.

It is interesting to compare the term with the word *awiluttum* which denotes a

acting in this manner and sometimes they are directly asked to; the word *etellu* (Old Assyrian *etallum*) is translated "prince" or "lord", but it is to be noted that it is not a title but a term which describes a person as totally independent, being what he is by his own powers. It is surely this word which is found in the previous *waklum*-letter in the form *lu etallāti* and *la etallāku*; there can hardly be any doubt that the main purpose of these letters was to provide the basis for such a kind of action by Pūšu-kēn, but the precise meaning can hardly be established; nor is it clear what is meant by the remark that the man is in a dangerous position.

I have already presented my reasons for placing the three letters in the chosen sequence, but it may perhaps be pointed out that the first text seems to indicate that its writer was the king who started the affair with Asqudum, whereas both of the other letters make it clear that it was the writer's father who originally gave Asqudum the shipment. J. Lewy has instead suggested that we should order the texts in accordance with the use of the phrases: "if you are truly my father" and "my dear son".⁹⁷ He pointed out that Sargon's letter L 29-573 contains a direct quotation from a speech made by his father, i.e. Ikūnum, and in this quotation we find that the king addresses Pūšu-kēn as "my son"; Sargon himself uses the formula "my father". Lewy's conclusion was that Pūšu-kēn had to be a younger man than Ikūnum and older than Sargon, and he furthermore concluded that my third letter, KTS 30, must have been written by Ikūnum (rather than by Sargon as suggested here) since once again we find that Pūšu-kēn is called "my son". Moreover, in the latter text we find the statement that it was the writer's father who started the affair with Asqudum, and since Lewy claimed that the letter was written by Ikūnum it is clear that the original deal must go back even to the reign of Erišum I. Ikūnum must accordingly have had a quite short reign.

I cannot disprove this reconstruction but it seems to me that it leads to a rather incomprehensible sequence in the various actions recorded by the texts. I believe that we must be wary of placing too much weight on the very common phrases *ahī atta*, *abi atta*, *bēlī atta*, etc., "my dear

completely positive concept: "gentlemanly behaviour"; that can obviously never be exaggerated, but *etallutum* appears to denote a concept which was both necessary for the active functioning of society, and yet dangerous and potentially disruptive. The negative aspect is known only from Old Assyrian texts (which may be significant) and it seems to have some affinity to the concept of *hubris*.

97. See *JAOS* 78, 100–101; Lewy's interpretation was accepted by Garelli, *AC*, 47–48, and by H. Lewy in *CAH* I, 2, chapter 24, 710.

brother, father, lord, etc.”, for they were in fact used rather freely. It is very unusual to find the expression “my dear son” and one may note that even fathers writing to their own sons refrain from using it; they say instead: “my dear brother”, the expression which very simply refers to the basic equality of the two correspondants.⁹⁸ On the whole, writers use these phrases in such a free way that a simple translation would in fact be “please!”, and their choice of the precise variant is just as much determined by the immediate needs of the situation as by considerations of firm status-relations. I would accordingly suggest that when Sargon uses the phrase “my dear father” in L 29-573 he is very simply acknowledging that he is writing to an older man, and it is likely that the letter was written very shortly after his accession to the throne. KTS 30 shows that he has returned to the practice of his father, using the phrase “my dear son” which must anyway have been the natural one for a king to use when he addressed himself to one of his subjects. He was an older man then and presumably felt more on top of the affair.

However, irrespective of the sequence of these texts we receive a quite sharply drawn picture of the king as a private individual. Perhaps the most astonishing piece of information is contained in the passage which tells that Asqudum has killed two of the king's servants and taken away the money they carried, events which took place in the Anatolian state Timelkija. The terminology is a little unusual since it is said that “he has caused the death” (*uštemūt*) of the two men, instead of the more direct: “he has killed” (*idūk*); it may be, therefore, that Asqudum had not advanced as far as actual murder in the course of his crimes. The authorities at Timelkija have secured the money but there is no direct reference to any kind of sanction against Asqudum, and the last sentence indicates that he is still a free man at this time. A few other texts show that murder was punished with the payment of blood-money, and we know of one case where the governmental organs, represented by the station at Šalatuwar, were responsible for the collection of such money.⁹⁹

98. Cf. Aššur-idi's letter CCT 4:1a to his son Aššur-nādā in which he calls him “my brother” (lines 32-33); in CCT 3:4, 16, he uses the same phrase about another son, Aššur-taklāku. The son Aššur-nādā calls his father “my father and lord”, however, e.g. in CCT 3:8b, 3.
99. KTH 16, a letter to Puzur-Aššur, Tāb-sill-Aššur, and Ikuppi-Aššur from Šu-Ištar: (21) 9 TÚG *ku-ta-ni* ù 3 MA.NA (22) AN.NA-ki *wa-bar-tum ša Ša-lá-tù-ar* (23) *iš-ba-at um-ma šu-nu-ma da-me-e* (24) *ša a-hi-kà ni-ik-šu-ud* (25) *mì-ma da-me-e lá ik-šu-du* (26) *a-ma-kam Ištar-pá-li-il₅* (27) *ú(?)-ša-“il₅ (?)-ma(?)*

We can only speculate whether Asqudum would be held responsible and would have to pay blood-money, and whether his case was being tried by a court at the time of this letter. It does not address itself to these questions at all, but is simply concerned with the urgent need of the *waklum* to retrieve his money.

An ordinary private citizen would have made an appeal to the city assembly in Assur, and an official letter would then have been sent to Kanesh as the basis for executive action. It seems that the king cannot act directly through the governmental agencies in Anatolia, issuing orders which would be binding. He relies on personal contacts and apparently feels obliged to ask favours rather than issue commands.

On the basis of the considerable value of the shipment mentioned in these texts it has been suggested that the king really was a big merchant, a kind of *primus inter pares*, or "marchand magnifié", among the merchants of the Old Assyrian society.¹⁰⁰ There is surely some truth in this view, but it should on the other hand be remembered that this one shipment is the only important one which is known to have been owned by a king or prince. It is therefore perhaps premature to state that there was a considerable royal participation in the trade, and the two remaining private *waklum*-letters indeed seem to indicate that the king played a more modest role. The first such text is the unpublished letter from Berlin VAT 9285, which has been communicated by J. Lewy:¹⁰¹

From the *waklum* to Buzutaja and Pūšu-kēn:

to Buzutaja:

Šu-Nūnu has brought you 15 minas of tin with my seal. Send me the proceeds in silver from the sale of my tin. Do not accept a low price. I shall pray for you to Aššur and my own god.

I entrusted the tin to Šu-Nūnu before the witnesses: Aššur-šamši,

ki-ma da-me-e (28) *ša a-hi-a ml-ma lá ik-šu-du-ni-ma* (29) AN.NA ú TÚG.HI.A
a-na (30) *ra-ml-ni-šu-nu it-bu-lu-ni* (31) *a-ma-kam kà-ra-am mu-uh-ra-ma* (32)
 AN.NA-*ki* ú TÚG.HI.A *lu-ta-e-ru-nim*, "The wabartum of Šalatuwar has seized
 9 *kutānum*-textiles and 3 minas of my tin, saying: 'We have collected your
 brother's blood-money.' They have not collected any blood-money! I questioned
 Ištar-pālil there, and since they have not collected my brother's blood-money
 but have taken away the tin and the textiles for themselves, you must appeal
 to the colony there so that they return my tin and textiles to me."

100. Cf. J. Lewy, *JAOS* 78, 100, n. 75; Garelli, *AC*, 199.

101. *HUCA* 27, 33, 115.

the "lieutenant"; Aššur-imitti, son of Amur-ili; Aššur-ennam, son of Ennum-Aššur.¹⁰²

The second letter is KTS 31a:

From the *waklum* to Šu-Anum, son of Enna-Sin:

Šilulu, son of Uku, and Amur-Šamaš, son of Ennuwa, bring five minas of tin for *tadmiqtum*.

I shall pray for you to Aššur and my own god.

... Do not make me angry!¹⁰³

The amounts involved in these letters are very small, no more than a single package which could be accepted for transportation as an extra by a man who was anyway leaving with a shipment. It is impossible to imagine that two men should have been sent off with only five minas of tin, or at least we must say that such a transaction cannot have had a commercial basis. The first letter's anxious instructions leave a curious impression and make one wonder whether the writer was at all used to such procedures. The list of witnesses to the original transport-contract is a unique feature in such letters. The opacity of the term *tadmiqtum* prevents an adequate understanding of the second text; it may deal with a gift or an interest-free loan.¹⁰⁴ It is therefore possible that the text does not reflect usual business-procedures, but it should be pointed out that the

102. (1) *um-ma wa-ak-lum-ma* (2) *a-na Bu-zu-ta-a* (3) *ù Pu-šu-ke-en* (4) *qi-bi-ma*
 (5) *a-na Bu-zu-ta-a* (6) *qi-bi-ma* 5 MA.NA AN.NA (7) *ku-nu-ki-a Šu-Nu-nu*
 (8) *ub-lá-kum ší-im* (9) AN.NA-ki-a KUG.BABBAR (10) *še-bi-lam* (11) [lá]
ta-ba-ta-qám (12) [IGI] *A-šür* (13) *ù i-li-a* (14) *a-kà-ra-ba-ku-nu-ti* (15) IGI
A-šur-^aUTU-ší NU.BÀNDA (16) IGI *A-šür-i-mi-lí-ti* DUMU *A-mur-DINGIR*
 (17) IGI *A-šür-en-nam* (18) DUMU *En-um-A-šür* (19) AN.NA *a-na Šu-Nu-nu*
 (20) *áp-qt-id*.
103. (1) *um-ma wa-ak-lúm-ma* (2) *a-na Šu-Anim* DUMU *En-na-ZU* (3) *qi-bi-ma* 5
 MA.NA AN.NA (4) [a-n]a *ta-ad-mi-ig-tim* (5) *Ši-lu-lu* DUMU *Ú-ku* (6) *ù A-mur-^aUTU* DUMU *E-nu-a* (7) *na-dš-ú-ni-^rkum* (8) IGI *A-[šu]r ú i-l[i]-a*
 (9) *a-kà-[r]a-ba-kum* (10) *mu-^rhu(?)-ur(?) ú(?)* (11) *li-bi lá tì=* (12) *lá-ma-an*.
 The above transliteration is based on my own collations. Line 6: what in Lewy's copy looks like a damaged sign at the end of the line is in fact a completely preserved A which is "lying down" on the edge, and which belongs to the following line. – Line 10: not only is the reading of this nearly entirely damaged line very precarious, it is not easy to provide a translation of the word which perhaps should be read; *muhur* could perhaps mean as much as: "accept (it)!", i.e. the *tadmiqtum*.
104. See the remarks in Garelli, AC, 250–251.

other references which we have to royal shipments likewise mention small amounts. We have a transport-contract, j/k 201:

15 minas of tin with the seal of the *rubā'um* Puzur-Aššur I entrusted to Puzur-Suen, son of Išaja.

Witnessed by: Hunija, son of Aššur-imitti; Dadaja, son of the *kum-rum*-priest of the Moongod; Aduaja, son of the *rubā'um* Sargon.¹⁰⁵

The account-note Gelb 58 mentions Puzur-Aššur, "son of the *rubā'um*," and thus stems from the reign of Sargon; the prince here appears as the owner of the modest shipment of five textiles, a tiny part of the entire load mentioned by the text.¹⁰⁶

Apart from Asquidum's consignment the *waklum* and the other members of the royal family are thus not associated with large shipments and it is uncertain whether they took part in the trade on a large scale. It is true that the present state of our textual documentation calls for some caution, and it should also be mentioned that most of the members of the royal house had common names and it is not absolutely certain that the titles would be used in all instances.¹⁰⁷

105. Transliteration communicated by Balkan in *OLZ* 60, 1965, 152: (1) 15.MA.NA
 (2) AN.NA *ku-nu-ki* (3) *ša Puzur₄-A-šur* (4) *ru-ba-im* (5) *a-na Puzur₄-Sú-in*
 (6) DUMU *I-ša-a* (7) *áp-ql-id* (8) IGI *Hu-ni-a* (9) DUMU *A-šur-i-mi-ti* (10) IGI
Da-da-a (11) DUMU UH.ME *ša Sú-in* (12) IGI *A-du-a-a* (13) DUMU *Ša-ru-ki-in* (14) *ru-ba-im*.
106. A long discussion of the text was given by J. Lewy, *HUCA* 27, 31–35. We find the following lines which refer to persons with important titles: (22) 7 MA.NA
 (23) AN.NA *ša E-lá-li* DUMU *Sú-ú-a* NU.BANDA (24) 5 TÚG *ša Puzur₄-A-šur* DUMU *ru-ba-im* (25) 5 *ši-it-ru ša lu-bu-šé* (26) 3 *iš-ra-tum* 2/3 MA.NA
 URUDU (27) *a-na ru-ba-im*; a translation is hardly possible in view of the many names of textiles of uncertain interpretation (cf. Veenhof, *Aspects*, 174–178, and 5–6). J. Lewy, followed by Garelli, *AC*, 43, n. 3, claimed that the *rubā'um* in 1. 27 had to be the king of Kanesh since the text says *ana*, meaning "(destined) for"; this may be correct, but it is pure speculation when Lewy from this concludes that the text constitutes a list of gifts sent from the crown-prince of Assur to the ruler of Kanesh. In spite of the fact that we find the "lieutenant" mentioned next to the crown-prince there is no reason to postulate that the text as a whole dealt with an official shipment, or one which consisted of gifts; it is much more probable that we have to do with a normal commercial procedure which incorporated some amounts which belonged to members of the court at Assur.
107. Mrs. H. Lewy has suggested that king Ikūnum should appear in the text TC 1:90 as the creditor in a private loan; this tablet carries an imprint of a

Looking at the royal letters as a group we observe a few unusual writings; in two letters we find the form *qí-bí-ma* in the introductory formula, and the use of the sign *BÍ* is very rare in Old Assyrian; much less significant is the use of the sign *TI* with the value *dí*.¹⁰⁸ Both observations indicate a certain conservatism,¹⁰⁹ and one would of course expect these letters to represent the very best scribal technique; however, at least one letter, KTS 31a, seems to be badly written, and it even divides one word over two lines.¹¹⁰

Perhaps the most striking feature of the *waklum*-letters is the nearly consistent use of patronymics in the private ones; we find it even in the introductory formula where it is otherwise absent in normal letters. Patronymics are on the whole sparingly used in private letters and they seem to be restricted to situations where there could be a danger of mistaking one person for another of the same name. I suppose that in the *waklum*-letters this feature represents the typical official style of a royal chancery, and the list of witnesses found in one of the letters is probably evidence of the same bureaucratic formalism. One may also in that connection mention the fact that one of the letters contains a date.¹¹¹ The formalism may also to some extent have its root in the special relationship between the king and his subjects and does not necessarily imply that a large royal staff existed or that the king had an important bureaucracy at his disposal. And finally, it may well be that the few private *waklum*-

seal which originally belonged to a scribe of the Ur III king Ibbi-Sin and Mrs Lewy suggested that it was in this case being used by a royal scribe, viz. the scribe of Ikūnum, who had "inherited" it from his predecessor. The argument is not convincing, however (cf. H. Lewy, "Notes on the Political Organization of Asia Minor at the Time of the Old Assyrian Texts", *OrNS* 33, 1964, 183–184).

- 108. In the official *waklum*-letter ICK 1:182, cf. below, 177–178.
- 109. A look at the syllabary used in the Old Assyrian royal inscriptions indicates an evolution towards the typical syllabary of the texts from Kanesh: all royal inscriptions use the sign *ŠIR* with the value *šür*; the inscriptions of Šalim-ahum, Ilušuma, and Erišum I use the sign *TI* with the values *ti*, *tl*, and *dl*, whereas the normal "Anatolian" sign *DÍ* is found in Ikūnum's inscriptions; and the inscriptions of Šalim-ahum and Ilušuma only use the sign *LA*, whereas in Erišum's texts we find a beginning use of the sign *LÁ* which is of course predominant in the texts from Anatolia; also Ikūnum makes use of both signs. In the copy of an Erišum inscription which was found in Kültepe we find that the normal Anatolian syllabary is used (*DÍ* and *LÁ*).
- 110. I noted on my collation of the tablet: "normal, though somewhat clumsy hand".
- 111. ICK 1:182, cf. below, 177–178.

letters are written as they are because the king was a rather unpracticed man in such matters and had no firmly established business structure with which to deal on a regular basis.

The patronymics are a blessing for us, however, for they make it somewhat easier to establish a few facts about the persons with whom the *waklum* corresponded and had other dealings.

Asqudum, son of Abu-šalim, cannot be very precisely described. J. Lewy suggested that he was an employee of Pūšu-kēn but I see no clear evidence of that;¹¹² it is true that a certain Asqudum does appear in contexts which associate him with Pūšu-kēn but their relationship cannot be defined.¹¹³ One man of this name, without patronymic, appears to have had close relations with the firm of Aššur-idī.¹¹⁴ A certain Abu-šalim, son of Asqudum, i.e. perhaps the transporter whose shady activities were referred to in one of the letters, is found as a witness.¹¹⁵

Pūšu-kēn has already been discussed in a previous chapter. He receives one of these letters together with a certain Buzutaja, and this man was clearly also of high social status, in fact higher than Pūšu-kēn who is mentioned second in the introductory formula; he is known to have had connections with Pūšu-kēn.¹¹⁶ In the same circle of people we find Amur-

112. *HUCA* 27, 26, 109.

113. He has written the letter KTS 25b to Pūšu-kēn (naming him first), a text which refers to financial difficulties, and we find Asqudum together with such men as Pūšu-kēn and Imdi-ilum in ICK 1:171, a text which records various deposits.

114. Cf. the letters BIN 4:92 (from Laqēpum, Asqudum, and Kurub-Ištar to Aššur-nādā) and TC 3:95 (from Aššur-idī to Puzur-Ištar and Asqudum).

115. ATHE 55, 2, 17–19, a memorandum enumerating a series of loan-documents where the name of the creditor has been omitted; Abu-šalim appears as a witness to one text (year-eponymy Ili-dan) and as debtor in another (year-eponymy Buzutaja); it appears that his brother, a certain Ištar-bāni, is a debtor in another loan (line 54) which is dated to the year-eponymy Buzuzu. Another son of Asqudum, a certain Bazia, is mentioned in the note BIN 4:145 where, incidentally, we also find the “lieutenant” Aššur-šadu’ē; for Bazia see also KTS 55b, treated in note 91 to this chapter, where he appears together with his father. As seen from the chart of the last eponyms of level 2 (below, 381), Asqudum’s sons are associated with year-eponymies around the middle of the period, perhaps slightly later than Pūšu-kēn, but the material is of course too limited to allow viable conclusions.

116. Cf. the letters BIN 4:20 (Buzutaja to Pūšu-kēn and Aššur-emūqi; the last man known as a son of Buzutaja from CCT 5:36b, 18–19), 87 (Buzutaja and Ennum-Bēlum to Pūšu-kēn), KTS 29a (Buzutaja, Ennum-Bēlum, and Puzur-Aššur to Pūšu-kēn), 21b and CCT 3:22b (from Šu-Hubur and Aššur-imittū’s

Ištar, son of Amur-ilī, for he is of course identical with Pūšu-kēn's partner as illustrated by the text which terminated their relationship.¹¹⁷ In L 29-573 he was the one who brought a letter from the *waklum* to Pūšu-kēn. It is probably his brother, Aššur-imittī, who appears as one of the witnesses in VAT 9285, and it is probably the son of this man, Hunija, who is found among the witnesses to the transport-contract. Aššur-imittī and his son were also influential men who are known to have played significant roles in the Kanesh colony; one text which will be discussed in a later chapter shows them as the authorized agents of the corporate colony.¹¹⁸

These observations have already shown that at least some of the men who appear in these letters were wealthy and influential merchants in Assur and Kanesh, and it is hardly profitable to go on with the persons whose status and family-relations are less clearly defined. It should be mentioned, however, that the "servant" (*suhārum*) who is mentioned in KTS 30 may be found in a number of texts where he acts as transporter, and in one of them he is further described as a "slave" (*wardum*).¹¹⁹ That Išar-bēlī may have been an employee of Pūšu-kēn, but it is quite uncertain whether he is really identical with the man in the *waklum*-letter.

The "lieutenant" Aššur-šamšī is not otherwise attested but the title is well known and at least in some cases denotes a royal official; I shall return to the title below.¹²⁰

sons to Buzutaja, Pūšu-kēn, and Imdi-ilum), and TC 1:17 (Buzutaja to Amur-Šamaš, Aššur-taklāku, Pūšu-kēn, and Su'en-nawer). The relative rank of the two men is thus confirmed by all these letters; for some further observations see Balkan, *Observations*, 46.

117. See above, 100-101.

118. Cf. below, 336. It seems less likely that Hunija's father is identical with the prince Aššur-imittī, son of Ikūnum, who is known to have dedicated a stone object to Aššur (IAK V, 2). As far as I know this person does not appear in the texts from Kültepe, and the man known as Aššur-imittī, son of Ikuwa, is most probably identical with the son of Ikuppi-Ištar (cf. simply references in F. J. Stephens, *Personal Names of Cappadocia*, YOSR 13, New Haven 1928, 17).

119. KTS 19b, 12 (for Imdi-ilum), 24 (letter to Pūšu-kēn from the women Tariš-mātum and Bēlātum), ICK 1:53, 9 and 14 (transport-contract); see also the note CCT 1:32a, 10: *I-šar-be-li* īR, and in TC 3:233 īR *I-šar-be-li* is pledged as security for a loan given to Šu-Ištar by Pūšu-kēn.

120. For Šilulu, son of Uku, who appears as a transporter together with Amur-Šamaš, son of Ennuwa, I refer to the lengthy discussions by J. Lewy, *HUCA* 27, 24-31, H. Lewy, *OrNS* 33, 1964, 181-189, K. Balkan, *Observations*, 54-57, W. Nagel, "Ein altassyrisches Königssiegel", *AfO* 18, 1957-58, 97-103, and

In spite of the evidence concerning Šu-Bēlum and his family which appears to have counted some persons who were referred to as *waklum* I find it likely that all the texts referred to in the preceding which mention the *waklum* are really dealing with royal affairs. The title as used by the king appears to have been used in all direct communications to his human subjects. In his addresses to the gods he was *išši'ak Aššur*, but in those directed to the community he was the *waklum*. The traditional translation "overseer", i.e. a kind of inspector who supervises a group of workers, serves to denote the ruler's position as the administrator of the City, and it focuses on his relationship with the people. The title itself does not refer specifically to his religiously defined position, but it is clearly to some extent related to his function as the steward of the god.

d) *bēlum*

As a royal title this term has no connection with the Sumerian title *en*,¹²¹ even though it represents a direct translation of it, for *en* was a special title which was closely connected with the city-state of Uruk. We find that Hammurapi makes use of the Akkadian title a few times, but mainly in contexts which point to his relations with Uruk, and apart from this the title is specifically Assyrian.¹²² We find it in later Assyrian royal inscriptions, i.e. the kings use it about themselves, but in the Old Assyrian texts the word is only used as a form of address. It may therefore be

especially P. Garelli, *AC*, 31–43 (with an evaluation of previous discussions). J. Lewy has shown that this Šilulu made use of a seal which originally belonged to a namesake of his, Šilulu, son of Dakiki, who was *išši'ak Aššur*, i.e. an earlier king. He further suggested that the later Šilulu must have been a descendant of the king, which seems plausible; it is doubtful however whether he was right in concluding on the basis of the rule of papponymy that the son of Uku must have been the grandson of the king. H. Lewy claimed that the messenger in our text had a brother called Aššur-dan (BIN 4: 225, 9–10), and that the latter was one of the official "Envoy of the City"; he is in fact only referred to with the neutral word *šiprum* which denoted messengers of all kinds. According to J. Lewy the two messengers in our text were on an official errand, charged with the task of delivering the compliments of the king to Šu-Anum. – It is remarkable that a descendant of a king of an earlier dynasty not only continues to hold a high position in the ruling circles, but that he can continue to use the official seal of his illustrious ancestor.

121. See Jacobsen, *ZA* 52, 107, n. 32, and Seux, op. cit., 396–397, for some comment on the Sumerian title; see also Kraus in *Le palais et la Royauté*, 240.

122. Seux, op. cit., 55–57.

questioned whether we can say that it was a proper royal title, for the word is of course a general term which indicates a basic difference in status on all levels based on the dichotomy: *wardum – bēlum*, “slave – lord/master”. It is always used by private individuals or groups who appear to refer to an individually defined relationship, i.e. the phrase used is “my/our lord”, not just “the Lord”. This usage emphasizes the validity of the observation that the word here functions as the contrast of *wardum*, for the men who use this phrase thereby accept their own status as “his slave”.

The texts where this expression is found will be discussed in the chapter dealing with the city-assembly, for all of them refer to “my lord” as an authority who acts together with and on the same level as the assembly. Typically the texts refer to litigation in the colonies where one of the litigants wants the case referred to treatment by “the City and my lord”, i.e. cases are appealed from the colonial court to the city-assembly and the king. We observe here the same way of associating the City and the king which was discussed in connection with the title *rubā'um*, but there are certain differences in use; *rubā'um* occurs typically in the phrases: “by the life of the City and the *rubā'um*”, and “a letter from the City and the *rubā'um*”, whereas the references to *bēlum* all seem specifically to show the king as the leader of the city-assembly dealing with concrete problems as a court of law.¹²³ The connection with litigation is also apparent from the references to the “attorneys”, whose role will be described later,¹²⁴ for they could be called “my lord’s attorney” or “the City’s attorney”; a royal inscription refers to “an attorney of the palace”.¹²⁵

e) Conclusions

I will certainly never claim that an analysis of the royal titles and the typical contexts where they are found can result in a comprehensive de-

123. An unpublished text in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, 66.245.5, concerning a lawsuit taking place in Kanesh, contains a unique variant of the standard formula; in 1. 70 it says: *A-lúm^{kī} ḫ be-el-ni lu-za-ki-ni-a-ti*, but in 11. 100–101 we find: *A-lúm^{kī} ḫ ru-ba-á-um lu-za-ki-ni-a-ti*, “let the City and the king clear us.”

124. Cf. below, 184–190.

125. Cf. below, 151. It may be in order to point out that the expression *bēl ālim* is never used about the king of Assur, in spite of the claims of for instance CAD, s.v. *ālu* in *bēl āli*. The god Aššur is called *bēl ālišu*, “the lord of his city”, in the Puzur-Sin inscription (cf. B. Landsberger, *JCS* 8, 32).

scription of the notion of kingship, but I do believe that certain important observations can be made on this basis; it seems to me that the preceding analysis has shown that the titles do refer to fundamental aspects of the king's position in his society. Obviously, they are to be regarded as elements in a total concept and can therefore only to a certain extent be isolated from each other; and if we try to combine them in order to reach a better understanding of the ideological basis of the Old Assyrian kingship, we may note first of all that the titles can be said to refer to two sets of relationships: in the religious sphere we find the set *išši'ak Aššur* and *waklum* which define the king as the god's priest and as the community's overseer; these are the titles which are used by the kings themselves. The other set, *rubā'um* and *bēlum*, represent the socio-political sphere and they define the king as the nobleman and as the lord to whom the subjects are bound in personal allegiance.

The royal position was based on the three main pillars:

- 1) as the chief priest of the city, the divinely appointed steward, he constituted the link between the community and its divine king
- 2) as the head of the royal lineage he was placed at the apex of the kinship structure
- 3) as the leader and executive officer of the city-assembly he was the chief magistrate of the city.

We sorely lack evidence concerning the relationship between the king and the main temple-administrations in Assur, and it may be that he exercised control over the temple funds which most probably were considerable in importance. It is clear that the temples in some way were engaged in the overland trade, for the texts quite often contain references to special shipments which are described as *ikribu*, a term which most probably designates temple investments.¹²⁶ Apart from these references we have no clear evidence for any temple activity at all and no indications about the possible royal control of the temples. The lack of documentation from Assur likewise prevents us from gaining any adequate impression of the pattern of landownership, and this may be a serious omission in the present context for it is not unlikely that the kings played an important role

126. The evidence for this concept as well as the related *nig'um* has been collected by Hirsch, *Untersuchungen*, 60–64; discussions of this evidence can be found in Garelli, *AC*, 252–257, and see also the remarks in Veenhof, *Aspects*, 350, n. 466, J. Lewy, *OrNS* 26, 1957, 19, n. 2, and my own *OACP*, 53 and 88, n. 43. A final analysis of the material has not yet been produced.

in that sphere in the Old Assyrian period as we know they did in later periods.¹²⁷

On the whole, we must certainly take into consideration the very uneven nature of our sources. On the one hand we have the royal building-inscriptions from Assur, and we know that the stylistic conventions of that genre lead to a situation where all attention is focused on the king and his relationship with the gods. And on the other hand we have the private or semi-private documents from the commercial archives in the colonies, texts in which the king necessarily appears very rarely, often in casual remarks even. The difference between the information received from these sources may seem so great that one wonders whether it is possible to combine the references. For instance, in a building-inscription we hear that a certain king has built a wall, and in the already mentioned letter to the Kanesh colony we hear that the elders in the city-assembly quarrel with the representatives of the Kanesh colony over the payment of the costs of such a building project.¹²⁸ In fact, this example is relatively simple for it is obvious that the royal inscriptions cannot support the conclusion that the Old Assyrian kings were despotic monarchs from whom all initiatives of such a nature issued. A more complicated example would be a comparison between the role of the king in the legal sphere as illustrated on the one hand by the private texts and on the other by the long Erišum-text which was found in copies on clay tablets in Kanesh.

This unique text seems to combine two royal inscriptions, a regular building-inscription concerned with certain parts of the Aššur-temple, and a special stela-inscription which originally had been set up in the Stepgate, the place where the courts of the capital held their ordinary meetings. This latter part was directed to the community and its message was basically a plea for honesty and fair dealings in the court:

“Justice”, “He Heard the Prayer”, “Get Out, Criminal”, “Extol Justice”, “Help the Wronged”, “His Speech is Truthful”, and “God has Heard” – all these are the seven judges of the Stepgate. Erišum, Aššur’s steward, constantly ... and Aššur, [Adad, and Bēlum my god] ... of my city ... May [justice] prevail in my city ... Aššur is king! Erišum is Aššur’s steward!

127. Cf. for instance Diakonov’s article “Agrarian Conditions in Middle Assyria”, in *idem* (editor) *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 204–234.

128. TC 1:1, mentioned above, 128, and further discussed below, 163.

Aššur is a swamp that cannot be traversed, ground which cannot be trodden upon, canals which cannot be crossed!

He who tells a lie in the Stepgate, the demon of the ruins will possess his mouth and his behind, he will smash his head like a broken pot; he will snap like a broken reed and his water will flow from his mouth.

He who tells a lie in the Stepgate, his house will become a house of ruin. He who stands up to give false testimony, may the [seven divine] judges who pass [judgement] in the [Stepgate give him] a verdict of perjury! May [Aššur] and Adad and Bēlum [my god] tear out [his seed]! May they not grant him a place [...].

[He who ...] obeys me [...] to the Stepgate[...]. [May he secure] an attorney of the palace, [may they bring] forth the witnesses and the plaintiff, and then may the judges [si]t in judgement and give an honest verdict [before] Aššur!¹²⁹

The last part of the text is badly damaged but it can be seen to have contained curses and blessings directed towards future rulers who were urged to show respect towards the stela.

Landsberger and Balkan who published this text have argued convincingly for the view that the three sentences which describe Aššur as a swamp etc. constituted the text of a special oath which is sometimes referred to in the texts as “the three words”;¹³⁰ it may be assumed that this oath had to be sworn by all who were summoned to appear before the court in the

129. Published by Landsberger and Balkan, *Belleten* 14, 219–268; the section quoted here is lines 26–59; see also the translation in Kirk Grayson, *ARI* 1, 12–13. I have made the following changes to the transliteration of the original publication: line 51: [za-ra-šu li-i]l₅-qú-ta dš-ra-am (see von Soden, *OrNS* 25, 145, n. 1); line 56: [li-hu-úz]-ma; line 57: [li-it-r]u-sú-nu-ma; line 59: [IGI A-š]ūr.

130. Cf. Landsberger and Balkan, op. cit., 262–263; the most instructive text is EL 325 (related to EL 325a, 326, and Gelb 60) in which a man who is summoned to answer questions in court in Kanesh by an attorney sent out from Assur says: (31) [DUB-pá-am ha-ar]-ma-am ša d̄l-in (32) da-a-a-ni ša bi-tim ú-kā-al (33) bē-el a-wa-tf-a A-šur-i-mi-tí (34) i-na 3 a-wa-tim ša na-ru-a-im (35) lā-díp-ta-ni li-iz-ku-ra-ma (36) IGI kā-ri-im ša-he-er GAL (37) lu-kā-i-n[i]-ma ù kā-ru-um (38) DUB-pí-a lu-la-bi-iš-ma (39) a-lum ù bē-li di-ni li-di-in, “I hold a certified tablet with a verdict of the judges of the temple. Let my opponent Aššur-imitti swear by the three words written (on) the stela, and thus ‘confirm’ me before the plenary assembly of the colony, and then let the colony pack my tablets under cover and let the City and my lord deliver a verdict in my case!”

Stepgate, and the following terrible curses refer to the result of a transgression of the oath. This is thus the magical part of the text, and in what follows Erišum seems to address himself to the blessings of real justice prevailing under his rule. According to Landsberger and Balkan this part should be understood as referring to three such blessings: 1) the possibility for all to secure an "attorney", a special official who offers assistance in the legal procedure; 2) the selection of honest judges; and 3) the execution of the verdicts. The third item on this list is somewhat problematical since all that is preserved of the text is the following: "At the place of the nails . . ." They pointed out that hammering a nail in a special wall is known as a legally valid act and suggested "dass das von den Richtern gefällte Urteil durch Einschlagen eines Nagels rechtskräftig gemacht wird."¹³¹

In this text we find a clear expression of the role of the king as the leader of the community, the one who establishes and maintains the basic norms and principles of justice.¹³² He is not the chief judge but rather the one who is responsible for the administration of justice.

The private documents from Kanesh do not contradict this official ideological thesis, but they do provide a valuable corrective to it. In the royal inscriptions the City is always "my city" and it is usually only mentioned in the formula: "I built this for the sake of my own life and for the sake of the life of my city." However, one text does mention that the king received the support of the city at a special time and that he gave free the trade in various commodities;¹³³ this is again somewhat fictional, of course, but it does hint at the importance of the city's institutions. And turning to the private documents we find that the terminology instead indicates that the king always functioned in close cooperation with the city-institutions, in fact, we may well get the impression that it was the city-assembly which possessed the basic powers.

131. Op. cit., 256.

132. Since some references exist to rules contained in the inscription on a stela concerning the rate of interest and compound interest, it is possible that there were royally issued rules also on such fields (cf. EL 2, 75, n. c). Such rules may possibly have been contained in the lost part of Erišum's *mušlālum*-inscription, and one may perhaps compare with the lists of ideal prices found in some royal inscriptions from this time, for instance from a Šamši-Adad inscription (cf. Kirk Grayson, *ARI* 1, 20 with n. 64). The colony at Kanesh also gave such rules which are mentioned in many loan-contracts (cf. EL 1, 15), but we do not know how they were made public.

133. Cf. above, 64.

I am aware of the dangers of an over-simplification based on the terminology of the private texts, but I cannot regard it as unimportant that the texts always refer to the City and the king in this order, or that the City quite often is mentioned alone in the relevant expressions. There is nowhere any mention of an appeal directed towards the king, no phrase: *rubā'um mahārum/panā'um*, “appeal/turn to the king”; but we have scores of references to such appeals to the City. In the same way there are no references to a *dīn rubā'im*, “a verdict of the king”, or even a *dīn Alim u rubā'im*, “a verdict of the City and the king”;¹³⁴ the phrase is invariably *dīn Alim*, “a verdict of the City”. At the same time, the texts do show that the king participated in these decisions, but if we are to believe the terminology of the texts we must conclude that the authority to pass judgement was vested in the city-assembly, and we may also conclude that the king in such matters derived his authority in part from his position as the steward of Aššur and in part from his position as the chairman of the assembly. When it comes to the government of the colonies we observe once again that the terminology is consistent: the men who were sent out from the capital to supervise the Assyrian colonies and in particular to direct the diplomatic relations with the local Anatolian states were the *Šipru ša Alim*, “Envoys of the City”, and we have no reference anywhere to an “Envoy of the king”. Nevertheless, the very badly damaged *waklum*-letter TC 1:142 could be interpreted in such a way that it would constitute an example of a direct royal contact with the colonies, without any mention of the City. Contenau published the text without being able even to decide correctly about what was obverse and reverse, and J. Lewy, who collated the tablet in 1932, could not establish the identity of either sender or recipient of the letter, even though he was able to suggest that the text belonged to the official correspondence. My own interpretation of the text is quite precarious but a collation made in 1974 convinced me that it is really a *waklum*-letter, and I offer the following tentative translation in spite of the difficulties because of the obvious importance of the text:

From the *waklum* to all colonies:

to the Kan[esh] colony:

A man who [speaks] an evi[! wo]rd . . . 1 shekel . . . they produce witnesses . . . with the testim[ony]/eld[ers] . . .

. . . who will come to the City for these matters will not . . . This

134. As claimed by Orlin, ACC, 164–165.

tablet has been written (or: sent) for/to ... Mind the words of this tablet [and] let a copy of the tablet [be heard] in all colonies ... Let ... reach the Ka[nesh] colony and let it [write]¹³⁵

It is impossible to decide whether the letter is concerned with a specific lawsuit or whether it contains general rules about the proper procedure to be followed in cases of a special type. The latter alternative is probably the more likely one and the text may therefore be placed together with Erišum's Stepgate-inscription as evidence of the authority of the king in the legal field. The two other *waklum*-letters addressed to the colony refer to actual verdicts and they state that it was the City who gave them; but that body is not mentioned here where we may have to do with a set of general rules. The extremely fragmentary state of the obverse of the tablet makes all conclusions somewhat uncertain, however, and even if the City was not at all mentioned in the text, this in itself would not necessarily prove that the king personally had the authority to issue such general rules for the jurisprudence of the colonies.

The special nature of the Old Assyrian evidence becomes manifest when we compare it with what is known about the contemporary political systems both in Babylonia and in the Anatolian kingdoms, where the Old Assyrian traders worked and lived. For instance the correspondence

135. Obverse(!): (1) [um-m]a wa-a[k-lúm-ma] (2) [a-n]a kà-ar k[à-ar] (3) a-[na] kà-ri-im Kà-n[i-iš] (4) qí-[bi-]ma a-wi-¹lu²-um (5) ſ[a a-w]a-¹tám² la-mu-t[ám (...)] (6) a ¹x x² 1 GÍN [...] (7) ma [x] za ¹x² ki [...] (8) [x x] ſí¹-bi [...] (9) ú-ſé- lu [...] (10) KI ſí-bu-[tim ...] (11) i-¹x²[...]

Reverse(!): (1') [x ſ]a(?) [...] (2') [ſ]a(?) a-na a-w[a-tim] (3') a-ni-a-tim (4') a-na A-lím^{ki} (5') i-¹la-kà²-ni (6') ú-¹la² ¹x² ba la ¹x² (7') DUB-pu-[um] a-ni-u[m] (8') a-na ¹x x²-a-im (9') i-ba-¹aí²-ki-it (10') a-wa-at DUB-pí-im (11') a-nim [(x)] uš-ra-[ma] (12') i-na ¹kà-ar² ¹kà²-[ar] (13') me-eh-ra-a[t] (14') ¹DUB²-pí-im (15') [ša-áš-me]-a

Two lines missing. Left edge: (18') [a-na] kà-ri-im Kà-[ni-iš] (19') [li-]ik-ſu-ud-ma l[i-iš-pu-ra-am].

Lewy's transliteration of lines 1'-14' was offered in *HUCA* 27, 69, n. 295. The reading of 1. 4 is perhaps not as certain as appears from the above transcription; I cannot entirely exclude the possibility that we have to read: a-lím ſu¹-um [...], which would surely be a reference to the City of Assur. The trouble with the tablet is that the surface has been rubbed off in some way so that in several places only the deep traces of signs are left, and that naturally makes it difficult to distinguish with certainty between for instance WA and ŠI.

of the kings of Babylon or of king Zimrilim of Mari, or, for that matter, of king Šamši-Adad I, although slightly later than the Old Assyrian material, shows very clearly that the king had a considerable staff, that his palaces to a large extent functioned as economic and administrative centres for the land, and that he functioned as chief judge.¹³⁶ And the Old Assyrian references to the political conditions in Anatolia make it very obvious that we are dealing with two strikingly dissimilar socio-political systems; the Anatolian palaces are mentioned again and again as the economic and administrative centres of each kingdom, and we know of a whole series of royal officials who were in charge of various sectors of the economy.¹³⁷ The titles given to these officials are strangely enough Akkadian but it is clear that the offices do not have their counterparts in Assur. The two most important officials were *rabi simmīltim*, "chief of the stairway", a title given to the crownprince, and *rabi sikkātim*, perhaps a high military officer; we have titles of courtiers (chief of the sceptre, of the royal table, and chief cupbearer), and of military men (chief of the troops, of the guards, and of the weapons, and some district commanders); the economic life was under the supervision of such officials as: the chief of the market, of the smiths, of the bronze-production, of the wagons, and of the production of a special type of textiles; the agricultural life was controlled by such men as: the chief shepherd, the chief of horses, of goats, of the gardeners, of the legumes, and of the mills.¹³⁸ All these persons are found in contact with the Assyrians in various ways and it is not impossible that there were even more men

136. Obviously, a meaningful bibliography cannot be offered here; I refer of course to the Mari correspondence (*ARM*), to A. Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi-Dynastie*, Leipzig, 1914, to F. Thureau-Dangin, "Lettres de Hammurabi à Shamash-hašir", *RA* 21, 1924, 1–59, and to F. R. Kraus, *Altbabylonische Briefe* 4, Leiden 1968. In A. Walther, *Das altbabylonische Gerichtswesen*, LSS 6, 4–6, Leipzig 1917, one will find some relevant material, and note also W. F. Leemans, "King Hammurapi as Judge", *Symbolae Martino David dedicatae* 2, 107–129.
137. The material concerning the Anatolian palaces has been discussed at some length in Garelli, *AC*, 205–239.
138. References may be found in Garelli, op. cit. Note *rabi battim*, E. Bilgiç, "Three Tablets from the City Mound of Kültepe", *Anatolia* 8, 1964, 159; for *rabi mahīrim* see Veenhof, *Aspects*, 394–395; in AHw s.v. *luh/kšū*, one will find the title *rabi lukšē* translated "ein im Lendenschurz agierender Tempelfunktionär", which seems a little quaint.

directly associated with the palace bureaucracy. We can also see that the Anatolian palaces exercised a quite effective control over the Assyrian trade, for all caravans which arrived at an Anatolian capital had to be brought up to the palace where taxes were paid and where the kings often used their right to buy up part of the shipment.¹³⁹ There were restrictions on the trade in certain commodities, and if an Assyrian trader attempted to smuggle, either by avoiding the taxes or by trading in contraband, he risked being arrested and thrown into jail.¹⁴⁰ The Anatolian kings were judges and on a number of documents we find the formula: "under the authority of the *rubā'um* PN and the chief of the stairway PN₂".¹⁴¹

On the background of such comparative material we are struck by the obviously highly important fact that the palace of Assur is completely absent from our texts. It plays no role at all, either economically or administratively; no caravans ever enter the palace in Assur as far as we are able to see, and no taxes were paid there. We have in all the thousands of texts which are presently available two references to the palace, both of them indirect: we know that Asquidum was referred to as *wardum ša ekallim*, "slave of the palace", and in Erišum's text which has just been quoted we find reference to "an attorney of the palace". Moreover, we do know that the economic and administrative centre of Assur was the bureau which is known as either *bit Alim*, "City Hall", or *bit limmim*, "office of the year-eponym", as will be described in a later chapter. It is surely likely that administrative texts from Assur, for instance from one of the major temples, would provide us with a more detailed picture, and perhaps also give us some indication of whether the king was in fact active in these fields, but the available material must lead to the conclusion that the economic life and the administration of the affairs of the capital was not in the hands of the king or his officials.

In fact, the only title known for a royal official is *laputtā'um*, the word which was translated "lieutenant" above. Apart from the royal title *rubā'um* and the priestly titles *kumrum* and *gubabtum*, this is in fact the only title given to any person in such contexts as witness-lists etc. We know of seven men who were referred to as such:

139. Cf. *OACP*, 155–159.

140. The entire Part Four in Veenhof, op. cit., is devoted to a review of the sources concerning smuggling.

141. Cf. Balkan, *Anum-hirbi*, 45 and 50–51.

Šu-Anum, father of Amur-ili	– TC 3: 259B, seal 58 ¹⁴²
Aššur- šadu'e	– BIN 4: 145, 24 ¹⁴³
Aššur-šamši	– VAT 9285, 15 (cf. above, 146)
Elāli, son of Suwa	– Gelb 58, 23, CCT 5: 41a, 7
Hubitum	– VAT 13471, 18 ¹⁴⁵
Ikūnum	– EL 127, 16–17
Ili-tūram, father of Ili-ālum	– TC 3: 190, 20–21, Dergi 4: 3, 29

In some of these cases the *laputtā'um* is associated directly with the royal family: he is a witness in the *waklum*-letter VAT 9285, and in Gelb 58 he is mentioned alongside the crownprince Puzur-Aššur; CCT 5:41a also contains a passage mentioning the *laputtā'um* of the *rubā'um*,¹⁴⁶ and it is important to note that he is the first witness to the only *naruqqu*-contract which we have, Dergi 4:3, for it seems certain that he appears there in an official capacity, giving the official sanction to the establishment of the partnership.¹⁴⁷ Lewy originally communicated the letter VAT 9285 in order to show that it was “virtually certain that the *laputtā'um* belonged to the staff of the *waklum*”, and the later publication of the reference to a *laputtā'um ša rubā'im* seems to provide strong support for the idea advocated here, that both *waklum* and *rubā'um* were royal titles. It is of course possible to argue that more than one man could bear the title *laputtā'um* at the same time, perhaps one of them on the staff of the *waklum* and one on the staff of the *rubā'um*. It does not strike me as a

142. J. Lewy has suggested the reading *A-na-ili* instead (*HUCA* 27, 33, n. 115) but the reading MUR is more likely than NA; the seal may have been used by the witness Hurašānum, son of Šu-Anum. On the unpublished text Met 66.245.15B there is a seal with the legend: *Puzur-a-Ištar DUMU Šu-A-nim NU.BĀNDA*; witnesses are Aššur-dan, Buzija, Imdi-ilum, and Aššur-tāb. On another unpublished text, F.T. 1b, there is a seal with the legend: *Ah-ša-lim DUMU Šu-A-nim NU.BĀNDA*; it was used by a man of this name. One wonders whether this Šu-Anum who is referred to as *laputtā'um* might be identical with Šu-Anum, son of Enna-Suen, the man in whose family we find some persons who were referred to as PA, i.e. perhaps the title *waklum*, cf. above 130–131.

143. Cf. above, note 115 to this chapter.

144. Cf. above, note 106 to this chapter.

145. J. Lewy, op. cit., 33, n. 115.

146. Cf. *OACP*, 57–59. The copy is not correct since it shows the writing NU. BĀNDA-a; the last sign, very difficult to explain anyway, does not exist.

147. *TTAED* 4, 1940, 22.

very plausible theory, however, in spite of the fact that we have seven names of such officials; as long as we have no knowledge of such elementary things as whether the office was held for life or for a short term as for instance one year, it seems fruitless to pursue these hypotheses.

There is one final problem which must be taken up here, the legend of the seal of Sargon I, for it is uncertain whether the king there is given the divine determinative, i.e. whether he claimed divine status. On the background provided by the preceding remarks this may seem absurd even to contemplate, but we are here faced with some of the most difficult concepts in the religious life of this period. Balkan has made a careful study of the various extant examples of impressions of this seal and he has concluded that the name presumably is to be read Ilum-šar instead,¹⁴⁸ i.e. there would be no divine determinative, and that this was perhaps the original name of Sargon who during his reign changed his name.

I must say I remain unconvinced,¹⁴⁹ however, and it is a strong possibility that the seal really gives us the name Sargon, written **LUGAL-DU(?)**. If this reading is correct, I admit that I cannot provide any satisfactory explanation of Sargon's presumed divine status, but I would warn against the idea that this kind of divinity necessarily implies great political or military success or power; it is surely basically a religious concept which may have been directly connected with the king's participation in special cultic events. If it has validity in Assur it should be in this sphere that an explanation should be sought.¹⁵⁰

148. Balkan, *Observations*, 51–54. Note that J. Lewy, when writing about the seal-impressions on the *waklum*-letter L 29–573 in *JAOS* 78, 100, n. 73, stated that “it now appears possible that there are two signs [following LUGAL] rather closely resembling the signs KI and EN.” However, the copy published by H. Lewy in *HUCA* 39, 32, does not confirm this, and neither does my own collation in March 1975.
149. See the arguments produced by J. Lewy, *HUCA* 27, 78, n. 332, and Garelli, *AC*, 43–45.
150. Cf. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, chapter 21, 295–312, and Labat, *Caractère religieux*, 368; see also Römer, *SKIZ*, 55–57. One must furthermore mention the Old Assyrian Maši-ili seal which was published by B. Parker, “A Cappadocian Cylinder Seal”, *Iraq* 29, 1967, 3–5, and reinterpreted by H. Hirsch, “Zum Siegel des Maši-ili”, *Iraq* 33, 1971, 116–118. According to Hirsch the legend of the seal should be read: **KIŠIB LUGAL-GIN Ma-ṣi-ł Ša-q̪i-i**, “Seal of Šarru-kiñ. Maši-ili (is) the cupbearer”, and he also suggested that the scene depicted on the seal represented the appointment of Maši-ili by the king; moreover, the seated king may be shown with the horned cap which symbolizes

A very precise evaluation of the king's power and position or of the nature of the Old Assyrian kingship seems out of reach at the moment; in fact, unless excavations are reopened in Assur it may well remain a hopeless task. In general terms the observations offered in this chapter do confirm the impression that the king of Assur was part of a governmental structure which incorporated other, equally important, elements. The position held by him was based on his relationship with the god of the city, and he held it for life – in contrast with for instance the year-eponym – and his position was bound to one family, i.e. it was hereditary; in these three features we must find the fundamental strength of the Assyrian kingship in the long run.

divinity. As stressed by Hirsch, this interpretation is rather uncertain and one may prefer therefore to leave it out of consideration for the moment. It is possible that the seal does contain the name of Sargon but we can hardly use what Parker saw as a "fortuitous" point projecting from the cap, "caused by a slip of the engraver's tool", as evidence in favour of a deification of Sargon I.

CHAPTER TWO

The City

Unless further qualified, the word *ālum*, “city”, designates only one city in the Old Assyrian texts: the capital city of Assur, “urbs”. All other cities or towns in Mesopotamia as well as in Asia Minor were referred to by name, and their inhabitants were designated by way of nisbah-forms. A citizen of Assur was called *mera Aššur*, “son of Assur”,¹ and the nisbah *Aššurījum* is not used about persons; the feminine form *Aššurītum* is known as the name of the god Aššur’s divine consort.² Our two dictionaries refer to a word *ālījum*, lit. “citizen”, which should denote a citizen of Assur in contrast with a “stranger”, *ahījum*, but such a term does not in fact exist in Old Assyrian.³ The Middle Assyrian texts refer to both *ālāju*

1. The phrase attested in the badly written letter MAH 16203, published by Garelli in *RA* 60, 1966, 119; line 19: [DUMJU *A-šur Šu-um-šu* (cf. also below, 253); similar expressions are of course known also from Old Babylonian texts.
2. Cf. Hirsch, *UAR*, 22; it is true that we have a female PN which is identical with the name of the goddess, but it is uncertain whether the name is a nisbah formed from the name of the city or whether it is based on the divine name, perhaps being a short form. Landsberger, “Kommt *Hattum*, ‘Hettiterland’ und *Hatti’um*, ‘Hettiter’ in den Kültepe-Tafeln vor?”, *ArOr* 18, 1–2, 1950, 347, and J. Lewy, *KTS*, page 74, both suggested a derivation from the city-name after the pattern *Hattitum* from *Hattum*. However, that derivation is open to doubt since the same name occurs in the Diyala area (cf. my *OACP*, 154, n. 73).
3. The reference given is the unpublished verdict VAT 9227, communicated in EL as no. 274; the text on the envelope contains the passage: (4) *um-me-a-nu Šu-Sū-in* (5) *ù me-er-ú Šu-Sū-in* (6) *a-na e-ta-lu-ti-šu-nu* (7) 3 *a-hi-ú-tim i-ša-bu-tù-ma* (8) *a-na É Šu-Sū-in* (9) *e-ru-bu-ma DUB-pè-šu* (10) *i-lá-mu-du* (11) *ša e-ra-ba-am* (12) *lá i-mu-ú-ni* (13) *ši-bi4 i-ša-ku-nu-šu-ma* (14) *ù a-li-ú-tum* (15) *e-ru-bu*, “Šu-Suen’s shareholders and sons will seize three strangers on their own authority, and they will enter Šu-Suen’s house and take cognizance of his tablets. They will establish witnesses against those who refuse to enter, and thereafter the others will enter.” Lewy’s translation “die Ortsangehörigen” makes very poor sense in the context, and CAD’s suggestion: “citizens (of Assur)”, is no better; moreover, the term *ahījum*, “stranger”, does not refer to Anatolians who would surely not be invited to participate in such very important Assyrian affairs. The term *allījum* is not otherwise attested in Old Assyrian, but it is of course known from other dialects as seen in the dictionaries, s.v. *allū*.

and *Aššurāju* but these terms appear to denote special social classes within the Assyrian society.

As pointed out in the preceding chapters, “the City” was a quite complex concept which united the geographical, the religious, and the social aspects, and the last aspect is to be understood not only as the community, the sum of inhabitants of the city, but also as a specific political institution which could be called the city-assembly. The lack of distinction in the Old Assyrian terminology can cause some confusion in certain types of contexts, and it is for instance difficult to determine precisely what is meant when the texts state that a certain shipment is *kunukku ša Alim*, for this may mean either “sealed in the City” or “sealed by the City”; I prefer the latter alternative since it is known that all caravans leaving Assur were checked by the authorities in connection with the payment of the export-tax.⁴ in the same way, *ti’irti Alim* may be understood simply as a message sent from Assur, or it could be a variant of the much more common expression *tuppum ša Alim* which surely denotes an official document sent from or on behalf of the authorities of the City. However, in most instances it is quite easy to distinguish, and we are aided by the fact that there are a few typical phrases which clearly refer to the politico-administrative aspect: *tuppum ša Alim*, “a tablet of the City”, *šipru ša Alim*, “envoys of the City”, *dīn Alim*, “a verdict of the City”, and *bit Alim*, “the house of the City”, “City Hall”.

a) The Assembly

According to Th. Jacobsen the Old Babylonian towns had assemblies called *puhrum* which consisted of all adult male free citizens, and it is even not possible to exclude that also women participated; the terms *ālum* and *puhrum*, lit. “assembly”, were synonymous.⁵ Walther and Falkenstein

4. Cf. above, 103.

5. Th. Jacobsen, “Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia”, *JNES* 2, 1943, 165–166, with notes 18–22. One should compare Jacobsen’s “optimistic” view with the remarks made by A. Leo Oppenheim in I. M. Lapidus (editor), *Middle Eastern Cities*, Berkeley 1969, 17: “Merchants were all on the same level and made decisions in committees, but nobody else could do that, neither slaves, nor people with restricted liberty, nor anyone of the court. The court was not free. People belonging to the royal court were slaves of the ruler. However, the mayor of Sippar was titled ‘chairman of the assembly.’ This has caused us much trouble because the assembly is never mentioned – only the title. I do not deny

instead suggested that both in the Old Babylonian and Neo Sumerian texts these terms were rather synonymous with abba-abba-ene, "the fathers", or *šibūtum*, "the elders"; according to Falkenstein only these groups took active part in the meetings,⁶ and Walther suggested that the actual leadership of an Old Babylonian provincial town was in the hands of the "mayor", *rabi'ānum*, and the elders.⁷ It seems to me that such expressions as "the city and the elders", which occur quite frequently, indicate that Jacobsen and Koschaker were right in saying that the elders were not identical with the assembly, but rather that they could function together as one tribunal and that "in a wider sense 'the elders' formed naturally part of the 'town'."

Practically nothing can be said about the composition of the assembly of Assur. It is worth pointing out that in contrast with the terminology used for the assemblies of the colonies in Anatolia where the phrase *kārum saher rabi*, "the colony, big and small", points to a division of the community in two main groups, we invariably find the simple expression *ālum*. It is readily obvious that if the phrase *saher rabi* refers to a social distinction of some kind,⁸ the same distinction must have been valid for the society of the capital. It is therefore not unlikely that the City's institutions functioned in a different way from those of the colonies. Whereas "small" men could participate in the meetings of the colonial assemblies, although clearly not with the same rights as the "big" men, perhaps they did not retain this right in the capital. This would not be surprising in itself, for the milieu obviously imposed some special conditions on the Assyrian community in a colony; we must be faced with considerably smaller groups, and their position in a foreign land, face to face with an alien society and a sometimes hostile political administration, must necessarily have made it opportune to involve the entire colonial community in the governmental structure.

that in some cities of Mesopotamia there may have been assemblies, but in Sippar it was apparently only a dead title." Cf. now Harris, *Ancient Sippar*, 59–60 and 64–65; there a kind of distinction between *ālum*, "the City", and *puhrum*, "the assembly", seems to be made, but there are no good arguments for that.

6. Falkenstein, *NG* 1, 32.

7. A. Walther, *Das altbabylonische Gerichtswesen*, LSS 6, 4–6, 1917, 45–64, for a discussion of the institutions *puhrum*, *šibūtum*, and *ālum*, in particular page 55. Criticized already in Koschaker and Ugnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz* 6, 148.

8. Cf. below, 288–300.

From the Old Assyrian texts we have a very few references to elders, both in Assur and in Kanesh. The most illuminating text is the famous letter TC 1:1 which has already been mentioned earlier:⁹

To the Kanesh colony from *nibum*:

The City had imposed a payment of 10 minas of silver on you, expenses from the fortification, and they had (already) chosen a messenger to send when we then pleaded with the elders, saying: "Do not send any messenger lest the colony incurs an (extra) expense of at least one mina of silver!"

Urgent! Take care and seal the 10 minas of silver and send it as soon as possible, so that it will not be to us that the elders will turn with angry words! You must take care there to write to the colonies in accordance with the tablet of the City and make them pay the money. Make every single colony hear the tablet of the king and let them pay! If you do not take care to send the money, we shall have to take it here out of your funds!¹⁰

This text certainly leaves one with the impression that "the City" and "the elders" are synonyms; one notes even that the word *ālum* is connected with a verbal form in the plural which it usually is not, and there can hardly be any doubt that the writers identify the elders with the City. The elders play a very active role in this text, deciding in matters of politics, giving orders to the colonies, negotiating with the spokesmen

9. Page 128.

10. (1) [a-na kā-ri-]im (2) Kā-ni-iš qī-bi-ma (3) um-ma ni-bu-um-ma (4) 10 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR gám-ra-am (5) ša BĀD.KI A-lu-um (6) e-mu-du-ku-nu-ma (7) ši-ip-ra-am a-na (8) ša-pá-ri-im i-bi-ru-ma (9) ni-nu a-na ši-bu-tim (10) nu-sà-li-ma um-ma (11) ni-nu-ma ši-ip-ra-am (12) lá ta-ša-pá-ra-ma (13) 『KUG.BABBAR』 1 MA.NA (14) [gám-r]a-am kā-ru-um (15) [lá] i-lá-ma-ad (16) a-pu-tum ih-da-ma (17) KUG.BABBAR 10 MA.NA (18) ku-un-ká-ma i-na (19) pá-nim-ma šé-<bi> lá-nim-ma (20) ni-a-tí ši-bu-tum (21) a-wa-tám ma-ri-iş-tám (22) lá i-qá-bi-ú-ni-a-tí (23) a-tù-nu a-ma-kam (24) ih-da-ma a-na ma-lá (25) DUB-pí-im ša A-lím^{k1} (26) šu-up-ra-ma kā-re-e (27) KUG.BABBAR ša-áš-qi-lá (28) 『DUB-pá-am ša』 ru-ba-im (29) [kā-ar] kā-ar-ma (30) [ša-áš-me]-a-ma (31) 『li¹-iš-qu-lu šu-ma lá ta-hi-d[a-ma] (32) KUG.BABBAR lá tū-še-bi-lá-nim a-na-kam-ma (33) i-na KUG.BABBAR-pí-ku-nu ni-lá-qé.

For earlier treatments see in particular B. Landsberger, *Assyrische Handelskolonien in Kleinasien aus dem dritten Jahrtausend*, Der Alte Orient 24, 4, Leipzig 1925, 10; J. Lewy, *HUCA* 27, 1956, 65-67; and Garelli, *AC*, 197-198.

of these colonies,¹¹ and quite obviously being able to follow up on their orders with strict measures.

It is not altogether certain that the impression gained from this text is correct, for one should not exclude the possibility that "the City" comprised other groups as well and that the elders formed a specially privileged body of men who were entitled to act on behalf of the assembly and carry on separate negotiations. It is impossible to decide for we have no more really informative references to these men. The one remaining text which mentions the elders of Assur is a private letter, TC 1:18, from Aššur-idi to Aššur-nādā, and it begins as follows:

I have appealed to the elders but they did not release any donkey.
Unless you are in deadly danger then get up and leave on the very day you receive the letter. On the very day that divine Aššur lets you arrive safely at the colony, and I mean as soon as you arrive! you must send me ... etc.¹²

What exactly is meant is not at all clear to me, but we may observe at least that Aššur-nādā is on his way from Assur to Kanesh and is having difficulties which may be serious enough for him to fear for his life. Perhaps it is in connection with these difficulties that his father has pleaded with the elders in order to get some help – but what help a donkey would be is obscure, and what is meant by the word "release" is equally uncertain. In a later section of the text Aššur-idi gives some rather precise instructions concerning routes to be followed or avoided, and says:

Urgent! Urgent! Do go alone! Do not enter Mama together with the caravan! Also, let your brother's caravan be divided in three in

11. The word *ni-bu-um* was translated "die Ernannten" by Landsberger, based on the commonly accepted analysis **nib'um*, *nibum*, from the verb *nabā'um*, "to mention" (cf. also Garelli, AC, 267, n. 4). The alleged occurrence of this word in the text Gelb 23, 1', in broken context, is best ignored for the time being for it seems that other readings are equally possible and perhaps more likely. It should perhaps also be mentioned that in KTK 5, 5, we must read the PN *Lá-qé-pu-um*, and not *NA-bu-um* as given in the edition, and there can therefore be no question of any connection with our word.
12. (3) *ši-bu-tim am-hu-ur-ma* (4) *ml-ma ANŠE lá ú-wa-še-ru-nim* (5) *šu-ma lá qá-qí-dí-ká* (6) *i-na u4-ml-im ša DUB-pá-am* (7) *ta-ša-me-ú té-be-ma at-lá-ak* (8) *i-na u4-ml-im ša a-ká-ri-im* (9) *ªA-šür ú-ša-lu-mu-ká-ma* (10) *té-ru-bu [(....)]* (11) *i-na e-ra-bi4-ká-ma ...*
For a translation see Landsberger, AHK, 25–26.

accordance with the instructions from the City, and let the first part leave Mama . . . etc.¹³

Since Aššur-idī himself writes from Assur it is difficult to see why he should refer to orders contained in a private letter sent from the capital: he should be the one who gave such instructions and the expected phrase would therefore be "my instructions"; accordingly, it is likely that he is here referring to official orders issued by the City concerning the caravan traffic in the sometimes dangerous mountain tracts in the Taurus. The background for these special orders remains unknown but one could guess that political disorders or war created difficulties for the Assyrian caravans.

Elders existed also within the framework of the institutions of the Kanesh colony where we know that there was a primary assembly. The private text KTK 20 refers to various negotiations with Anatolian authorities in connection with the trade in copper, and it mentions a "tablet of the colony" in a context which makes it clear that it was sent by the elders.¹⁴ It seems that the elders in Kanesh were in a similar position to those in Assur, i.e. they acted in some way as an executive body for the community.¹⁵ However, there were special procedures to be followed when the colony was to act as a legal person, entering a contractual relationship, as will be shown in a later chapter, and at least the term "elders" is completely absent in those contexts.¹⁶

Evans¹⁷ and Klengel¹⁸ have both pointed out that the "elders" represented the family groups in the society and accordingly were not

13. (34) *a-pu-tum a-pu-tum we-di-kà-ma* (35) *a-li-ik iš-ti* ILLAT (36) *a-na Ma-ma lá té-ra-áb* (37) *ù ma-lá ti-ir-tí* (38) *A-lim^{k1}* ILLAT-at *a-hi-kà* (39) *a-na šál-ší-šú* (40) *li-pi-ir-sú-ma pá-ni-ú-um* (41) *i-Ma-ma lu-sí-ma*. Cf. for this passage E. Bilgiç, "Die Ortsnamen der 'kappadokischen' Urkunden im Rahmen der alten Sprachen Anatoliens", *AfO* 15, 1945-51, 24-25; K. Balkan, *Anum-Hirbi*, 31-32; Garelli, *AC*, 105-106.

14. (21) [D]UB-pá-am *ša kà-ri-i[m]* (22) [*ub*]-*lu-nim um[-ma]* *a-na-ku-ma* (23) [*a-l*]á-ak [*wa-a*]r-ki-ta-ma (24) [*a-n*]a GAL *s[i-k]i-tí-im e-li-ma* (25) *um-ma a-na-ku-ma ší-bu-tum* (26) *iš-pu-ru-nim*, "They brought the tablet of the colony and I said: 'I shall go!' Then later I went up to the *rabi sikkitim* and said: 'The elders have written to me . . .'".

Cf. the remarks in J. Lewy, *HUCA* 27, 1956, 66, n. 278; see also below, 188.

15. For other examples see KTP 4, 20, discussed below, 262, and TC 1:142, translated above, 153-154.

16. Part three, chapter 4.

17. G. Evans, "Ancient Mesopotamian Assemblies", *JAOS* 78, 1958, 11.

18. H. Klengel, "Zu den *šibütum* in altbabylonischer Zeit", *OrNS* 29, 1960, 369.

Cf. also Oppenheim in Lapidus (ed.), *Middle Eastern Cities*, 9: "The designation

simply the oldest members of the community; Klengel has pointed to an Old Babylonian text which states that "the elders of the town and the old men should stand up . . .". According to his interpretation the elders formed the normal consultative body which dealt with all questions before they were placed before the primary assembly of all free men; the latter body was only convened on special occasions. Such a division into two distinct groups with different rights and privileges is of course known from the Kanesh colony and it is possible that it existed in Assur as well; the primary assembly of the colony appears to have been convened regularly but it may be exactly on this point that the conditions in the colonies differed from those of the capital; in other words, it was not that the primary assembly did not exist in Assur as it did in the colonies, but rather that it played a less active role.

The city-assembly appears to have had a special committee consisting of five members which was known as *hamištum*, i.e. "the group of five"; a similar institution is found in Kanesh and from other Assyrian colonies we have reference to a ten-man committee, *ešartum*. We also find groups consisting of three and six members (*šalištum* and *šedištum*), but these were clearly *ad hoc* bodies set up to consider a legal matter. The five-man committee has of course been connected with the institution of the week-eponymy which is found in the Kanesh colony, and I shall discuss these ideas later,¹⁹ but it must be said here that there is no possibility for a connection between the five-man committee in Assur and the week-eponymy, simply because there were no week-eponyms in the capital. Both the ten-man committees and the five-man committees are most easily understood as permanent bodies, but it should be noted that the former type is never attested in a judicial capacity whereas the five-man body in all instances functions as a court.²⁰

ālum u šibūtum seems to refer to the entire free male population within the walls and to the heads of families of a certain social and economic status." See also such institutions as the Spartan Gerusia, consisting of men over sixty elected by the Damos, and the other Greek Councils which grew out of the institution of the Elders (cf. e.g. V. Ehrenberg, *The Greek State*, New York 1964, 59–65); the *patres*, "fathers", of the early Roman constitution consisted of the heads of the noble families of course; the "elders" of the Italian city-states in the Middle Ages, the *anziani*, had a quite different background, being the leaders of the *popolo* and elected for short terms by the various corporations of the cities (cf. D. Waley, *Les Républiques médiévales italiennes*, Paris 1969, 190, and J. K. Hyde, *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy*, London 1973, 112–113).

19. Cf. below, 354–356.

20. The evidence concerning the ten-man committees is discussed below, 269–273.

The most significant example is found in a text which contains a draft for a legal protocol, giving questions and answers before witnesses; the document ends with the word *šibuttum*, “testimony”:

Aššur-muttabbil answered Ikuppāša: “I submitted to the tablet with the verdict of the primary assembly of the colony; the five-man committee has taken a decision concerning us (in a session held) behind the Aššur-temple in the City, so the decision concerning us is in the City. Come, let us hear in the City what decision the five-man committee has reached concerning us, and then act accordingly!”²¹

The text belongs to the group of documents which are concerned with the division of the estate of Pūšu-kēn, cf. ATHE 21–24 and EL 11 and 246,²² but it is hardly possible to establish the exact relationship between these documents. It should be noted, however, that EL 11 refers to a “verdict of the City” which has regulated the affair,²³ and it cannot be excluded that it is this same “decision” of the five-man committee which is being referred to. The interpretation of EL 244 preferred by Lewy is that the verdict of the colony was one which ordered the two men to follow the decision of the five-man committee.

The only other certain reference to this body in Assur is found in the text KTK 110, a badly damaged document which ends as follows:

... all this Aššur-[...] and [...] took in their father's [house(?)] in the Ci[ty] in the presence of the *hamiš[tum]*.²⁴

It is not unlikely that we are again confronted with a division of the estate of a deceased merchant, a type of lawsuit which must have taken up much time for the courts in the City; the precise role played by the

21. BIN 4:106, treated as no. 244 in EL: (1) *A-šùr-mu-ta-bia-il₅* (2) *I-ku-pá-ša e-pu-ul* (3) *uš-kà-in a-na* DUB-*pł-im* (4) *ša dí-in kà-ri-im* (5) *ša-he-er* GAL *ha-mì-iš-tum* (6) *šl-im-tám wa-ar-ki* (7) É *A-šùr i-na A-lim^{k1}* (8) *i-šl-im-ni-a-tí-ma* (9) *šl-ma-tù-ni* (10) *i-na A-lim^{k1}* (11) *i-ba-ší* (12) *ba-a-am a-ma-lá* (13) *šl-ma-tim* (14) *ša ha-mì-iš-tim* (15) *i-šl-mu-ni-a-tí-ni* (16) *i-na A-lim^{k1}* (17) *lu ni-iš-me-ma* (18) *lu ni-pu-uš*.

22. Cf. Kienast, ATHE, 27–30.

23. EL 11 is TC 1:79; apparently Aššur-muttabbil took over most of the business left by Pūšu-kēn (cf. J. Lewy, HUCA 27, 1956, 79, n. 333, and the texts EL 310 and 311), and EL 11 refers to a verdict of the City according to which the other heirs after Pūšu-kēn had been paid in full. Cf. most probably also the letter CCT 5:8a, discussed below, 201.

24. (7') *mi-ma [a-nim]* (8') *A-šùr-[...]* (9') *ù [...]* (10') *i-na [bi-tim]* (11') *ša a-bi₄-šu[-nu]* (12') *i-na A-[lim^{k1}]* (13') *IGI ha-mì-i[š-tim]* (14') *il₅-qé-ú*.

five-man committee in such cases cannot be ascertained, of course, but it is not unlikely that precisely inheritance-cases most conveniently could be investigated by special committees, since they must have entailed quite a lot of investigative work, the checking of accounts etc. It cannot be excluded that the five-man committees were appointed *ad hoc* in order to do a specified piece of work of the nature indicated. Such *ad hoc* groups consisting of five members are certainly attested from Anatolia, although it seems that they appear in different types of context. In CCT 4:14a a man tells that two others have taken him to the Gate of the God and have seized some money from him "before five men"; these persons were thus witnesses appointed by the colony.²⁵ In the letter CCT 5:3a we find the passage:

As they opened the safe they led five men, strangers, (into the house) and made them seal it; they themselves sealed it together with them.²⁶

A completely parallel situation involving a group of three men, called *šalištum*, who are also referred to as "strangers", i.e. persons who had no direct connection with the firm or firms involved,²⁷ is attested in the text TC 3:99:

The very day Saklijā arrives you must let the colony hear the tablet of the City, and (then) seize three strangers and enter our father's house, the old one, and open Aššur-muttabbil's magazine which carries the seals of his representatives. Break their seals and let instead the *šalištum* seal it!²⁸

25. "Since you went to the City, and after your departure, Aššur-nādā and Asqudum led us to the Gate of the God, and – IGI 5 *ša-bi-im* KUG.BABBAR (18) *iš-bu-tù* – seized the money before five men."
26. (28) *ki-ma* (29) *ma-ša-ar-tám ip-té-ú-ni* (30) 5 *ša-ba-am a-hi-ú-tim* (31) *ú-šé-ri-bu-ma* (32) *ú-ša-ak-ni-ku* *ù šu-nu* (33) *iš-ti-šu-nu ik-nu-ku*.
27. Cf. above 160, note 3.
28. (5) *i-na* ⁴UTU-*ši* *Sà-ak-li-a* (6) *e-ra-ba-ni* DUB-pá-am *ša A-lim^{ki}* (7) *kà-ra-am* *ša-áš-me-a-ma* 3 *a-hi-ú-tim* (8) *ša-db-ta-ma a-na* É *a-bi₄-a a-na* É-tim (9) *lá-bi-ri-im* *er-ba-ma* *hu-ur-ša-am* (10) *ša A-šúr-mu-ta-bi₄-il₅* *ku-nu-ki* *ša ša-zu-za[-ti]-šu* (11) *pè-té-a-ma* *ku-nu-ki-šu-nu* *šu-ur-ma-ma* (12) 3-tum-ma *ll-ik-nu-ku*.
The interpretation offered by N. B. Jankowska of all these various terms (for instance: *šalištum* as a "committee of one-third", viz. of a group of six, i.e. a *šalištum* has two members; and *ešartum* as a "committee of one-tenth", viz. of a month of thirty days), which has been set out in detail in the article entitled "A System of Rotation of Eponyms of the Commercial Association at Kaniš (Asia Minor XIX B.C.)", *ArOr* 35, 1967, especially 531–532, and in the "Sum-

The one known reference to a six-man committee appears to belong in the same context: it seals certain documents which are to be placed before judges.²⁹

The remaining reference which may mention the five-man board is rather problematical; it is a verdict which is given by the *hamušum* in the presence of "the lord", and it is possible that *hamušum* in this text stands as a variant form of *hamištum* (such variation is known from Old Babylonian texts), in which case the "lord" could be identical with the king of Assur. Such an interpretation would underscore the important position of the five-man committee and provide us with a glimpse of the role played by the king. The text itself is very difficult to understand but it does appear that it is concerned with a very minor matter involving the minute amount of money of no more than a single shekel of silver; it is perhaps therefore not too likely that it records a verdict handed down by a five-man board of the City in the presence of the king, but rather that it is a verdict given by either a five-man committee of Kanesh or the week-eponym. I have chosen the latter interpretation and shall return to the document in a later chapter.³⁰

Erišum's inscription from the Stepgate referred to judges who sat in court in the Stepgate, and we have some references to judges in the private documents.³¹ It is quite clear, however, that the term *dajānum* did not denote professional judges but simply individuals who served as members of boards, committees or even assemblies charged with the duty to pass a verdict.³² The few references which we have mention verdicts of the

mary" offered in KTK, 255–256, cannot be accepted; for *šalištum* see already L. Matouš, "Der Streit um den Nachlass des Puzur-Aššur", *ArOr* 37, 1969, 164, n. 29.

29. BIN 6:80, 3'-9': "[... the tablets] which the *šedištum* [will seal] they will entrust to you and [the representatives] of Aššur-nādā, son of Ilum-iddinaššu, they will establish witnesses for you, and you will place the tablets bearing the seals of the *šedištum* before the judges where you negotiate."
30. Below, 330–331, 355.
31. Add to CAD: ATHE 50, 6–7, CCT 5:18d, 15–16, 46a, 16, and kt c/k 904, 4–6 (cf. p. 58, n. 40); see also BIN 6:80, quoted in note 29, and the unpublished text Met. 66.245.19A, 10–15: PN₁ PN₂ u PN₃ *awilu anni'ūtum da-a-nu*.
32. Cf. ICK 1:114 – if correctly emended in CAD D, 29: (1) *Im-di-DINGIR u* (2) *Ga-bi-a a(! HA)-da-a-ni-šu(?)[-nu]* (3) *iš-bu-tu-ni-a-ti-ma ... (10) di-šu-nu* (11) *ni-di-ma ... (17) PN₁ u (18) PN₂ (19) da-a-nu*, "Imdi-ilum and Gabija seized us as their judges and ... We gave a verdict in their case ... PN₁ and PN₂ were the judges." These persons appear to be private arbitrators who were

judges of course,³³ and show that cases were pleaded and oaths sworn before them.³⁴

b) The Function of the Assembly

Due to the nature of our evidence practically all of our references to the city-assembly of Assur reflect aspects of its relations with the colonies in Anatolia. These can be seen to function as extensions of the administrative and political apparatus of the capital, i.e. the assembly and the king constituted the highest authority in all spheres of the Old Assyrian society.

The letter TC 1:1, dealing with the payment of the costs of the fortifications of the capital is the only clear piece of evidence which we possess to show the city-assembly involved in what must be called a "political" decision; the vast majority of our references are concerned with the assembly in action as a court of law, dealing with private disputes, but this letter shows beyond any doubt that the body was competent to handle and decide public, political matters as well. It is of course impossible to prove that the assembly had been involved in the decision to build the fortifications, but it is surely very probable, and it can be seen that the payment was a matter for deliberation by this body; in particular, it is obvious that the assembly functioned as the superior authority *vis-à-vis* the colonies in Anatolia.

The letter referred to the possible sending of a special messenger from Assur to Kanesh, presumably an envoy who would have been given special powers to raise the money in question; the fact that the colony would have to pay his expenses shows that such a course of action would represent a disapproval of the inaction of the Kanesh colony, and this particular envoy therefore appears to be somewhat different from the commonly mentioned *šipru ša Alim*, "envoys of the City". As will appear from the discussion of the official correspondence found in Kanesh,³⁵ these envoys were directly involved in all diplomatic contacts with Ana-

chosen by the two litigants in order to settle their dispute; the text is otherwise a complete parallel of the very common depositions in court before witnesses who were likewise "seized" by the litigants and "given" by the colony.

33. Cf. TC 3:79, 34, EL 325, 32, or kt c/k 904, 4-6.

34. Cf. the otherwise rather obscure text Gelb 60 (which belongs together with EL 325-326); cf. Hirsch, *UAR*, 69, n. 369.

35. Cf. below, 247-254.

tolian authorities, and we therefore have in them indirect evidence of the political function of the city-assembly of Assur which had commissioned them. Lewy compared the envoys with the Carolingian *missi dominici*³⁶. We do not know anything about how these men were appointed or for how long they served, but it seems obvious that some persons with this title and these special powers must always have been present at Kanesh; we do not even know how many there were, although it is correct, as pointed out by J. Lewy, that messengers often travelled in pairs. It is very probable that they had a quite open mandate from the authorities in Assur, but one would also think that they must have been in Kanesh for a relatively short term so that they could keep a very close contact with the capital. It is clear that it was through these envoys that the capital exercised control of the political relations in Anatolia, and they stood at the top of the hierachic pyramid constituted by the colonial society.³⁷ This is nicely illustrated by the letter BIN 6:120, sent from the envoys of the City and the Kanesh colony to all colonies in Anatolia, in which we hear that two named messengers have been sent round to the many colonies with certain "instructions", apparently to be delivered by word of mouth; the colonies are ordered to provide each two special guides to help the envoys in their passage from colony to colony.³⁸ There can hardly be any doubt that the instructions referred to ultimately came from Assur, most probably delivered through the envoys of the City.

36. HUCA 27, 1956, 71–72; cf. for a description of the Medieval institution H. Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire*, New York 1964, 107–109.

37. Outside of the diplomatic correspondence these envoys occur only rarely; for their possible relations with prominent Assyrians in the letters TC 1:45 and 3:80 I refer to discussion above, 131; they are mentioned together with men called *limmu* in Gelb 57, for which I refer to discussion below, 338; and in the second page of a private letter CCT 4: 7c, we find the passage: (6) *i-nu-mi* (7) *a-bu-ni a-na ar-nim* (8) *i-di-nu-ni-ma ši-ip-ru* (9) *ša A-lim^{kī} i-li-ku-ni-ni-ma* (10) *ma-ak-na-kam šu-a-ti* (11) *ip-té-ú-ni-ma lu-lá-am* (12) *ù TÚG.HI.A ša qá-tí-šu* (13) *e-mu-ru-ni*, "When they imposed a penalty on our father and the envoys of the City came and they opened this sealed magazine and saw the antimony and the textiles in his possession ...". Since this letter mentions *Šu-A-num MAŠKIM ša Ē a-bi₄-ni*, "the attorney of our father's house (i.e. our family)" in lines 26–27, it is extremely likely that it belongs together with the texts EL 325–326 (cf. below, 180); note that 325a contains the passage: (13) *da-a-nu-um a-na ar-ni-im* (14) *[i-di-na]-ni*, "a judge imposed a penalty on me" words spoken by Aššur-imitti; in that text Šu-Anum is called "Aššur-imitti's attorney"; cf. also BIN 6:263.

38. Treated below, 248.

It is also significant that those letters which were sent by the Kanesh colony alone, without the envoys of the City, are concerned with non-political matters which only involve private law-suits among Assyrians. It was accordingly specifically in the field of foreign policy that the assembly of Assur retained complete control, leaving no decisions to the colonial authorities.

Also the broad commercial policy was' obviously the concern of the city-assembly, and this is well illustrated by a private letter, VAT 9290, from which I shall quote some sections:

From Aššur-bāni and Šalim-Aššur to Pūšu-kēn:

It has come to a lawsuit here (in Assur) concerning *saptinnu-* and *pirikannu*-textiles, woollen blankets, and many people have been fined. You too they have ordered to pay 10 minas of silver; you must pay one mina of silver per year. . . .

Urgent! Do not involve yourself with *saptinnu-* and *pirikannu*-textiles and do not buy any! Your house and your servants are well. The orders of the City are firm!³⁹

It should be noted that the textiles in question were Anatolian products and there is no evidence which could indicate that such fabrics were exported to Assur itself; by the intervention referred to the city-assembly accordingly directly interfered with the commerce within the borders of Anatolia, and it is clear that we are faced with an example of a general commercial policy which either prohibited Assyrian trade in such textiles or at least imposed severe restrictions on it. The reason for such an intervention on the part of the authorities of Assur is obviously that the cheap Anatolian products had become a nuisance, perhaps even a threat for the Assyrian exporters of textiles from Assur.⁴⁰ This strict

39. (1) *um-ma A-šur-ba-ni* ӯ (2) *Ša-lim-A-šur-ma a-na* (3) *Pu-šu-ki-in qī-bi-ma* (4) *a-na-kam a-wa-tum a-šu-mi* (5) TÚG.HI *sà-dp-ti-ni* ӯ (6) *pī-ri-kā-ni e-pī-ši* (7) *ša-pá-tim i-bi-ši-a-ma* (8) *sa-bu-um ma-du-um* (9) *a-na ar-ni-im ta-dí-in* (10) ӯ *ku-a-ti* 10 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR (11) *lú-ša-dí-nu-kà* (12) 1 MA.NA TA KUG.BABBAR (13) *i-na ša-tim* (14) *ta-ša-gal* . . . (20) *a-pu-tum a-na sà-á-p-ti-ni* (21) ӯ *pī-ri-kā-ni* (22) *qá-at-kà lú tū-ba-al-ma* (23) *la ta-ša-am bi-it-kà* (24) ӯ *šú-ha-ru-kà* (25) *šál-mu a-wa-at* (26) *A-lim^{ki} da-na*.

The text was communicated by J. Lewy, *JAO*S 78, 1958, 99, n. 66; it has been treated in detail by Veenhof, *Aspects*, 126-128.

40. Veenhof, loc. cit., has pointed out that the *pirikannu*-textiles in some way could "be worked into or serve as a substitute for *kutānū*", the latter of course being the normal Assyrian type of textile imported to Anatolia; that fact alone must have been the cause for serious concern on the part of the Assyrians.

protectionist policy was controlled by the city-assembly, and it is most probable that it was also formulated by that same body. This is in accord with the conclusions reached earlier concerning the economic policy formulated in some royal building-inscriptions with specific reference to the term *addirārum*. That the text refers to a highly serious matter appears from the size of the fine imposed on Pūšu-kēn, who alone is to pay as much as all the colonies were supposed to pay for the fortifications referred to in the letter TC 1:1. And Pūšu-kēn was only one of many merchants who were fined for having disregarded the instructions of the City.

It is also interesting to see that there could be such conflicts of interest between the colonists and the men in the capital. It is clear that the flourishing Assyrian trade in the Anatolian products must have been very profitable for the men in the colonies, and they were apparently interested in realising these profits in spite of the fact that their bosses in the capital thereby incurred losses. The harsh action of the city-assembly indicates the degree of control which the capital after all exercised on the citizens in the colonies.⁴¹

Turning now to the evidence concerning the city-assembly's activities as a court of law I should like to emphasize the point that I shall not in the following attempt to provide an analysis of the nature of the legal procedures, a task which must be taken up in another context.⁴² The terminology includes such relatively vague expressions as *ālam mahārum* or *panā'um*, lit. "to confront or face the City", apparently synonyms for making a direct appeal to the city-assembly; but we also have terms and phrases which may have had a more precise content: the verb *sabātum*, "to seize", connected with a person or with the *sikku*, or "hem of a garment", of a person, referred to a private summons which at least ordinarily aimed at a questioning before witnesses; it was an act which could be ignored by the summoned person, but the refusal to acknowledge such a citation imposed certain restrictions upon one's freedom to move. A flight from such a summons made it possible for the plaintiff to appeal

41. My translation: "it has come to a lawsuit here" is not meant to convey the impression that we must have to do with a private suit brought before the assembly; Veenhof has instead chosen the equally possible rendering: "here difficulties have arisen", but that does appear to be too vague since the expression *ana arnim tadānum*, "to impose a penalty", must indicate that a proper verdict has been issued.

42. I refer to the very general remarks by Kienast, *ATHE*, 21–23, where one will also find the relevant references to previous discussions.

directly to the city-assembly.⁴³ In other words, most disputes did not involve the assembly directly and did not result in any verdict.⁴⁴ The cases brought before this body were quite often appealed from the lower colonial courts in Anatolia; in the words of our texts they were “placed before the City and my lord” at the express wish of one of the parties involved.⁴⁵ Other cases which were typically the concern of the city-assembly were apparently the inheritance-suits which followed the death of important merchants. It is clear that when such men died they must often have had many deals in operation and their assets, ready cash, goods or contracts of various kinds, were spread around the colonies and

43. Cf. for instance TC 3:129, quoted below, 179–180.

44. I believe that Kienast is mistaken when he claims that the text ICK 1:114 (cf. note 32 to this chapter) shows that the very common textual type which begins with the phrase: PN₁ *ana* PN₂ *išbatni’āti*, “PN₁ seized us against PN₂”, has any relation to the actual verdicts issued by either city-assembly or colony; the persons who are seized are not to be regarded as judges in normal cases, but rather as witnesses who are present when a person is being questioned under oath; these texts are therefore usually referred to as *tuppum ša šibi*, “witnessed tablets”, as opposed to regular contracts which are called *tuppum harum ša kunukki*, “certified and sealed tablets”. For a case where such a distinction is clear I refer to ATHE 24A, treated above, 100–101. Note also that the text in question contains the introductory phrase: *ina migratišunu išbutuni’āti*, “they seized us by mutual agreement”, i.e. nobody was summoned in the proper sense of the term, and the entire document is intended to provide both parties with definitive proof of the agreement which they have reached.

45. Cf. BIN 6:219 quoted below, 185–186; EL 325a, 18–19, 253, 19’, and VAT 9261, 15’, all have the phrase: *ana Alim u bēlīja awātī bilā*, “bring my case to the City and my lord”; as pointed out in EL 2, 79, n. e, this may be compared with the phrase: *ana kārim saher rabi awātī bilā*, “bring my case to the primary assembly of the colony”, an expression which is found in quite similar contexts where a man is being summoned to answer questions before witnesses. In EL 326, 36–37, we instead find the phrase: *Alum u bēlī dīnī lidin*, “let the City and my lord give me a verdict”, and it obviously has the same meaning. In the badly damaged letter BIN 6:199 we hear a woman saying: (8') GUŠKIN (9') *ša ta-da-nim a-da-an* (10') *ù a-na ši-tim a-na ē a-bi-a* (11') *na-ru-qū-šu e-ra-áb* (12') *‘ù šu-ma’ lá i-lá-kam A-lu-um* (13') *‘ù’ be-li e-ša-ra-ni* (14') *a-wi-il-tum A-lam a-na* (15') *e-sà-ar* KUG.BABBAR *ta-ši-e*, “I shall sell the gold that can be sold, and for the rest his *naruqqu*-capital will enter my father’s house; but if he does not come, the City and my lord will help me! – The woman will sue the City about the collection of the money.” This last example is given to illustrate the common terminology, but it is of course clear that the woman in question sits in Assur so there is no question here of an appeal from a colonial court. See also 148, note 123.

in the capital. The houses in Anatolia had special rooms, *massartum*, which were locked and sealed and which contained the archives and other valuables of the colonial merchants. It should be kept in mind that many contracts were negotiable and could be transferred by sale or otherwise from one person to another,⁴⁶ and the absence of public registers kept by notaries meant that only the certified tablet constituted written proof of a claim. The death of an important businessman therefore aroused intense interest on the part of his creditors and debtors in the contents of his archives and magazines. It is also understandable that such cases usually must have ended before the city-assembly in Assur where all the evidence in the form of contracts and depositions in court could be assembled and evaluated.⁴⁷

As a result of the deliberations of the city-assembly a verdict was given, of course, and when the matter concerned men living in the colonies a special *tuppum ša Alim*, a “tablet of the City”, was written and sent to Kanesh; very often the successful plaintiff was furthermore authorized to hire an “attorney” (*rābišum*) who would be sent to the colony with the tablet of the City in order to direct the affair on behalf of the plaintiff. It is not altogether clear whether all such documents contained final, binding decisions which simply had to be implemented by the authorities in the colonies, or whether they could also contain relatively vague directions which could be interpreted by the colony in various ways. The former practice is surely reflected in the textual references to attorneys with what must be called plenipotentiary powers, expressed by way of the phrase: “the colony will be the executive power of the attorney”;⁴⁸ an example of such a situation is constituted by one of the official *waklum*-letters, EL 327:

46. Cf. the remarks about the contracts set up without mentioning the name of the creditor but using the term *tamkārum* in my *OACP*, 50–51, and see the text KTS 43c (EL 104) which records the sale of two loan-documents.
47. Apparently the procedure started with a general freezing of all the deceased merchant's affairs, as illustrated for instance by the letter TC 2:21 translated below, 181–182. See also the texts concerning the events after the death of Puzur-Aššur treated by Matouš, *ArOr* 37, 1969, 156–180.
48. See the two *waklum*-letters below; note also that two of the letters sent by the Kanesh colony to other colonies concerning the forced transfer of persons make use of a similar terminology: TC 1:35, 15–17: *kārum lu emūq šiprini*, “the colony should be the executive power of our messengers” (cf. below, 255–256); and BIN 6:32, 15: *attunu lu emūqšu*, “you [i.e. the colony] should be his executive power” (cf. below, 255).

Seal of the *waklum*:

The City has given a verdict: Kukkulānum, son of Anah-ili, will send an attorney to clear accounts with Aguza, son of Šu-Anum, his father's *factor*. The colony will be the executive power of the attorney. Silli-Ištar, son of Ili-pilah, was the one who solved the case.⁴⁹

The tablet itself contains nearly precisely the same text, although it does not mention the *waklum* at all. In fact, it may be more correct not to refer to this text as a letter, since it does not contain the normal introductory phrases; it is therefore simply a record of a verdict which bears the seal of the *waklum*, obviously as a kind of certification.⁵⁰ It is connected with the following document which records the decision which was made in Kanesh on the basis of the verdict from Assur:

We have concluded the case concerning Šu-Anum's and Aguza's *naruqqu*-capital:

Today Kukkulānum has received 1 mina of silver as the one-third share of the profit on the (invested) 2 minas of gold. Aguza and his sons will pay to Kukkulānum within 26 weeks 2/3 mina of silver in accordance with their certified tablet. Kukkulānum will give to Aguza's representatives the tablet concerning Šu-Anum's and Aguza's *naruqqu*-capital, and if (this document is found to stipulate) joint liability between them for the *naruqqu*-capital and that they will take over one-third of the profit and guarantee for one-third – then the case is finished in the way here stipulated. If there is not joint liability, the tablet concerning the 2/3 mina is invalid. If they are not to take over one-third of the profit and guarantee for one-third, he (Kukkulānum) will have to hand back the one mina of silver, and furthermore the tablet concerning the 2/3 mina is invalid.

Witnessed by: Tāb-ili, Aššur-rē'i, Silūlu, and Enlil-bāni.⁵¹

49. (1) KIŠIB *wa-ak-lim* (2) *A-lu-um di-nam* (3) *i-di-ma* (4) *Ku-ku-la-num* (5) DUMU *A-na-ah-lī* (6) *ra-bi-ṣa-am* (7) *i-ṣa-pár-ma* (8) *A-gu-za* DUMU Šu-A-nim *ṣa-ma-la* (9) *a-bi-ṣu ú-ba-ab* (10) *kà-ru-um* (11) *e-mu-uq* (12) *ra-bi-ṣi-im* (13) MI-Ištar DUMU (14) DINGIR-*pí-lá-ah* (15) *pá-ṣé-er a-wa-tim*.
50. (1) *A-lu-um di-nam* (2) *i-di-ma* (3) *Ku-ku-lá-num* (4) DUMU *A-na-ah-DINGIR* (5) *ra-bi-ṣa-am* (6) *e-ha-az* (7) *A-gu-za* (8) DUMU Šu-A-nim (9) *ṣa-ma-lá* (10) *a-bi-ṣu* (11) *ú-ba-áb* (12) *kà-ru-um* (13) *e-mu-uq* (14) *ra-bi-ṣi* [Empty space] (15) MI-Ištar (16) *pá-ṣé-er* (17) *a-wa-tim*. – This text is plainly of the type referred to in the letters as *tuppum ṣa* (*dīn*) *Alim*, “a tablet (with a verdict) of the City.” I am grateful to the Royal Scottish Museum for having opened the case and allowed me to study it.
51. Edinburgh 1909/587, EL 328: (1) *a-wa-tim ṣa na-ru-uq* (2) Šu-A-nim ù *A-gu-za* (3) *ni-ig-mu-ur-ma* (4) *ki-ma šdl-ṣa-at* (5) 2 MA.NA GUŠKIN 1 MA.NA

The entire matter concerns the dissolution of a *naruqqu*-partnership caused by the death of the investor; it is likely that it is only one among several investors who thus withdraws from the partnership. Apparently the heir has already received his father's original investment which amounted to 2 minas of gold, and the case is solely concerned with the question of the division of profits. How the precise figures mentioned in the text were arrived at remains unknown to us, but it is likely that they represent the result of negotiations between Aguza and the attorney sent out from Assur.⁵²

The decision made by the Kanesh colony, or on behalf of the colony, is final, but since the original *naruqqu*-contract is still in Assur and since such partnerships obviously could be based on different types of relationships between investor and manager or *factor*, it has been necessary for the colony to stipulate three different solutions; only when the original tablet is examined will it be possible for the parties involved to end the matter.

The other official *waklum*-letter which deals with a lawsuit is the very damaged text ICK 1:182:

From the *waklum* to the Kanesh colony:

The City has given a verdict in the *hamrum*:

Imdi-ilum, son of Šu-Laban, will acquire an attorney and send (him) to the Kanesh colony, and both from the goods, [the outstanding claims] the (ready) cash, [...]

Month . . . , year-eponymy Šu-Sin, son of Pappilum. The colony will

KUG.BABBAR (6) *u₄-ma-ma Ku-ku-lá-num* (7) *il₅-qé ⅔ MA.NA KUG.*
 BABBAR (8) *a-ma-lá DUB-pi-šu-nu* (9) *ha-ar-mi-im A-gu₅-za* (10) *ù me-er-ú-šu*
a-na (11) 26 *ha-am-ša-tim* (12) *a-na Ku-ku-lá-nim* (13) *i-ša-qú-lu DUB-pá-am*
 (14) *ša na-ru-uq Šu-A-nim* (15) *ù A-gu₅-za Ku-ku-lá-num* (16) *a-na ša ki-ma*
A-gu₅-za i-da-ma (17) *šu-ma na-ru-qum* (18) *i-qd-qd-ad šál-mi-šu-nu* (19) *ra-ak-*
sá-at-ma ša-li-iš-tám (20) *e-ku-lu-ma a-na ša-li-iš-tim* (21) *i-za-zu ki-ma-ma*
gám-ra-ni (22) *gám-ra šu-ma i-qd-qd-ad* (23) *šál-mi-šu-nu lá ra-ak-sá-at* (24)
DUB-pu-um ša ⅔ MA.NA (25) *i-mu-a-at šu-ma ša-li-iš-tám* (26) *lá e-ku-lu*
a-ša-li-iš-tim (27) *lá i-za-zu KUG.BABBAR* (28) 1 MA.NA-am ú-ta-ar-ma (29)
ù DUB-pu-um (30) *ša ⅔ MA.NA i-mu-a-at* (31) IGI DU₁₀-i-lí IGI A-šur-SIPA
 (32) IGI Ši-lu-lu IGI ⁴EN.LÍL-ba-ni.

See, apart from EL, Landsberger, *AHK*, and *TTAED* 4, 1940, 23–25; especially the last discussion is of great importance for the understanding of the text.

52. As pointed out by Landsberger, loc. cit., 24 n. 1, the expression *kíma šalšāt* indicates that it was a figure arrived at through negotiation rather than the precise computed amount.

be the executive power of the attorney. Buzija, son of Idnajá, is my(?) attorney.⁵³

Obviously, one cannot reach any clear understanding of the background for this text but it is at least possible that the decision of the City was one which authorized certain persons to search the house of a private person, perhaps a man who had recently died; I refer to the letter TC 3:99 quoted above, 168, for a similar situation where the attorney Saklija and a tablet of the City are connected with such an action.

Whether the third and last official *waklum*-letter belongs in this context is doubtful, but it cannot be entirely excluded.⁵⁴ It is beyond doubt that the preserved *waklum*-letters are to be seen as examples of the textual type called *tuppum ša Alim*, "a tablet of the City"; very occasionally it could be called "a tablet of the City and the king", and once it is simply "a tablet of the king". That these designations cover precisely the same notion may be seen for instance from a comparison of the two letters TC 2:41 and TC 3:1;⁵⁵ in the former we read as follows:

From the shareholders and Ilija and Laqēpum to Idi-Ištar:
You wrote to us concerning our money and induced us to take an

53. (1) *um-ma wa-ak-lúm-ma* (2) *a-na ká-ri-im Ká-ni-i[š]ki* (3) *qi-bi-ma A-lu-um* (4) *di-nam i-na ha-am-ri-im* (5) *i-di-in-ma Im-dt-DINGIR* (6) DUMU Šu-La-ba-an (7) MAŠKIM e-ha-az-ma (8) *a-na ká-ri-im Ká-ni-iški* (9) *i-ša-pár-ma lu i-na* (10) *lu-qú-tim lu i-na* (11) [...] KUG.BABBAR break (1') ITI [KAM...] (2') *li-mu[-um]* (3') Šu-^dEN.ZU [DUMU] (4') *Pá-pi-li-ym* (5') *ká-ru-um* (6') *e-mu-uq* MAŠKIM (7') *Bu-zi-a* DUMU *Id-^rna⁷-a* (8) MAŠKIM-*ši* "(x)".

See L. Matouš, "Der Aššur-Tempel nach altassyrischen Urkunden aus Kültepe", *Studies Presented to Professor M. A. Beek*, Assen/Amster., 1974, 183, n. 18. He suggests for the last line the reading: MAŠKIM-*ši*[*m*], i.e. we get the clumsy construction: "The colony will be the executive power of the attorney Buzija, son of Idnaja, the attorney." This is possible, of course as long as it is not concluded that also Buzija's father held the title *rābišum*.

Matouš also communicates a new text, I 765, which could represent the remains of a *waklum*-letter; with Matouš, 188, n. 24, I would read as follows: (1') *[A-l]u-um di-nam IGI 2 š[u-]g[a-ri-a-e]n* (2') *[i]-na ha-am-ri-im* (3') *[i]-di-in-ma iš-tù ITI* (4') *[a]b ša-ra-ni li-mu-um* (5') *[E-l]a-li li-mu-um* (6') *[x x x] Ká-ni-[iš] ...*, "The City has given a verdict before the two *šugarri'ā'u*-emblems in the *hamrum*-precinct: From the month *ab šarrāni*, year-eponymy [Elā]li(?), the eponym ... Kane[sh] ...".

54. Cf. above, 153–154.

55. See the remarks by J. Lewy, *HUCA* 27, 1956, 67, n. 282.

oath, but you have not deposited any money and moreover you have not come here. So we appealed to the City. We got hold of a tablet, but Ennum-Aššur, Ilijā, and Laqēpum pleaded(?) with us. For that reason we have not sent the tablet. If you do not (now) deposit some money or do not come yourself, we shall get hold of a tablet of the City and the king and have you discredited in the colony.⁵⁶

The letter TC 3:1 must likewise be from some shareholders to their agent in Anatolia who is said to have been away for no less than thirty years without having made any deposits to them; they therefore state precisely the same request as in the previous text:

Urgent! Set out and come here! Or deposit some money! If this does not happen, we shall send off a tablet of the king and an attorney and have you brought to shame in the colony. You will then become as one who is not our brother!⁵⁷

Such a letter was apparently most often brought to the colony by an attorney, but there are a few cases which make it clear that it could be sent in other ways. Imdi-ilum has written a couple of letters concerning a certain Annali who originally fled from a summons in Assur and whose case therefore was brought before the assembly:

He cheated me and hid from me without bringing an end to the matter, and he went away. After that, and because he had left, I appealed to the City on account of him in order to have him returned, and I

56. (1) *um-ma um-me-a-nu-ma* (2) *I-li-a ù Lá-qé-pu-um-ma* (3) *a-na I-dí-Ištar* (4) *qí-bí-ma a-ṣé-er* (5) KUG.BABBAR-*pí-ni ta-dáš-pu-ra-ma* (6) *ma-mí-tám i-pí-ni* (7) *ta-dáš-ku-un ù KUG.BÁBBAR* (8) *ú-lá ta-áš-ta-ak-na-am* (9) *ù a-ta ú-lá ta-ta-al-kam* (10) *A-[lam^{k1}] ni-i]m-hu-ur* (11) D[UB-pá-am ni-i]l₅-qé-ma (12) E[n-um-A-šur] *I-li-a* (13) *ù [Lá-qé-pu-um]* (14) *uš-[ta-hi-d]u-ni-a-tí* (15) *a-ší-a-tí* DUB-pá-am (16) *ú-lá nu-uš-té-bí-lam* (17) *šú-ma KUG.BABBAR lá ta-dáš-ku-na-am* (18) *ù-la a-ta lá ta-li-kam* (19) DUB-pá-am *ša A-lim^{k1}* (20) *ù ru-ba-im ni-lá-qé-ma* (21) *nu-šé-ba-la-kum-ma* (22) *i-na ká-ri-im* (23) *nu-qá-lá-al-ká*.
For some further letters in this correspondence see I. J. Gelb, "A Cappadocian Tablet Supposedly from the Neighborhood of Carchemish", *Athenaeum* NS 47, 1969, 119–124.
57. (27) *a-pu-tum¹* (28) *ti-ib-a-ma a-ta-al-kam* (29) *ù-la KUG.BABBAR šu-ku-nam* (30) *šu-ma la ki-a-am* (31) DUB-pá-am *ša ru-ba-im* (32) *ù MAŠKIM* (33) *ni-ša-pár-ma i-ká-ri-im nu-ba-áš-ká* (34) *ù a-ta a-na la a-hi-ni ta-tú-a-ar*.

received a tablet with a verdict of the City, and I hired two messengers and sent them off.⁵⁸

The very long letter TC 1:24 which deals with the further developments in this case does mention two attorneys⁵⁹ but it is very unlikely that they are identical with the messengers referred to in the text above, and they are not directly associated with the affair of Annali about which he writes:

Annali fled from me here, so then I received a tablet of the City concerning his forced return and I had an expense of 1/2 mina of silver for the wages of the messengers, but when the messengers caught up with him he also fled from them and went to where you are. Urgent! Take care to seize Annali and make him pay both the goods which he has and his expenses to porters, plus the expenses I incurred by writing in order to have him sent back!⁶⁰

There are several examples of orders from the City which state that a certain person is to come to Assur in order to appear before the assembly when it judges a certain case. A special group of letters sent from the Kanesh colony to other authorities in Anatolia deal with a similar procedure⁶¹ and although we do not have the precise text of a letter of this kind from the capital there are several very clear references to them.⁶² The deposition in court treated in EL as no. 326 deals with a typical case:

Šu-Anum, the attorney for Aššur-imitti, son of Šu-Nunu, seized us (as arbiters) and Šu-Anum said to Buzāzu: "Aššur-imitti has received a tablet of the City demanding your extradition. You must move on

58. TC 3:129: (18') šu-ut ba-lúm (19') a-wa-tim ga-ma-ri-im (20') iṣ-li-a-ni-ma-i-pá-ni-a (21') pu-uz-ra-am iṣ-ba-at-ma (22') i-ta-ṣa-am bar-ki-šu-ma ki-ma (23') uṣ-ū-ni a-šu-mi-šu A-lam (24') a-na ta-ú-ri-šu am-hu-ur-ma (25') DUB-pá-am ša dī-in A-lim (26') al-qé-ma 2 ši-ip-re-en (27') a-gur₁₆-ma áš-ta-pár.

59. Cf. below, 184–185.

60. (41) A-na-lí a-[n]a-kam (42) i-na pá-ni-a e-bu-ut-ma ú DUB-pá-am (43) ša A-lim^{k1} a-na ta-ú-ri-šu (44) al-qé-ma KUG.BABBAR ½ MA.NA ig-ri (45) ši-ip-re-e ag-mur-ma ši-ip-ru (46) ik-šu-du-šu-ma šu-ut i-na pá-ni-ma^l (47) ši-ip-ri e-ta-ba-at-ma a-mi-ša-am (48) i-tal-kam a-pu-tum ih-da-ma A-na-lí (49) [sa-á]b-ta-ma lu-qu^m-tí ša li-biⁿ-šu (50) [lu] ša biⁿ-lá-tí-šu lu gám-ri ša a-na (51) ta-ú-ri-šu áš-pu-ru-^mšu-ni^m ša-dš-qt-lá.

I have collated the text in 1974.

61. Cf. below, 255–259.

62. See EL 1, 246, n. a.

in accordance with the tablet of the City so that you and Aššur-imitti can negotiate in the City. He has asked you questions here and his tablets are certified. Come on, leave for the City even today in accordance with the tablet of the City and appear in court with your opponent! Do not cheat me. You have already made me spend a lot of money!"

Buzāzu answered the attorney Šu-Anum: "I have submitted to the tablet of the City and the attorney of my lord. But even yesterday you asked me questions and I answered you. My opponent Aššur-imitti is present here! . . ."⁶³

Buzāzu continues with the proposal that his opponent should swear the special oath by the three words in Kanesh and only if the primary assembly accepted his sworn deposition should they both be obliged to go to the capital.⁶⁴ One notes that even though Buzāzu acknowledges the authority of the tablet of the City and the royally appointed attorney, he is still able to delay his compliance with their orders. The entire Old Assyrian judicial system, at least below the level represented by final verdicts issued by the City, was built on the principle of private suits and an absence of force. Buzāzu's statement that he "has submitted to" the letter from the assembly surely indicates that in theory one could refuse to do so; the sanctions would presumably be based entirely on religious and social actions. Nevertheless, in some texts we do find references to what must be a threat to make use of force, and as an example I point to the texts which deal with the frozen assets of a recently deceased merchant; the letter TC 2:21 provides a typical case:

To Pūšu-kēn, Puzur-Ištar, Ilabrat-bānī, and Idī-Ištar from Tariš-mātūm and Bēlātūm:

63. The text is published as BIN 4:114: (1) [Šu-A-num] *ra-bi-ṣú-um* (2) [ša A-š]ūr-i-mi-ti DUMU Šu-Nu-nu (3) [iš-ba-]at-ni-a-tí-ma um-ma (4) Š[u-A-nu]-um-ma a-na Bu-za-zu-ma (5) DUB-pá-am ša A-lim^{k1} A-šür-i-mi-ti (6) a-ša-sú-hi-kà il₅-qé-am (7) i-na DUB-pí-im ša A-lim^{k1} (8) ta¹-na-sá-ah-ma i-na A-lim^{k1} (9) a-ta ú A-šür-i-mi-tí ta-ta-wa-a (10) iš-al-kà-ma DUB-pu-ú-šu (11) ha-ru-mu ba-a-am ú-ma-ma a-ma-lá (12) DUB-pí-im ša A-lim^{k1} (13) a-na A-lim^{k1} sí-a-ma a-na be-el (14) a-wa-tí-kà a-wa-tám dt-in (15) lá tū-na-ha-ni KUG.BABBAR ma-dam (16) tū-ša¹-ag-me-ra-ni (17) Bu-za-zu Šu-A-num ra-bi-ṣa-am (18) e-pu-ul um-ma Bu-za-zu-ma (19) uš-kà-i-in a-na DUB-pí-im (20) ša A-lim^{k1} ù ra-bi₄-ṣí-im (21) ša be-li-a tí-ma-li-m[a] (22) ta-áš-e-li-ma (23) ú a-pu-ul-kà A-šür-i-mi-ti (24) be-el a-wa-tí-a-a-na-kam (25) wá-ṣa-ab.

64. Cf. the parallel passage from EL 325 quoted above, 151, n. 130.

We have sent an attorney and the attorney holds a binding tablet of the City, stating that nobody, either in the City or abroad, must raise claims, but that Šu-Nūnu's money shall be collected (and sent) to the City. In the City they will divide (the estate) in accordance with their decisions. It will be taken away again from those who claim and receive just one shekel of silver abroad. . . .

To Pūšu-kēn: As for us – if it was not for you we would not have any father! If you are truly our father, set witnesses for everyone who claims any of Šu-Nūnu's silver and have it taken away from him! Take care to collect the money and entrust it to the care of the attorney so that he may bring it.⁶⁵

Though the exact connotation of *šarāqum*, “take away”, typically meaning “steal”, is uncertain, one may at least note that it occurs a number of times precisely in connection with verdicts issued by the City; in CCT 2:22 we hear that a man has acquired a tablet of the City stating that no one is allowed to buy the houses belonging to a deceased merchant, obviously because he has some claims on them which have not yet been settled, and those who have bought them anyway must return them: “those who do not return them will have them taken away.”⁶⁶ In the same way some women have made an appeal to the City in the letter TC 1:3 and have received a tablet stating that no one may seize certain goods: “whoever may have seized them will have to release them, and who has received them otherwise must give them back. He who does not release them or give them back will have them taken away from him.”⁶⁷

- 65. (1) *a-na Pu-šu-ki-in MAN-Ištar* (2) *áNIN.ŠUBUR-ba-ni ú I-di-Ištar* (3) *qi-bi₄-ma um-ma Ta-ri-iš-ma-tù-ma* (4) *ú Be-lá-tù-ma ra-bi₄-sa-am* (5) *ni-iš-pu-ra-am* *ú DUB-pá-am ša A-lim^{k1}* (6) *da-na-am ra-bi₄-sú-um ú-kà-al* (7) *ša ma-ma-an lu i-na A-lim^{k1}* *lu i-na* (8) *GÁN-lim ma-ma-an lá i-tá-hi-ú-ma* (9) *KUG.BABBAR-dp Šu-Nu-nu a-na A-lim^{k1}* (10) *i-pá-hu-ra-ni i-na A-lim^{k1}* (11) *a-ma-lá ší-ma-ti-šu-nu i-zu-zu* (12) *i-na GÁN-lim ša i-⟨t̄d-⟩hi-ú-ma* (13) *KUG.BABBAR 1 GÍN ša i-lá-qé-ú i-ša-ri-iq-šu-um* . . . (26) *a-na Pu-šu-ki-in qi-bi₄-ma ni-nu* (27) *šu-ma lá ku-a-tí a-b[a]-am lá ní-šu* (28) *šu-ma a-bu-ni <a-ta> a-“na” ma-ma-an* (29) *ša a-na KUG.BABBAR [Šu-Nu-nu] iṭ-hi-ú* (30) *ši-bi₄ šu-ku-š[u-ma l]i-ši-ri-iq-šu-um* (31) *i-hi-i[d-ma KUG.BABBAR] pá-he-er-ma* (32) *a-qá-tí ra-bi₄-šl-im pl-qi-id-ma* (33) *lu-ub-lam*.
- 66. The whole passage given in EL, loc. cit.: (28) *lá ša ú-[]a-i-ru* (29) *i-ša-ri-iq-šu-um*.
- 67. Also given in EL, loc. cit.: (10) *ma-ma-an iṣ-bu-tù* (11) *ú-šar ú ša il₅-qé-ú* (12) *ú-ta-ar lá ša* (13) *⟨⟨ú ša⟩⟩ ú-šé-ru ú* (14) *lá ša ú-ta-e-ru* (15) *i-ša-ri-iq-šum*. Note also ICK 1:83, a *be’ulātu*-contract by which a certain Aluluwa is hired to work for Idi-Ištar, and in which we find the stipulation: (17) *šu-ma ba-lúm* (18)

We know very little about how cases were brought to the attention of the assembly, who were entitled to sue and on what grounds. It seems clear from the Statutes of the Kanesh colony⁶⁸ that the cases were not put directly to the assembly there, but that they were first examined and evaluated by a special committee of “big men”; a similar procedure may have been used in the capital but we know nothing about it. The unpublished letter from Bruxelles which Veenhof kindly has allowed me to quote shows how matters at least in some situations could evolve:

To Innaja from Šu-Suen:

Aššur-idi, son of Kurub-Ištar, has uttered accusations(?) against you in all the colonies, saying: ‘Innaja . . .’

My dear father and lord, not only do you stay in dangerous territory, but the man is not a good man. Certainly, he should not mention your name before the City without any reason! Write instructions to the City to your representatives, so that when he without any reason mentions your name *before the City* (?) . . . , they will stand up and put the man to shame.⁶⁹

I-di-Ištar a-na ig-ri (19) *i-ta-lá-ak* (20) *i-ša-ri-iq-šu-um*, “If he accepts work for hire without the permission of Idi-Ištar, it will be taken away from him.” A rather strange case is ICK 1:103, a letter in which we find: (4) DUB-pá-am *ša A-lim^{k1}* (5) *ša a-šu-mi I-di-A-šur* (6) *al-qé-a-ni ra-bi-ši* (7) *iš-ri-iq-šu-ma a-na* (8) *Ša-lim-Ištar i-di-šu-ma*, “The tablet of the City which I secured for myself concerning Idi-Aššur, my attorney took it away and gave it to Šalim-Ištar.” The verb also has the meaning “to steal” in Old Assyrian texts, cf. SUP 7 about the theft of holy objects from the temple in Uršu (below, 261–262), and perhaps also CCT 4:2b, a letter in the correspondance of Aššur-idi with his sons in Anatolia in which he recounts the evil deeds of a certain Idi-Ištar who, according to J. Lewy, *OrNS* 29, 1960, 26, had kidnapped Aššur-idi, burglarized his house, and then fled: (26) *I-di-Ištar a-šé-er iš-ta-ri-qí-ni* (27) *a-na É a-bi₄-im* (28) *il₅-qé-a-ni-ma ù É* (29) *ip-lu-uš-ma e-ta-ba-at*.

68. Cf. below, 283–287.

69. Bruxelles, without number: (1) *a-na I-na-a qí-bi-ma* (2) *um-ma Šu-Sú-in-ma* (3) *A-šúr-i-di DUMU Kur-ub-Ištar* (4) *ša-nu-na-tim i-na* (5) *ká-ar ká-ar-ma* (6) *e-ta-wu-ká um-ma šu-ut-ma* (7) *I-na-a . . .* (22) *a-bi a-ta be-li a-ta a-šé-er* (23) *i-qá-qí-ri-im da-nim* (24) *uš-ba-tí-ni a-wi-lím* (25) *lá da-mí-iq ú šu-ut šu-um-ká* (26) *IGI A-lim^{k1} i-na lá i-di-im* (27) *e i-iz-ku-ur na-dáš-pé-ra-tim* (28) *a-na A-lim^{k1} a-šé-er* (29) *ša ki-ma ku-a-tí lá-pí-it-ma* (30) *i-nu-mi šu-um-ká* *IGI(?)* *x x (x)* (31) *x x nu i-lá i-di-im* (32) *i-za-ku-ru li-zi-zu-ma a-wi-la[m]* (33) *lu-ba-i-šu*. For the strange word in line 4 Veenhof refers to Hebrew *šənīnah* and suggests the meaning “sharp, pointed words”.

Normally, an appeal to the City must have been backed by some evidence in the form of documents or the testimonial of witnesses, and the preliminary scrutiny of this led to a kind of decision which involved the permission to acquire the services of an attorney, a *rābišum*. This institution has its roots in the practices known from the time of the Ur III administration where we find that the maškim-officials appear in scores of texts of the so-called "ditilla-type", i.e. documents recording legal decisions; the "attorneys" or "commissars" or "bailiffs", as they have been called, were officials who were appointed by the governors in the various cities of the empire in order to take charge of the preliminary investigation of a case. In at least two instances this official was appointed as the result of an appeal from a plaintiff and it seems likely that this was in fact the usual procedure. There are also in the Ur III texts a few not quite clear references to fees paid to the maškim, payments which are described as "gifts" but which appear to have had the character of regular fees.⁷⁰ Also in the Old Babylonian texts do we find occasional references to such officials, called either *rābišum* or *rābis dajāni*, "commissar of the judges", but their role is somewhat obscure.⁷¹

King Erišum's description of the proper proceedings in the court in the Stepgate clearly indicated that the attorneys were royally appointed officers: first one secures an attorney, then the witnesses and one's opponent come forward with their depositions, and finally the judges give their verdict. The attorney thus appears to have been appointed after an appeal by a private person and charged with the preliminary investigation of the case. However, the very close relationship existing between plaintiff and attorney makes it obvious that the very permission to hire one implies that a preliminary evaluation of the merits of the case has been made. In fact, an attorney was hired and paid a regular fee called *igru*, "wages", and thus was directly in the employ of the plaintiff. This special relationship may be illustrated by the case of Imdi-ilum and his attorney Lalija which is described in the letter TC 1:24:

From Imdi-ilum to Puzur-Ištar, Aššur-tāb, and Lalija;
to Puzur-Ištar:

70. For the Ur III material I refer to Falkenstein, *NG* 1, in particular pages 53–54; Falkenstein was not convinced that the maškim in all cases was appointed by the ensi but he could point to no other authority.
71. Cf. Walther, *Das altbabylonische Gerichtswesen*, 169–173; see also Harris, *Ancient Sippar*, 129. There the office seems to be held by one man for many years.

5/6 mina of silver is the wages of Lalija for his activity as attorney; he has received 1/3 mina 5 shekels of silver thereof, and the balance is 1/3 mina 5 shekels of silver. When he succeeds with our case he will receive it on his return. If he abandons my order and goes somewhere else, he must return the money he has received. These conditions have been written on the tablet which carries his seal.⁷²

Then follows at section containing nearly precisely the same statements concerning Aššur-ṭāb's position as attorney for Imdi-ilum, and the text continues:

I have given them 2 minas of tin and [x] minas of sickles, the amount they need for their expenditures to reach Kanesh from the City. Consequently they have been paid in full for their traveling expenses, and they are not to demand any (further) traveling expenses from you.⁷³

The text BIN 6:219 shows how this particular transaction ended in disaster with a suit brought against the attorney Lalija by Imdi-ilum's son Puzur-Ištar, the recipient of the above letter:

Puzur-Ištar, son of Imdi-ilum, questioned the attorney Lalija, and Puzur-Ištar said to Lalija, Imdi-ilum's attorney: "Imdi-ilum hired you to (come) from the City and succeed with his case as an attorney, and you brought a tablet of the City stating that you must assist me in succeeding with Imdi-ilum's case. But you – instead of succeeding with our case you constantly cause me trouble and summon me . . ."⁷⁴

- 72. (1) *um-ma Im-di-lúm-ma a-na Puzur₄-Ištar* (2) *A-šúr-DU₁₀ ù La-li-a qí-bi-ma*
 (3) *a-na Puzur₄-Ištar qí-bi-ma* (4) $\frac{5}{6}$ MA.NA KUG.BABBAR *ig-ru-šu ša Lá-li-a*
 (5) *ša ra-bi₄-sú-tí-šu ŠÁ.BA $\frac{1}{3}$ MA.NA 5 GÍN* (6) KUG.BABBAR *il₅-qé ší-tí*
 KUG.BABBAR $\frac{1}{3}$ MA.NA 5 GÍN (7) KUG.BABBAR *a-wa-at-ni i-kà-ša-ad-ma*
 (8) *i-tú-wa-ri-šu i-lá-qé šu-ma* (9) *ti-ir-tí e-té-zí-ib-ma a-šar-ša-ni-um* (10) *i-ta-lá-ak*
 KUG.BABBAR *ša il₅-qé-ú ú-ta-ar* (11) *i-na DUB-pí-šu ša ku-nu-ki-šu a-ni-a-tum*
 (12) *lá-á-pa-ta*.
- 73. (21) 2 MA.NA AN.NA (22) [...]NA *ni-ga-li ga-mar-šu-nu* (23) [š]a *iš-tú*
A-lím^{k1} a-dí Kà-ni-iš^{k1} (24) *kà-ša-dí-šu-nu a-na qá-tí-šu-nu* (25) *a-dí-in-šu-nu-tí-ma*
gám-mar-šu-nu ša ha-ra-nim (26) *ša-bu-ú nù-ma gám-ra-am ša ha-ra-nim lá*
e-ri-šu-kà.
- 74. (1) *Puzur₄-Ištar DUMU Im-di-lím Lá-li-a* (2) *ra-bi-ša-am iš-al um-ma* (3) *Puzur₄-*
Ištar-ma a-na Lá-li-a (4) *ra-bi-ší-im ša Im-di-lím-ma* (5) *Im-di-lúm iš-tú A-lím^{k1}*
a-na (6) *ra-bi-sú-tím a-na a-wa-tí-šu* (7) *kà-ša-dim e-gu₅-ra-a-kà ù DUB-pá-am*

After a break in the text we find ourselves in the middle of Lalija's answer which is difficult to understand since it refers to remarks of Puzur-Ištar's which have been lost; however, the following represents his concluding remarks:

After I arrived you sent me away and I have to stay outside where I have to incur debts in order to get food. Today you have made me see the last shekel of silver! Keep in mind what has been sworn under an oath by the City and the king! Bring the matter to the attention of the City and my lord!⁷⁵

Hiring an attorney was thus a private matter which was regulated by way of a written contract, and Imdī-ilum's letter to his son made it clear that payment of the fee for the services of the attorney was contingent upon the successful completion of the suit. The role of the attorney was thus not to establish the facts of a case in an impartial manner, but rather to safeguard the interests of the plaintiff on the basis of a decision taken by the city-assembly. This decision would be specified in the official document which he brought with him to the colony.⁷⁶

The terminology used in these texts, and in a few other Old Assyrian documents, is *awatam kašādum*, "to reach the matter", a phrase which I have translated as "to succeed with the case";⁷⁷ I refrain from using the term "to win a case", the translation suggested by CAD, because it seems likely that the attorney is simply expected to complete or carry out the instructions he has received. There can hardly be any question of "losing a case" once an attorney and a tablet of the City is directly involved in the matter.

The precise connotations of the verb *ahāzum* which is always used to denote the acquiring of an attorney in Assur can hardly be established; the successful plaintiffs "receive" (*laqā'um*) a tablet of the City, but they

- (8) ša *A-lim^{k1} ta-ni-^rišⁿ-am* ša *i-na* (9) *ša-ha-ti-a ta-za-zu-ma a-wa-at Im-di-lim*
 (10) *ta-kā-šu-du a-ta ki-ma a-wa-ti-ni* (11) *kā-ša-dim ^rteⁿ-ta-na-^ršiⁿ-a-ni ú si-ki-i*
 (12) *tū-uk-ta-na-al.*

- The form of the verb *ešā'um* was first recognised by Veenhof, *Aspects*, 22, n. 43.
 75. (12') *iš-tū* (13') *a-li-kā-ni-ni ta-at-ru-da-ni-ma* (14') *i-ki-dim wa-áš-ba-ku-ma*
ú-ha-ba-al-ma (15') *a-kā-al u₄-ma-am* KUG.BABBAR 1 GÍN (16') *tū-uš-ta-me-ri*
ša ni-iš A-lim^{k1} (17') *ù ru-ba-im ta-mu-ú kā-i-lá* (18') *a-na A-lim^{k1} ù be-li-a a-wa-tl*
(19') bi-lá.

76. Cf. EL 2, 76, n. d.

77. For examples I refer to CAD, s.v. *kašādu* 2f.

“acquire” (*ahāzum*) an attorney. It is hardly profitable to pursue the idea of a connection with the common Old Babylonian phrase *dinam šūhuzum*, “to admit a case to litigation” or “try a case”.⁷⁸

The attorneys who function within the Assyrian judicial system were all appointed by the authorities in Assur, presumably specifically by the king. One of the *waklum*-letters appears to refer to “my attorney”,⁷⁹ and in some texts from Anatolia we find such phrases as: “a tablet of the City and an attorney of my lord”; one of these men refers to himself as “the attorney of the City”, but the man who is summoned by him acknowledges the suit with the words: “I have submitted to the attorney and my lord!”⁸⁰ In a very few cases we meet “attorneys” who have been appointed by the local Anatolian authorities, however, and these examples may provide some aid towards a better understanding of the Assyrian practices for it is clear either that the Anatolians must have borrowed the institution from the colonists, or that the Assyrians made use of this term to denote a local institution which they found was similar to their own.

The very difficult text EL 252 is a record of depositions before witnesses made in the town Luhusaddija, and it involves an Anatolian and two Assyrians; one of these has “stirred up the palace and led an attorney to my house”,⁸¹ according to the Anatolian, and the attorney has apparently authorized the seizure of a male and a female slave as security for a debt. This alone is sufficient to show that the local palaces could be appealed to in disputes involving Anatolians, and that these knew of the practice of appointing a special officer to investigate.

Another complicated text, TC 3:271, records a dispute between two Assyrians who have some valuables, including a quantity of meteoric iron, lying in a house in the town Wahšušana. The plaintiff seems to be afraid that the local palace may have confiscated the very valuable iron, and he

78. The verb in the Š-stem appears always to have the meaning “to instruct” in Old Assyrian texts (also in CCT 2:27, 14, cited in *CAD* under the heading “to make hold”). A very simple observation is of course that *ahāzu* regularly takes persons as objects whereas *laqā’um* regularly is combined with impersonal objects, and *ahāzu* clearly denotes a more intimate and permanent relationship, e.g. marriage or acquiring knowledge.

79. Note, however, the alternative explanation in note 53 on page 178.

80. CCT 1:49b (EL 338): (10) *ra-bi-sú-um* (11) *ša A-lim^{k1} a-na-ku* . . . (17) *uš-kà<-in>* (18) *a-na ra-bi-sí-im* (19) *ù bé-li-a*.

81. (5) *mi-šu-um* (6) É.GAL-lam₅ *ta-al-pu-ta-ma* (7) *ra-bi-sá-am a-na É-tí-a* (8) *ta-ar-di-am*.

wants his opponent to go with him to Wahšušana in order to find out what has happened, but the latter refuses, saying that he is afraid to go; it is accordingly likely that the two Assyrians have been involved in shady activities, most probably the smuggling of the blacklisted metal iron. This refusal prompts the following suggestion from the plaintiff:

If you are afraid to go [into Wahšušana], then let me lead you to Walama and let me ask in [Walama] the *rabi sikkatim* of Walama for an attorney for you. Then the attorney of the *rabi sikkatim* of Walama can take us into Wahšušana, and he can take care of you while I get [my iron] from the palace. After that I shall personally take you out of Wahšušana.⁸²

This proposal was rejected as well, however, and the man instead offered to take an oath to prove that he had not touched the iron in question. It seems, therefore, that he was not satisfied that an attorney of the *rabi sikkatim* of Walama could offer him sufficient protection. In fact, it is quite obscure why the procedure suggested should have been thought feasible; the *rabi sikkatim* was a high official who presumably existed in all the local kingdoms, and it is difficult to see why it should be the one in Walama who should become involved in a matter concerning goods lying in Wahšušana. That the *rabi sikkatim* also in other situations had the power to appoint attorneys can be seen from the letter Gol. 14 (KTK 20), where an Assyrian goes up to the *rabi sikkatim* in an unknown town with a tablet of the colony and says that he must go because the elders have written but he complains that he must leave with empty hands; therefore: "Give me an attorney so that I can make my brother pay!"⁸³

In these Anatolian references we thus hear that one could directly "ask for an attorney", and it seems clear that the word denotes a special agent appointed for one case rather than a specific official who had this title. On the other hand, we do find some difficult references to men with this

82. (19) *šu-ma a-n[a Wa-ah-šu-ša-na]* (20) *a-na e-ra[-bi-im]* (21) *pá-al-ha-tí* [(...)]
 (22) *a-na Wa-lá-ma iš[-tl-a]* (23) *lá-ar-di-ká-ma i-n[a Wa-lá-ma]* (24) *iš-tí ra-bi
 si-ká-tim* (25) *ša Ú-lá-ma ra-bi-ša-am* (26) *le-ri-ša-ku-ma ra-bi₄-sú[-um]* (27) *ša
 GAL si-ki-tim ša Ú-lá[-ma]* (28) *a-na Wa-ah-šu-ša-na* (29) *lu-šé-ri-ib-ni-a-tí-ma*
 (30) *li-ip-qt-id-ká-ma a-[ši-i]* (31) *iš-tí É.GAL-lim lá-al-q[é]* (32) *ù a-na-ku-ma
 iš-tú* (33) *Wa-ah-šu-ša-na lu-šé-sí-a-ká.*
 83. (29) *ra-bi₄-ša-am* (30) *di-i[n]-ma a-hi lu-ša-di-in*; see also n. 14 on page 165
 and ATHE 44, 19–24, discussed in Veenhof, *Aspects*, 110.

title who are given certain payments by caravans passing through their territory.⁸⁴ It is just barely possible that these persons had been appointed to assist the caravans, and it is more safe to leave them out of consideration for the time being. On the whole, the Anatolian "attorneys" appear to have been more like "special agents" who were not necessarily concerned with lawsuits, but this is not true of the men who were appointed in Assur.

It is not clear whether the plaintiffs in Assur were given permission to hire any man they wished to serve as their attorney, or whether special men were directly appointed to each case by the authorities. A prosopographic study of the men appointed is hardly feasible at the present time, so the following list is no more than a mere presentation of the material.

Aššur-nišu: BIN 4:103; attorney for Itūr-ilī.

Aššur-pilah: ATHE 24; for the family of Amur-Ištar.

Aššur-tāb: TC 1:24; for Imdi-ilum.

Bēlānum: ATHE 22, EL 336 and 338–341; for the heirs of Pušu-kēn.⁸⁵

Buzija, son of Idnaja: ICK 1:182; for Imdi-ilum.⁸⁶

Lalija: TC 1:24 and BIN 6:219; for Imdi-ilum.

Laqēpum: ATHE 23; "attorney of the City".

Nanija: TC 3:79; for Innaja.

Puzur-ilī, son of Ilī-bānī: CCT 3:22b; for Šu-Hubur and the sons of Aššur-imitti.

Saklijā: TC 3:99; for Buzāzu.

Šu-Anum: EL 325–326; for Aššur-imitti, son of Šu-Nūnu.⁸⁷

Šu-Enlil: TC 3:133; for unknown persons.

Tāb-ṣill-Aššur: BIN 6:241; for Aššur-imitti(?).

[NN], the son of Nimar-Ištar: BIN 6:69; for Tāb-ṣill-Aššur(?).

84. Cf. TC 3:165 (treated in Garelli, *AC*, 307–309) where we have "attorneys" in Wašhanija, Nenašša and Ulama; VAT 9260 (cf. *OrNS* 21, 265), for a *kaššum* (cf. below, 359–360) and an "attorney" in Širun; and BIN 6:265 (cf. Veenhof, *Aspects*, 294) for an "attorney" in Badna.

85. A man of this name is repeatedly associated with the family of Pūšu-kēn but it is of course impossible to decide whether he is identical with the attorney; I refer *inter alia* to the letters CCT 2:24 and 4:31a sent to Buzāzu, and KTS 26b to Pūšu-kēn; see also BIN 6:25, CCT 1:17b, 3:48b, 4:4a, and KTS 49c.

86. A certain Buzija, who may be identical with the attorney, is found associated with Imdi-ilum in other texts; he has written the letters CCT 3:16a and TC 2:38 to Imdi-ilum (the second one refers to a *rābiṣum*), and he has received the letters CCT 4:10a and ICK 1:84 together with Imdi-ilum.

87. See also CCT 4:7c; cf. note 37 on page 171.

Several of the documents mentioned here have indicated the very close relation between the City and the king, and it has in fact appeared that these two institutions constituted *one* authority. If it is correct that the king in some way appointed the attorneys, it is also apparent that he did so in the context of an appeal made to the city-assembly and some kind of decision made by that body. It is also interesting to note that the texts from Anatolia fail to distinguish between the expressions "attorney of the king" and "attorney of the City"; note also that such a document as BIN 4:103, an official text issued by the primary assembly of the Kanesh colony, says that a number of tablets and tablet-containers which have been sealed by the colony are entrusted to an attorney who is to "deposit them (as evidence) before the City and our lord."⁸⁸

Since the city-assembly represented the highest authority in the Old Assyrian society, it seems obvious that the verdicts issued by that body were final and binding. The sanctions imposed consisted in fines which could be very heavy indeed,⁸⁹ but there is no evidence from any text known to me that the Assyrian legal system knew of prisons, a feature which is well attested from the Anatolian kingdoms.⁹⁰ The year-eponym,

88. See below, 336–337, for a full treatment of this text.

89. Apart from the case referred to above, 172, one may also point to the letter BIN 4:84, from Imdi-ilum to Puzur-Aššur, where we read: (3) 20 MA.NA TA (4) *e-mu-du a-šu-mì* (5) *ar-ni-kà uš-kà-i-ma* (6) [u]š-kà-in a-ru-tum (7) [ša-a]k-na-at-ma (8) [pá-t]a-ra-am (9) [la] ḫi-^l-mu-ú, "They have imposed 20 minas on each. I have bowed and bowed because of your fine but the curse is set and they refuse to release it." In this case it remains unknown whether the pénalty was imposed by the authorities in Assur, and it is likewise uncertain whether the 20 minas were in silver (in which case the fine is truly huge), or perhaps in copper.

90. See the examples collected in *CAD* s.v. *kišeršu*. There is one isolated example which seems to show that also the Assyrians used imprisonment, the unpublished text WAG 48.1465, photographs of which have kindly been provided by the Walters Art Gallery and by D. I. Owen; it is a damaged letter from Buzutaja in Assur to a group of persons in Kanesh: (3) *a-na-kam a-šu-mì I[L₅? x x x a-w]i-li-im* (4) *A-lam am-hu-ur-ma DUB-pá-am ša A-lim^{ki} al-qé-ma* (5) *a-na kà-ri-im* *sa-he-er GAL na-áš-ú-ni-ku-nu-tí* (6) *a-ma-kam DUB-pá-am ša A-lim^{ki} št-ta-me-a-ma kà-ra-am* (7) *mu-úh-ra-ma ki-ma kà-ru-um* *sa-hi-ir GAL a-na* (8) *ki-št-ir-št-im i-dt-ú-šu-ni-ma a-na-ku lá a-di-ú-šu-ni* (9) *[a-]hu-ú-a a-tù-nu ih-da-ma DUB-pá-am ša kà-ri-im* (10) *[Kà]-nl-iš^{ki} ú na-dš-pé-er-tám ša kà-ri-im* (11) *[Pu-r]u-uš-ha-dim ša ki-ma kà-ra-am Kà-ni-iš^{ki} iš-li-ú-ma a-mu-tám* (12) *[i-na?] Pu-ru-uš-ha-d[im x x] a-ši-a-tí kà-ru-um* *sa-he-er GAL* (13) [...] *ih-da-ma* ..., "here I appealed to the City because of the man's ..., and I got a tablet of the City and they bring it to you for the primary assembly of the colony. Read the tablet there and appeal to the colony (to ascertain) that it was the

who must be regarded as in some way an executive officer for the assembly, had the authority to impose certain sanctions on persons who did not fulfil their obligations towards his office.

The phrases concerning appeals from the colonial courts to the City indicate that cases normally were brought before the full assembly meeting under the chairmanship of the king, and one could suggest that special committees were set up after such a plenary meeting. One of the *waklum*-letters contains a reference to a named person who is said to have been *pāser awātim*, "the solver of the case", and one could perhaps conclude that even single persons would be charged with giving a decision in certain cases. The nature of this institution is unfortunately quite obscure, for the phrase is rare and the contexts generally uninformative. We have it in two more verdicts, one issued by the Hahhum colony which does not mention any further witnesses; and one issued by the Durhumit colony, a text which was sealed by seven different men, one of whom may have been identical with the *pāser awātim*.⁹¹ The verb *pāšarum*, "solve (a case)", is found in a highly technical context in the Statutes of the Kanesh colony, but there it seems certain that it was more than one person who "solved the case".

It is uncertain whether the assembly held regular meetings or was convened when necessary by the city herald. The sessions could take place in more than one locality, but it seems that it was always in a sacred place.

primary assembly of the colony which threw him in prison and I did not do that! My dear brothers, take care [to secure?] a tablet from the Kanesh colony and a message from the Purušaddum colony, stating that because he cheated the Kanesh colony and ... the iron [in?] Purušaddum – for that reason ..."

It remains possible that Buzutaja means to say that a certain person has been imprisoned by Anatolian authorities after having been denounced by the Assyrians, but unfortunately it is not possible to see precisely what has happened; it may be that Buzutaja on the reverse refers to his own stay in a prison, or he may be quoting someone, but the situation described is clearly somehow connected with a local palace and with the trade in iron so smuggling cannot be excluded.

91. See the remarks in EL 1, 310–311. The *waklum*-letter and the text which belongs together with it seem to indicate a certain difference in meaning between *awatam pašārum* and *awatam gamārum*, where the latter phrase could refer to a settlement rather than a verdict, i.e. a decision concerning the details of a case for which a broad decision had been taken. We have very many references to this expression in private texts where it is used with the simple meaning: "to settle a dispute"; the expression *gāmer awātim* often refers to several persons, in contrast with *pāser awātim*; cf. EL 2, 157, n. g, and CAD s.v. *gamāru* 1d.

CHAPTER THREE

The Year-Eponymy

The Year-eponymy may be viewed as a calendaric device or as an element in the political structure of Assur; in the present context I shall concentrate my attention entirely on the second aspect but even so it will be necessary to say a very few words about the Old Assyrian calendar in order to provide a background for the office. Naming periods of time after persons who had some special relationship to them was a peculiarly Assyrian practice; even though it may have its background in some of the very early concepts of the Sumerian south, such as *bala*, a word which denotes a "turnus", and which is connected with a kind of amphictyony in Sumer,¹ the Assyrian institution of the second millennium is an isolated phenomenon in Mesopotamia. In the Old Assyrian period not only the years but even weeks were named after persons, at least in the colonies in Anatolia, but that practice was discontinued during the reign of Šamši-Adad. The year-eponymy continued as the distinctively Assyrian institution down to the very end of the Assyrian state,² but it is obvious that it had by then changed character and was no longer the same institution which we find in the Old Assyrian period. It has been plausibly argued that the Greeks took over this later Assyrian eponymic institution together with the Babylonian luni-solar calendar, presumably in the eighth century B.C.³ It is curious to note that thereby they transformed the Neo Assyrian institution, which was of a ceremonial nature rather than a political one, into something which appears to have been very close to the original Assyrian year-eponymy.

The Old Assyrian calendar is very poorly known and it seems certain that only the publication of a large corpus of new material can help us

1. Cf. Th. Jacobsen, *JNES* 2, 1943, 170, n. 66; W. W. Hallo, "A Sumerian Amphictyony", *JCS* 14, 1960, 88–114; and recently also Finkelstein, *JCS* 20, 1966, 104–106. I do not intend here to discuss the later Assyrian use of the loan-word *palū* in the meaning "regnal year".
2. There is even an isolated example of a *limmu*-dating on a text from Babylonia, cf. *AfO* 13, 1939–41, plate IIIif, and B. Landsberger, *Brief des Bischofs von Esagila an König Asarhaddon*, Amsterdam 1965, 29.
3. Cf. K. Hanell, *Das altrömisches Eponyme Amt*, *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom*, 8° II, Lund 1946, 79–94. See also further below, 214–215.

gain a better understanding of it. My own efforts in this direction⁴ indicate that there was some system in operation during the level 2 period at Kanesh which secured a constant coordination between the month-calendar and the year-eponymy, i.e. it was a kind of solar calendar; apparently no intercalary months were used, in contrast with the system in the south, but the precise way in which the coordination between the lunar months and the solar eponym-year was arranged remains unknown. The purely lunar calendar found in the Middle Assyrian period must have been introduced after the main Old Assyrian period.⁵ Another major difference between the system in Assur and that of the southern calendars was the time of the new year which in level 2 seems to have been placed at winter solstice, or perhaps autumnal equinox; in the south it was of course vernal equinox which marked the beginning of the new year. The names of the twelve months appear to refer predominantly to cultic events but their interpretation is mostly quite precarious.⁶

A description of the office in the Old Assyrian society will have to begin with the special bureau or "house" which is directly associated with the eponymy, *bīt Alim*, "City Hall", or *bīt limmim*, "the house of the eponym". Lewy has shown a long time ago that these names refer to the same office,⁷ a fact which at once points to the importance of the office and to its close connection with the City as a governing body. It is interesting to note that even the Middle Assyrian documents show that the designation *bīt āli* continued in use and must have denoted an important communal institution as late as the second half of the second millennium.⁸ The fact that the term *bīt limmim* is unattested from the later evidence may indicate that the year-eponymy was no longer directly connected with it, but that must remain speculations.

4. Cf. also p. 53, n. 18, and below, 211.

5. That the Middle Assyrian texts show a lunar calendar has been shown by E. F. Weidner, "Aus den Tagen eines assyrischen Schattenkönigs", *AfO* 10, 1935–36, 27–29; Weidner's conclusions were contested by J. Lewy, "The Assyrian Calendar", *ArOr* 11, 1939, 46, and by Fine, *Studies in Middle Assyrian Chronology and Religion*, Cincinnati 1955, 92, n. 18; decisive arguments against Weidner's conclusions have not been produced.

6. Cf. Hirsch, *UAR*, 53–54.

7. J. Lewy, "Old Assyrian *husārum* and *Sanchunyāton's Story about Chusor*", *IEJ* 5, 1955, 156, n. 4; see also Garelli, *AC*, 202–203.

8. The official weights were kept there; cf. simply *CAD* s.v. *ālu* in *bīt āli*, but note that the doubts expressed there as to "whether the term denotes a public or a private commercial institution" in the Old Assyrian period, should be laid to rest. Cf. 214, n. 72 for the seal of the *bīt ālim*.

The obvious parallel in the Old Assyrian period is of course the office known as *bīt kārim*, "the house of the colony", an institution which presumably existed in all Assyrian colonies, and this office is perhaps better known than the corresponding one in the capital. I cannot in this context attempt to provide a comprehensive description of the functions of the house of the colony, and I refer instead to the fairly exhaustive survey given by Garelli;⁹ it should be stressed, however, that a number of important procedures which involved this office are still inadequately interpreted. There is no doubt that the house of the colony was the administrative centre of the colony and of particular importance is the fact that certain taxes were paid there; these were both of a purely commercial nature, being dues imposed on the import or export of goods (*šaddu'utum*),¹⁰ but we also find a different kind of payments, referred to as *dātum*, which, despite Veenhof's detailed and careful analysis of the available evidence,¹¹ still are of a somewhat mysterious nature. It is possible that they constitute special regular payments made to a common fund located in and administered by the office of the colony, and such payments may have been required of persons who held a certain status in the colony. It is clear that individual merchants had special accounts in the office, but these may be of a different nature and we may in fact have to do with a primitive kind of deposit bank. Veenhof has also shown how communal or collective trading operations were organised via this office,¹² a subject to which I shall return in a following chapter. The office of the colony also played a special role as a kind of intermediary between individual Assyrian traders and the Anatolian palace administration, specifically in matters concerning the payment of taxes. And finally it can be seen that the office played a role, at present impossible to define with any degree of precision, in the administration of justice.¹³

The evidence concerning the City Hall in Assur is much less extensive but we can at least make it likely that most of the functions of the office of the colony were shared by the City Hall; in fact, it is *a priori* probable that the colonial administration represents a copy of institutions found in the capital.

9. Garelli, *AC*, 176–198.

10. Cf. my *OACP*, 143–144, and Veenhof, *Aspects*, 278–288.

11. Op. cit., Part Three, 217–302.

12. Op. cit., 134–137; below, 338–343.

13. Cf. below, 284, text 1 of the Statutes, unless we have to read *bāb kārim*, "the Gate of the colony", rather than *bīt kārim*.

Most of our references to either the City Hall or the year-eponym in action as an administrative official are concerned with the payment of debts due from individuals or firms. We can observe that such debts bore interest, although the rate was very low, and in some cases they seem to have run for a considerable span of time, even several years. Other examples show that the eponym could take punitive measures when debts were not paid on time. The background for these debt-obligations is only rarely clearly stated but one reason was certainly the payment of the export-tax, *waṣtum*, a duty paid on all caravans leaving Assur for destinations in Anatolia.¹⁴ It corresponded to no more than $1/120$ of the value in silver of the departing shipment, i.e. roughly between 5 and 15 shekels of silver for shipments of the usual size. All the caravan-accounts that I have studied mentioned this amount as having already been paid before the caravan left Assur, and at least one such text as well as a couple of letters of other types mention clearly that it was the eponym who collected the export-tax. The evidence is confused, however, and it could indicate that more substantial payments had to be made to the office of the eponym. In the caravan-account MAH 19611 we find a shipment which has cost 11 minas $275/6$ shekels of silver, so the export-tax should amount to just about $52/3$ shekels; as a matter of fact, the list of expenses ends with the passage:

$52/3$ shekels 15 grains: the export-tax; 1 mina of silver we paid to the office of the eponym.¹⁵

The unpublished caravan-account VAT 9218 is more difficult still, for it starts with a list of expenses and investments which amount to about 24 minas of silver, then continues with expenditures which cannot have been connected with any caravan (for instance the purchase of a house), and then follows the passage:

Out of 1 mina 5 shekels of silver, the export-tax on your caravan, thereof: 5 shekels for the eponym Aššur-damiq.¹⁶

14. Cf. above, 103 with n. 69.

15. (13) $5\frac{2}{3}$ GÍN 15 ŠE (14) *wa-ṣl-tum* 1 MA.NA (15) KUG.BABBAR *a-na* É *li-mi-im* (16) *ni-iš-qul*.

16. (30) *i-na* 1 MA.NA 5 GÍN KUG.BABBAR (31) *wa-ṣl-tám ša še-pi-ká* (32) ŠÁ.BA 5 GÍN *a-na li-mi-im* (33) *A-šúr-SIG*. In the same text we also find reference to payments *ana limmim ša Aššur-dān*, and $3\frac{1}{3}$ minas of silver for a seal of lapis lazuli *ana limmim Šu-Hubur*; cf. further below, 351, for some comments on these passages.

Both these texts continue with the mention of amounts which are designated *tēšubu*, a word which can hardly be interpreted at present, but which may of course readily be translated as “additions”;¹⁷ the MAH text mentions a little further down that the “additions” of a certain amount of silver constituted precisely 1/45 part, but that figure may well be quite accidental for it does not seem to be supported by other texts.

That the export-tax was collected by the eponym may be seen clearly from a couple of letters sent by the woman Lamassī to her husband Pūšukēn in Kanesh; the first, MAH 16209, contains the following passage:

Wool is expensive in the City. When you put at least one mina of silver at my disposal, place it within the wool. As to the one mina of silver of your export-tax which you sent to me, the *mūši’um* demanded it of me and I became afraid for your sake and did not pay it. I said: “Let the eponym come in here and carry away the (entire) house!”¹⁸

In the second letter she returns to this affair with the following words:

The eponym Šudaja asked me for money, saying: “He owes at least one mina of silver of his export-tax.” Of the silver, 1 mina 10’shekels, which you sent me for the eponym Buzuzu I shall pay 1 mina to the eponym Šudaja.¹⁹

Apart from the size of the amounts mentioned, which according to the known rate presupposes the existence of shipments worth 2 talents of silver, there are other difficulties in these texts. The term *mūši’um* is here left untranslated but there are several explanations and translations on record; Garelli who edited the text where it occurs suggested a transla-

17. Cf. *OACP* 42 and 151.

18. (11) *i-na A-lim^{k1}* (12) SfG.HI.A *wa-aq-ra-at* (13) *i-nu-mi* KUG.BABBAR 1 MA.NA (14) *ta-ša-kā-na-ni* (15) *i-na qé-ra-áb* (16) SfG.HI.A *šu-uk-nam* (17) KUG.BABBAR 1 MA.NA (18) *ša wa-ši-tí-kà* (19) *ša tū-šé-bi₄-lá-ni mu-ši’um* (20) *e-ri-šu-ni-ma* (21) *a-šu-mi-kà pá-al-ha-ku-ma* (22) *ù-lá a-<di->in* (23) *um-ma a-na-ku-ma* (24) *li-mu-um le-ru-ba-ma* (25) É *bi-tám li-bu-uk*.

19. BIN 6:3: (3) *li-mu-um Šu-da-a* (4) KUG.BABBAR *e-ri-ša-ni um-ma šu-nu-ma* (5) *ša wa-ši-tí-šu* KUG.BABBAR (6) 1 MA.NA *ha-bu-ul* (7) KUG.BABBAR 1 MA.NA 10 GfN (8) *ša a-na li-mi-im* (9) *Bu-zu-zu tū-šé-bi-lá-ni* (10) *a-na li-mi-im* (11) *Šu-da-a* 1 MA.NA (12) *a-ša-qal*. Note that the text gives the plural: *šunu* in line 4: PN asked for it and they said!

tion "les contrôleurs",²⁰ referring to J. Lewy who had offered the interpretation "eine Art Polizist";²¹ in *AC* Garelli instead translated "fournisseur",²² and Hecker has followed this by giving the translation "Lieferant".²³ It is obvious, however, that some of the references to this term must be understood as denoting a kind of payment and in AHw all references have been placed under the heading: "eine Ausreiseabgabe"; that appears to me to be a too extreme solution and I maintain that some of the known references (for instance the one cited above) do denote persons,²⁴ but on the other hand it seems premature to speculate whether these men were on the staff of the eponym, and whether they had a special connection with the export-tax; these hypotheses cannot be excluded but neither can they be substantiated at the moment.²⁵

It is obvious that the export-tax cannot be the only source of income for the house of the eponym or explain all the debts mentioned in our texts. Veenhof's statistics, to which I have already referred earlier,²⁶ have shown that the entire known export of textiles from Assur corresponds to a silver value of some 24 talents, and the export-tax for these shipments amounts to no more than 12 minas of silver; one text refers to a debt to

20. *RA* 59, 1965, 160.

21. *KTH*, 15.

22. *AC*, 217; this translation is based on statements by H. Lewy, "On Some Old Assyrian Cereal Names", *JAOS* 76, 1956, 202.

23. *GKT*, §97e; the word is a part. D of *waṣā'um*, "to go out."

24. Presumably CCT 4:4a, a letter to Pūšu-kēn from Puzur-Aššur, in which we find the passage: (10) *a-na* (11) *Pu-ru-uš-ha-dim e-ru-ub-ma* (12) *ki-ma mu-ši'-um KUG.BABBAR* (13) *ba-at-qam i-ša-qú-lu* (14) *um-ma a-na-ku-ma*, "I entered Purušhaddum and since the *mūši'**um* will pay a poor price in silver, I said . . ." Apparently the *mūši'**um* was here a person who would buy some *amūtum*, but it is slightly disturbing to find that the text goes on to say that the local colony heard about this matter and gave a verdict which said: (17) *a-dl mu-zí-zu* (18) *「x」「e」-mu-ru a-na ma-ma-an* (19) *la ta-da-ši*, "until the representatives see . . . you must not sell it to anyone." It is a fact that the signs ZU and UM in some Old Assyrian hands are quite alike and one cannot but wonder whether one should read *mu-zí-zu* both in Lamassi's letter and in this text; note that Lamassi in the letter CCT 3:19b to Pūšu-kēn does mention his *muzzizu* with whom she is not exactly pleased; she recounts that they have removed his memoranda from the house and keep her without any knowledge of whether the debtors have paid or not; her troubled relations with these men are well illustrated by her anxious remark: (10) *ù ki-ma dš-pu-ra-ku-ni* (11) *mił-ma šu-mì lá ta-za-kar-šu-nu-ti*, "also, since I have written to you, you must not mention my name to them!"

25. Cf. also Veenhof, *Aspects*, 231, n. 362.

26. Cf. above, 90.

the City Hall of 16 minas of silver, and it is clear that this must have some other background.²⁷ The same is true of the 10 minas of silver mention by Pūšu-kēn's daughter Ahaha in a letter written to her brothers, even though she does appear to connect this payment with things which "have gone out repeatedly."²⁸ Perhaps it should be considered whether the word *wasitum*, which in the caravan-accounts regularly denotes the small payments mentioned above, could also be used with a wider meaning, denoting other types of payments.

We do know of other activities of the eponym and his office which could result in debts, first of all the fact that this institution appears to have held a monopoly on the trade in various luxury items. Occasionally we hear of payments made to the City Hall for a seal of lapis lazuli or quantities of meteoric iron (*ašt'um* or *amūtum*), or some precious stone called *husārum*. Also in the Anatolian kingdoms the trade in these commodities was clearly under some sort of government control so that Assyrians had to obtain special permission to conduct trade in these goods. We know that there were occasional attempts to evade these regulations and increase the earnings by clandestine trade in contraband, and we also know that such attempts could lead to serious consequences for the people who got caught; Pūšu-kēn was thrown in jail in Kanesh once when one of his caravans was caught smuggling *ašt'um*.²⁹ It seems clear that the City Hall in Assur in the same way exercised some control over the commerce in such goods; one letter, TC 2:23, from Hinaja in Assur to Pūšu-kēn in Kanesh, mentions that Hinaja will ask the eponym for *ašt'um* and buy some if it has become available.³⁰ Another letter to Pūšu-kēn, this time from Puzur-Aššur, TC 2:9, states that "they do not sell *amūtum* and *husāru* which you wrote about in the office of the eponym."³¹ Finally, a letter from the normally not very happy lady Tarām-kūbi to her husband Innaja in Kanesh, CCT 4:24a, says that she has had

27. TC 1:29, a letter from Aššur-idi to Aššur-nādā: (40) *mī-šu ša a-na lu-qū-tim*
 (41) *ta-ù-ri-im ta-áš-pu-ra-ni* (42) *a-a-nu-um* (43) KUG.BABBAR *e-ta-li-am* 16
 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR (44) *a-pu-hu l-lī-a-lim a-É A-lim^{kī}* (45) *áš-qul*, "Why
 is it that you have written to me about investing in goods? From where should
 the money have come? I have paid 16 minas of silver to the City Hall on behalf
 of Illālum."
28. Cf. below, 202.
29. Cf. ATHE 62; Veenhof, *Aspects*, 307–308, and my review of Orlin, *ACC*, "The
 Old Assyrian Colonies in Anatolia", *JAOS* 94, 1974, 474–475.
30. (31) *a-šu-mī* (32) *a-šī-im ša ta-áš-pu-ra-ni* (33) *li-ma-am ni-kā-sī-ma* (34) *šu-ma*
i-ta-áb-šī a-ma-lī (35) *tī-ir-tī-kā ni-lā-qé*. Cf. J. Lewy, *IEJ* 5, 1955, 156, n. 4.
31. (3) *a-šu-mī a-mu-tim ù hu-sà-ri* (4) *ša ta-áš-pu-ra-ni É li-mī-im* (5) *ù-lá i-du-nu*.

to collect her own jewelry and give it to the City Hall as the payment for some *husāru*,³² this is not the only payment to this office which is mentioned in her letters, and the passage found in CCT 3:23b is particularly intriguing:

About the 1 mina of silver which you send to me – at the rate of 15 shekels for each (of us?) the silver is not sufficient for what I must pay to the City Hall. Your representatives said: “Leave it to us to pay!” But I have personally scraped together the *aši’um* available to me and paid 5 minas of silver to the City Hall.³³

I have to admit that I do not understand this passage at all, and the connection between the *aši’um* and Tarām-kūbi’s payment to the City Hall is not very clear. It may be that she is once again complaining that her husband has left her practically destitute so that she has to sell her private things simply in order to survive; this is the subject of such a letter as CCT 3:24 in which we also find a quite obscure reference to a payment made to the City Hall.³⁴

Finally, it should be remembered that one of the *waklum*-letters referred to a royal shipment which contained no less than 5 minas 5 shekels of extra fine *husārum* plus a lump of *aši’um* weighing 11 shekels. It seems to be reasonably certain that no ordinary private merchant could dream of laying his hands on such quantities of these commodities.

We are relatively ignorant of where these luxury-goods originally stemmed from; lapis lazuli must of course have come from the sources in Afghanistan, and it was presumably brought to Assur by a northern route in Iran, down through the Zagros. Landsberger has claimed that *husārum* was an Old Assyrian term for this stone³⁵ but that is rather un-

- 32. (53) [d]u-di-na-ti-ni nu-lá-qí-it-ma a-na KUG.BABBAR (54) [š]i-im hu-sà-re-e a-na É A-lim nu-uš-[ta-qí-il₅].
- 33. (7) 1 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR ša tù-šé-ba-lá-ni (8) a-na 15 GÍN.TA KUG. BABBAR (9) ša a-na É A-lim^{k1} ú-ša-qú-lu (10) lá ma-ši ša ki-ma ku-a-tí (11) um-ma šu-nu-ma ní-nu (12) lu ni-iš-qul (13) a-na-ku-ma a-ši-i (14) qá-tí-a ú-lá-qí-it-ma (15) 5 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR a-na (16) É A-lim^{k1} áš-qul.
- 34. Lines 23–24; cf. also M. Trolle Larsen, “Slander”, *OrNS* 40, 1971, 320 with n. 12.
- 35. Landsberger and Balkan, *Bulleten* 14, 1950, 234–235; cf. also B. Landsberger, “Tin and Lead: the Adventures of two Vocables”, *JNES* 24, 1965, 285, n. 1. J. Lewy instead claimed that the word denoted hematite but as pointed out by Landsberger we do have the normal term for this stone: *šadwānum*, in the Old Assyrian texts (cf. now the reference cited above, 92).

certain since the common term NA₄.ZA.ḠLN is attested in Old Assyrian texts, and one would thus have to postulate that *husārum* was the Akkadian reading of this ideogram, rather than the usual word *uqnūm*. Strangely enough, both *amūtum* and *aši'um* are mentioned as being sent from Assur to Anatolia as well as being bought in the Anatolian area itself. Some of the texts make it very clear that it was a local Anatolian commodity which the Assyrians bought. One thing is clear, however, that the commodities in question were hugely expensive.³⁶

It is probable that payments corresponding to the *dātum*-contributions in Kanesh were also made to the office of the eponym in Assur, but this cannot be proven. The only reference known to me which hints at such procedures is found in the short letter TC 2:20:

To Šalim-Aššur and Pūšu-kēn from Šu-Kūbum:

The *šipkātum*-deposit of our own Šu-Anum which had been made for Šalim-Aššur I have bought from the eponym. I would not have touched the matter had it not been one involving our father's house.³⁷

The technical terms *šipkātum* and *šapākum* cannot be precisely translated but it is surely significant that they recur in exactly those texts which involve the special investment deposits made in the office of the colony.³⁸ Whether the rather obscure text ICK 1:17, which mentions debts to the City Hall and says that "merchants' money" has increased on top of "that of Aššur", i.e. perhaps temple funds, refers to similar payments to the City Hall is quite uncertain;³⁹ it seems that the phrase "merchants' money" most probably refers to debts outstanding from customers in Anatolia and that it thus does not denote special investments made in the City Hall by persons who could call themselves "merchants" (*tam-kārum*). However, it is just possible that the reference to funds belonging

36. Cf. J. Lewy, *IEJ* 5, 156–157.

37. (1) *a-na Ša-lim-A-šūr* (2) *ù Pu-šu-ki-in* (3) *qi-bi-ma um-ma Šu-Ku-bu-um-ma*
 (4) *ši-ip-kā-at* (5) *Šu-A-nim ni-a-im* (6) *ša a-na Šál-ma-A-šūr* (7) *ša-á-p-ku iš-ti*
 (8) *li-mu-um* (9) *áš-a-am a-na* (10) *Ša-lim-A-šūr qi-bi-ma* (11) *šu-ma-mi-in* (12)
la ša É a-bi-ni (13) *qd-ti-mi-in ù-lá* (14) *ú-bi-il5*.

38. Cf. further below, 339–342.

39. It is a letter to Akitaja and Adad-bānī from a woman called Narāmtum, and the crucial passage says: (26) *ki-ma a-hu-ku-nu ù a-bu-ku-nu* (27) KUG.BABBAR
a-na É A-lim^{kl} (28) *ha-bu-lu lá ti-dí-a i-ṣé-er* (29) *ša A-šūr KUG.BABBAR DAM.*
GĀR-ru-tim (30) *ir-ti-bi-ma*. Cf. Hirsch, *UAR*, 51, for a slightly different interpretation; *iṣṣér* perhaps: "more than".

to the god Aššur is to be understood as denoting the debts due to the City Hall.

In spite of the vagueness of our evidence it is evident that sometimes quite substantial sums passed through the office of the eponym and the economic importance of this institution was obviously very considerable. On the other hand, it is worth noting that the eponym and the City Hall clearly had no direct connection with the judicial procedures; we do have one text which shows how this office could become involved in the details of a lawsuit, but apparently only in some way as a special "consultant". The unfortunately quite difficult letter CCT 5:8a must be quoted here at some length in order to make this clear:

To Su'eja, Aššur-muttabbil, Buzāzu, and Ikuppāša from Ahaha:
 There, you have been informed about your father's debt; whatever
 $\check{š}ipkātu$ -deposits or (claims outstanding on) customers, you may
 have, no one must take his own share. For your own debt your
 houses and the treasuries of your houses have been seized (? as
 security). In the office of the eponym the price (i.e. value?) of your
 houses will be deducted, and I shall write to you how much of your
 debt remains.⁴⁰

This text seems to belong to the period after the death of Pūšu-kēn, whose children are the correspondents here, and although I cannot claim to understand all details in the document, I suggest that this passage is to be understood as referring to a general assessment of liabilities and assets of the entire family, which was carried out under the authority of the eponym as part of a complete reorganization undertaken by the city-assembly. Perhaps this was part of the "freezing" of a dead mer-

40. (1) *a-na Sú-e-a A-šur-mu-ta-bi-il5* (2) *Bu-za-zu* (3) ú *I-ku-pá-ša qí-bi-ma* (4) *um-ma A-ha-ha-ma a-ma hu-bu-ul* (5) *a-bi-a-ku-nu ta-al-ta-am-da* (6) *lu šl-ip-ká-tim lu tám-ká-ra-am* (7) *tl-šu-a ma-ma-an qá-sú* (8) *lá i-lá-qé a-na hu-bu-li-ku-nu* (9) *ku-nu-im bi-ta-ku-nu* (10) ú *i-šl-tí É bi-ta-ku-nu* (11) *i-ta-aq-nu i-na É li-mí-im* (12) *šl-im É-ta-ku-nu i-ba-ta-aq-ma* (13) *ma-lá hu-bu-lá-ak-nu* (14) *i-šl-tú-ni a-ša-pá-ra-ku-nu-ti*.

One of the difficulties in the text is of course the strange form *bi-ta-ku-nu* (cf. Hecker, *GKT* §64e), but it is not easy to see what it can be except "your houses". For the verb *lamādum* see Veenhof, *Aspects*, 417–421; he says that the G-stem has the meaning: "to acknowledge, to recognise as one's liability, to take for one's account." L. 11: see *qnh*, "acquire by purchase", and in some instances "redeem".

chant's business which has already been mentioned, and Ahaha informs her brothers that they are not allowed to begin dividing the money in Anatolia where they can get hold of assets of various kinds, first of all apparently money deposited in the office of the colony as *šipkātum* and loans given to retail-traders. It is possible that the debt of their father was one to the City Hall of course, in which case it is simple to explain why the deduction would take place there, but it seems more likely that the letter refers to debts of all kinds to private persons. It is not clear to me whether Ahaha means to say that the debt of her brothers is certain to be greater than the value of their houses.

In spite of the very real uncertainties concerning the interpretation of this text it does appear to be clear that the office of the eponym also in such contexts played the role as the administrative centre of the city, and the importance and power of the office is thus underlined. It is also clear from a number of letters that the eponym did hold real power of a kind which made it possible for him to exert strong pressure on the families who failed to honour their obligations to his office. Stories about such unpleasant encounters are not too infrequent in the letters sent from women who are left alone in Assur by their husbands staying in Anatolia. I have already referred to a couple of such examples: Lamassi and Tarām-Kūbi. Pūšu-kēn's daughter Ahaha also has such a story to tell in the letter TC 2:46, addressed to her brothers Aššur-muttabbil, Buzāzu, and Ikuppāša:

The eponym frightens me and he continues to take my slave girls as security. Send me at least 10 minas of silver and let your representatives offer it to him and pay for what has repeatedly gone out. While you there have continued to carry (money) off, our father's house stands in danger here!⁴¹

Another lady, Šimat-Suen, the wife of Aššur-taklāku, writes in the very difficult letter BIN 4:67 a very similar story:

The eponym has taken the *sipāru* and your slave girls as security, and see now! the eponym has gone out and has made senseless(?)

41. (7) *li-mu-um* (8) *ù-ša-ah-da-ra-ni* (9) *ù GEME.HI-ti-a* (10) *ik-ta-na-ta* (11) KUG. BABBAR 10 MA.NA (12) *še-bi-lá-nim-ma* (13) *ša-zu-za-tù-ku-nu* (14) *lu-kà-i-lá-šu-ma* (15) *a-ša i-ta-sí-a-ni* (16) *li-iš-qú-lu a-ma-kam* (17) *a-tù-nu té-ta-ki-ma* (18) *a-na-kam pu-ru* (19) É *a-bi-ni ša-ki-in*.

demands for the goods I keep, and they opened the house and sold (it/them).⁴²

These references give some substance to Lamassi's outburst quoted earlier, where she invited the eponym to come to her house and "take it all away"; apparently, that was exactly what he had authority to do.

If the above thus leads to the logical conclusion that the City Hall under the direction of the eponym was the administrative centre of the city of Assur, it is readily obvious that the men who qualified for this post must have been what we may call "responsible" members of the community, i.e. they must have represented the major kinship groups in the community. Before I turn to some speculations concerning these matters it is necessary to discuss some slightly problematical elements in the system and some interpretations which are in need of revision. Landsberger once suggested that the men who directed the affairs of the City Hall were not in fact identical with the current year-eponyms, even though both groups of men were referred to with the title *limmum*.⁴³ This theory may receive some apparent support from the fact that some texts mention several persons with this title without making it very clear whether these persons are past or current year-eponyms or perhaps serve in some other capacity. Some of the texts which cause most confusion deal with affairs in the colonies, however, and they will be discussed in a later chapter.⁴⁴ And one may further note that of the nine men who are mentioned as *limmum* in contexts other than datings, seven recur as year-eponyms in such datings;⁴⁵ the last two, Aššur-dan⁴⁶ and Šalim-Aššur, son of Kukusija,⁴⁷ certainly

42. (17) *sí-pá-ru ú GEMÉ.HI-ká* (18) *li-mu-um ik-ta-ma* (19) *a-ni li-mu-um ú-ší-ma* (20) *a-ší-im ú-ká-lu-ù* (21) *ká-sí-lu-ta-am e-ri-iš-ma* (22) *É bi-tám ip-té-ú-ma* (23) *i-di-nu-nim*.

For the construction in line 20 I refer to Hecker, *GKT* §144. The interpretation of the first word in line 21 is based on Hebrew *ksjl*.

43. Landsberger, *AHK*, 8–9: "Die Gemeinde Assur verwaltete sich ebenso wie die babylonischen Städte autonom. Von ihren Funktionen, die sie im Stadthause (*bit alim*) ausübte, kennen wir die des Geldverleihens, wobei sie durch (periodisch wechselnde) geschäftsführende Beamte (*limmu*) vertreten wird (nicht zu verwechseln mit den ebenso bezeichneten Jahreseponymen)."

44. Cf. below, 333–353.

45. Alahum (TC 1:21), Aššur-damiq (VAT 9218), Aššur-idī (TC 1:21), Buzuzu (BIN 6:3), Ilšu-rabi (TC 1:21), Šudaja (BIN 6:3), and Šu-Hubur (VAT 9218).

46. VAT 9218, cf. n. 16 on page 195.

47. EL 125 (KTS 49b), a transport-contract mentioning shipments sent by Buzāzu (and perhaps his brothers), in which we find the passage: (1) 20 MA.NA KUG.

do constitute a problem, but not necessarily a very great one, for it is after all not impossible to imagine that future publications will provide us with year-dates in which they occur.⁴⁸ And as for the texts which quite clearly mention more than one *limmum*, these references can in most instances be explained as referring to debts contracted during an earlier eponymy. As an example of this I shall quote a large section from the letter TC 1:21:

To Aššur-imitti, Ili-šudu, Buzāzu, and Waqqurtum from Puzur-Aššur:

I owe 3 minas $10\frac{1}{6}$ shekels of silver to the eponym Alāhum. Month *Sarrātum*(?), eponym Innaja – until month *Te'inātum* an interest of $12\frac{2}{3}$ shekels has accrued; in all: $3\frac{1}{3}$ minas $25\frac{5}{5}$ shekels. I owe 2 minas of silver to the eponym Aššur-idi. Month *Qarrātum*, eponym Innaja – until *Te'inātum* 2 shekels of interest has accrued. (I owe) 1 mina of silver to the eponym Ilšu-rabi. Eponym Buzutaja, month *Qarrātum* – until *kuzallu* an interest of $7\frac{1}{2}$ shekels has accrued. In all: I owe $6\frac{1}{2}$ minas $2\frac{1}{3}$ shekels of silver to the City Hall.⁴⁹

BABBAR (2) *ni-is-ha-sú DIRIG* (3) *a-ha-ma* 6 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR (4) *ni-is-ha-sú DIRIG* (5) *a-na hu-bu-li-a* (6) *a-li-mi-im* (7) *ša Šál-ma-A-šur* (8) DUMU *Ku-ku-sí-a*.

The text has been collated by me in 1972 and the last sign in line 6 is a clear IM, in spite of Lewy's copy.

48. It is worth pointing out, however, that both of these unpleasant references show the formula: *limmum ša PN*, "the eponymy of PN", instead of the normal: *limmum PN*; this may be significant, as I shall attempt to show in a later chapter, below, 351–353, and it cannot be entirely excluded that precisely these examples refer to instances where persons in Assur were given the title *limmum* without being year-eponyms in the same way as we may observe in the colony at Kanesh.
49. (1) *a-na A-šur-i-mi-tí l-ili-šu-du* (2) *Bu-za-zu ù Wa-qúr-tim qí-bia-ma* (3) *um-ma Pu-zur₄-A-šur-ma* 3 MA.NA $10\frac{1}{6}$ GÍN (4) KUG.BABBAR *a-na li-mi-im A-lá-hi-im* (5) *ha-bu-lá-ku ITI.KAM sá-lá-ra-tim* (6) *li-mu-um I-na-a a-dí ITI. KAM* (7) *té-i-na-tim* $12\frac{2}{3}$ GÍN.TA *ši-ib-tum* (8) *i-li-ik ŠU.NIGIN* $3\frac{1}{3}$ MA.NA $25\frac{5}{6}$ GÍN (9) 2 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR *a-na li-mi-im* (10) *A-šur-i-dí ha-bu-lá-ku ITI.KAM* (11) *qd-ra-a-tim li-mu-um I-na-a* (12) *a-dí té-i-na-tim* 2 GÍN.TA (13) *ši-ib-tum i-li-ik* (14) 1 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR *a-na li-mi-im* (15) DINGIR-šu-GAL *li-mu-um Bu-zu-ta-a* (16) ITI.KAM *qd-ra-a-tim a-dí ku-zal-li* (17) $7\frac{1}{2}$ GÍN.TA *ši-ib-tum i-li-ik* (18) ŠU.NIGIN $6\frac{1}{2}$ MA.NA $2\frac{1}{3}$ GÍN KUG.BABBAR (19) *a-na É A-lim^{k1} ha-bu-lá-ku*.

I have collated the text in 1974. The month name in line 5 is clearly written *KI-ra-tim* (cf. following footnote); the figure beginning line 17 is $7\frac{1}{2}$, not $6\frac{1}{2}$ as in the copy.

Let us look first at the terms set for the repayment: they were obviously for the three posts 1) the month *Sarrātum*⁵⁰ in the eponymy Innaja, 2) the month *Qarrātum* in the same eponymy, and 3) the month *Qarrātum* in the eponymy Buzutaja. It can be seen that these terms had not been honoured since the loans had begun to draw interest, the two first ones until the month *Te'inātum*, the third one until the month *Kuzallu*. The sequence of the Old Assyrian months is known but it has not yet been shown with finality which month began the year; my own calculations, which will hopefully be published elsewhere soon, indicate that it was the month *Bēlat ekallim* which began the year,⁵¹ so it is possible to provide the following reconstruction:

3) Innaja II – X	8 months
2) Innaja VIII – X	2 months
3) Buzutaja VIII – ? XI	3 months (+ x years).

The figures provided for the first two amounts show that the rate of interest applied was $\frac{1}{2}$ shekel per mina monthly;⁵² if we apply the same rate for the third loan it can be seen to have run for a period of 15 months, i.e. 1 year and 3 months. Consequently, the eponymy Buzutaja must be placed immediately before Innaja, and the three posts in the text can be identified as instalments paid at six-month intervals: a) in Buzutaja VIII, b) in Buzutaja + 1 (i.e. Innaja) II, and c) in Buzutaja + 1 VIII.

50. There is in fact no such month in the Old Assyrian calendar, but I understand the writing as a variant of (or a mistake for) the monthname (*narmak Aššur*) *ša sarrātim* (thus also Hirsch, *UAR*, 54, n. 281); J. Lewy instead wanted to read *giš-ra-tim* ("The Assyrian Calendar", *ArOr* 11, 1939, 39, n. 2; also H. and J. Lewy, "The Origin of the Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar", *HUCA* 17, 1943, 69, n. 299), and this was interpreted as meaning: "month of campaigns". According to J. Lewy the second loan mentioned in this text had drawn interest for only one month, rather than two as suggested here, so he also concluded that the first loan had drawn interest for only 4 months; not quite logically, he then stated that the alleged month-name *Gerrātum* was another name for the month *Sip'um* (which he translated as: "month of going to war"), but only three months separate *Sip'um* from *Te'inātum* so in this instance Lewy did count from the beginning of the first month. Lewy's construction seems very artificial and built on weak arguments.
51. This conclusion is based on a statistical examination of the data concerning the *ša qāti*- datings; cf. already above, p. 53, n. 18.
52. That is 10% yearly interest which is very low compared with the normal commercial loans; debts to the office of the colony drew an interest of 15%, cf. the text CCT 1:4 discussed below, 333–335.

What does it mean then that these three posts are said to be owed to still other eponyms? The three creditors are all known as year-eponyms in datings and it should be noted that my preliminary chart of year-eponymies ordered according to the data from the memoranda places the three creditors some ten years earlier than the year-eponyms Innaja and Buzutaja. This seems to give strong support to the idea that these three men were really to be regarded as previous year-eponyms also in this context, i.e. men whose name appeared on whatever documents were set up in connection with the giving of the credit. The title thus refers back to an earlier occasion when they in fact did act *qua* year-eponyms, being in charge of the affairs of the City Hall. Since the loans are summed up as a debt to this institution, rather than to the three individuals, it seems clear that we cannot from this conclude that the year-eponymies operated the business of the City Hall as an extension of their private affairs.

I would also point out that when Lamassi in her letter quoted above writes that Pūšu-kēn has sent one mina of silver which was meant for the eponym Buzuzu, but that she has paid it to the eponym Šudaja, this does not mean that both men held this title simultaneously; I instead suggest that Buzuzu was a previous eponym and Šudaja the current one, and I point to the text TC 3:91 which mentions a number of current debts outstanding to Aššur-idi, for these are contracted during the eponymies Buzuzu, Šudaja, and Puzur-Nirah; in other words, these three eponymies are likely to have been close together since most loans ran for quite short periods.⁵³

However, one must ask why these loans are referred to as loans to the eponym NN rather than to the City Hall; true, a number of loans are in fact referred to in the latter fashion, but it seems possible that the Old Assyrian administrative system was so primitive that the men who as year-eponymies acted on behalf of the community and accepted responsibilities in that way in fact appeared as individuals, i.e. that a deposit made in the City Hall and acknowledged by a certain eponym retained a

53. Perhaps one should omit the eponymy of Puzur-Nirah from consideration here; according to the preliminary chart of eponymies he served as eponym several years before the two others (at least some five years), and it is worth noticing that the one loan dated to his eponymy in the letter seems to have been the object of some legal action already, presumably because it had not been paid in time; Aššur-idi notes that the certified loan-document plus a tablet sealed by the colony have been entrusted to another person.

special connection with this man.⁵⁴ I shall return to this question in a later chapter when I shall deal with the evidence from Anatolia concerning the representation of the colony by individuals, and it should be mentioned here that such men are given the title *limmum*.⁵⁵ Such a practice of appointing *ad hoc* one, two or more persons to act on behalf of the community is not known from Assur, and the fact that it was the term *limmum* which came to be used about them certainly indicates that the basic content of the year-eponymy institution was precisely the idea of a representation of the community by a specially appointed individual. It is thus clear that I am convinced that the year-eponymy was found in the capital only and that only one man at any given time could be referred to as *limmum* in Assur.

Jankowska has claimed that the year-eponymy as well as the week-eponymy was at home in Kanesh and that the men who appeared in these two offices "belonged to the same group of people, namely to the council of the commercial association [of Kanesh]."⁵⁶ I believe this to be totally incorrect and I can point to the fact that of the ca. 70 year-eponyms known at the present time no more than 2 are also known as week-eponyms.⁵⁷ The restricted repertoire of Old Assyrian personal names obviously

54. It should perhaps be stressed that we have no knowledge of a possible procedure in the nature of Greek *logos* or *euthyna* (cf. C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution*, Oxford, 1967, 203–205), an examination of the administration of the magistrates who ended their term of office. According to Oppenheim we find in Old Babylonian Sippar an institution which to some extent may be compared with the Greek *leiturgia* (cf. below, 215–216).

55. Cf. below, 333–353.

56. Jankowska, *ArOr* 35, 1967, 537. Miss Jankowska also claims that the year-eponyms served in a kind of collegium consisting of three members, but I cannot accept that either (cf. below, 346–347).

57. These two persons are: Aššur-malik, son of Alāhum, and Innaja, son of Amuraja. Aššur-malik served as week-eponym during the year-eponymy following that of Šilülu (CCT 5:22b, 11), and during the year-eponymy of Ikuppi-Ištar (c/k 265, 34), i.e. presumably in years which were relatively close to his own term as year-eponym. Innaja is attested a great many times as week-eponym, but mostly without patronymic so we cannot be completely certain that it is this man; with patronymic he is found in the year-eponymy Aššur-malik (CCT 1:4, 18), and also the year following the eponymy Akutum (Gelb 59, 3); both of these years may be later than his own term as year-eponym, i.e. he must have moved back to Kanesh. It should be mentioned that both men are very well known from the material from Kanesh.

results in some confusion and one can point out that 26 names of year-eponyms recur as names of week-eponyms, but in 9 of these cases the patronymics prove that we do not have to do with identical persons, and most of the names are so common that it would be foolish to posit identity of person on the basis merely of a name without patronymic.⁵⁸ The entire material available at present therefore clearly shows that the two groups basically were distinct; a very limited overlapping certainly existed, but that is not surprising for we must assume that a great number of persons moved from capital to colonies and back during their lifetime. They could

58. The following list contains the names known to me from the published material:

<i>year-eponyms</i>	<i>week-eponyms</i>
Akutum	Akutum
Alāhum, son of Inah-ili	Alāhum, son of Idi-Suen
Amur-Aššur, son of Karrija	Amur-Aššur, son of Ilija
Aššur-dan	Aššur-dan
Aššur-idi, son of Šuli	Aššur-idi
Aššur-imitti, son of Ili-bāni, and malāhum	Aššur-imitti, son of Ikuppi-Ištar (Ikua), and of Zubalali
Aššur-malik, son of Alāhum	Aššur-malik, son of Alāhum, of Lu- zina, of Kajatum, and of Sukallija
Aššur-nādā, son of Ili-binanni, and of Puzur-Anna	Aššur-nādā
Aššur-tāb	Aššur-tāb
Buzāzu	Buzāzu
Buzutaja	Buzutaja
Elāli, son of Ikūnum, and <i>sangūm</i>	Elāli
Ennam-Anum	Ennam-Anum
Ennam-Aššur, son of Dunnija	Ennam-Aššur, son of Suen-nādā, and of Šalim-ahum
Enna-Suen, son of Idi-abum, of the kumrum of Suen, of Šu-Aššur, and of Šu-Ištar	Enna-Suen, son of Ili-ālum
Idi-abum, son of Narbutum	Idi-abum, son of Aššur-rabi
Idi-Aššur, son of Kübidi	Idi-Aššur, son of Pappilum
Idi-Suen, son of Iddin-abum	Idi-Suen
Ili-ālum	Ili-ālum
Ili-dan, son of Azua	Ili-dan
Innaja, son of Amuraja	Innaja, son of Amuraja
Puzur-Ištar, son of Sābasija	Puzur-Ištar
Sukallija, son of Mennānum	Sukallija
Šalim-Aššur, son of Kukusija	Šalim-Aššur, son of Aba
Šu-Ištar, <i>kakkabānum</i>	Šu-Ištar, son of Luzina, and of Šabsütum
Šu-Kūbum, brother of Uzinum	Šu-Kūbum.

therefore very well have come to serve as week-eponyms in Kanesh at one time and as year-eponyms in Assur at another time. This conclusion is further supported by the observations that there are no Anatolian names in the list of year-eponyms, and that we find such a man as a *sangūm-priest* as year-eponym, a person who most certainly cannot have lived anywhere else than in Assur. The fact that some persons who are attested as year-eponyms may be encountered also in the colonies cannot surprise; I have not made any systematic search for such references but it is not difficult to find examples, and all they show is that the Assyrian merchants were very mobile.⁵⁹ On the whole, however, it is my impression that the year-eponyms to a large extent are absent from the ordinary texts from Kanesh, for they were usually the bosses, the financiers who stayed in the capital and had their business connections, employees, *factors*, or partners take care of their interests in the colonies. Such a man as Pušu-kēn who in our material appears as a most prominent person does not appear as year-eponym, but only as week-eponym; he was obviously a member of the colonial community and we must expect to find his superiors in the role as year-eponyms in the capital.

The list of year-eponyms at present contains ca. 70 names, 25 of which are attested only once or twice. A number of them are known with patronymics or "nicknames", in fact ca. 50, and it is to be hoped that it will some day be possible to acquire a better understanding of their status and family-relations, but today, when so much material remains inaccessible and when no prosopographic investigations of any scope exist, it is hardly possible to contribute more than some scattered remarks on the subject.

First of all it should be pointed out that there are no royal names in the list. The first king who is known to have held the year-eponymy is Enlil-nirārī who ruled from 1329–1320 B.C.⁶⁰ There may be some examples of members of the royal family who appear as year-eponyms earlier than that, but even those examples presumably represent a change of the

59. Some examples: Aššur-idi, son of Šuli, is a witness to a contract dated to the eponymy of Idua (CCT 1:10a); Aššur-malik, son of Alāhum, entrusts silver to a transporter (CCT 1:14a), or brings silver to Assur himself (ICK 1:87); in the text ICK 1:181 he is listed among other recipients of quantities of bread, and MAH 10823 + Sch. 23 recounts how he is to take charge of his brother's estate after the latter's death; Enna-Suen, son of Idī-abum, seems to be active in the Wahšušana colony (KUG 37); his namesake, son of the *kumrūm* of Suen, appears as a witness in MAH 15876, a text which could date to the period after the death of Pušu-kēn.

60. Cf. Fine, op. cit., 41.

original system; the first example seems to be Šamši-Adad's son and successor who appears as "Išme-Dagān, son of Šamši-Adad", in a dating on an unpublished text.⁶¹ From the Old Assyrian material we have the highly uncertain example of an eponym Elāli who is known as son of Ikūnum, and who probably was identical with the eponym of this name who had the title *sangūm*; but there is a long way from the hypothetical *sangūm*-priest Elāli, son of Ikūnum, to the certainty that he was in fact the son of the *king* Ikūnum, and only the writing *mera rubā'im* can be accepted as proof of a royal descent.

The list of year-eponyms appears to show that a certain group of families was represented by a number of members; we have examples of what appear to be brothers as well as father and son, and even though such conclusions necessarily have to be tentative in nature because of our lack of precise knowledge and because of the many examples of namesakes, we do have such a relatively high number of examples that it is difficult to believe that we are faced with a mass of coincidences:

Elāli, son of Ikūnum, should be compared with Ikuppi-Ištar, son of Ikūnum; perhaps also with Šu-Hubur, son of Elāli.

Amur-Aššur, son of Karrija, should be compared with Kūbija, son of Karrija.

The following pairs may represent the sequence father-son:

Alāhum, son of Inah-ili	- Aššur-malik, son of Alāhum
Bazija ⁶²	- Ilšu-rabi, son of Bazija
Idi-abum, son of Narbutum	- Enna-Suen, son of Idi-Abum
Idi-Aššur, son of Kūbidi	- Adad-bāni, son of Idi-Aššur
Šu-Ištar, son of Šukkutum ⁶³	- Enna-Suen, son of Šu-Ištar.

Thus, 15 year-eponyms can with relative ease be combined in a pattern which surely reflects a system where the year-eponymy was directly linked to a group of families. Pending the publication of more texts and major prosopographic investigations we must rely on such scattered observa-

61. Information kindly communicated by Veenhof who will publish the text.

62. According to information offered by Professor Balkan this is a more likely reading than *Ma-zī-a*, which he suggested in *Observations*, 92.

63. Attested only in unpublished texts so far; cf. however his namesake: Šu-Ištar *kakkabānum*.

tions and common-sense arguments. It seems eminently probable that the year-eponymy was held by persons who represented the upper stratum of the capital, men who belonged to the most important families. The number of such important kinship groups can only be guessed at. Obviously, the fact that the office was held for one year only constituted a security arrangement which prevented excesses, for the man who was this year's executioner could easily become next year's victim.

There is no evidence from the Old Assyrian period which could tell us about a possible screening of the candidates for this office, and it is important to note that we do not know whether a man could become year-eponym more than once in his life. This was of course the case in later periods and *a priori* it seems most likely that also the Old Assyrian eponyms could get a second or perhaps even a third term.

There is no direct evidence from the Old Assyrian period about the way in which the eponym was chosen, but from later periods we know that he was chosen by way of a ceremony which involved the drawing of lots. The most palpable piece of evidence is an actual lot which stems from the time of Shalmaneser III, but it should also be noted that the word *pūrum*, which denotes a lot, is used as a virtual synonym of *limmum* in the Middle Assyrian texts;⁶⁴ in one of Shalmaneser III's own inscriptions we find the phrase: "when I cast the lot in front of Aššur and Adad",⁶⁵ which refers to his second tenure as eponym in his 31st regnal year. We do also have some evidence of a circumstantial nature from the Old Assyrian period which serves to render it very probable that the sortition by lot was in use already at that time. The special dating formula *limmum ša qāti PN* "eponymy: of the hand of PN", which has already been referred to earlier, is found in connection with the first months of each year and it seems clear that this phrase reflects a situation where no one could know on beforehand who was going to give his name to the new year: therefore the men in Anatolia had to make use of the "anonymous" formula when setting up documents during the first months of each year until spring came and the first messengers from Assur could arrive with the message.⁶⁶

The lot from the time of Shalmaneser III is a cube of clay whose sides are ca. 3 cms long; it is inscribed on four sides with the following text:

64. Cf. A. Ugnad in *RIA* 2, 412, n. 2; he goes so far as to say that "das eigentliche Wort für Eponymat ist *pūru*."

65. Cf. E. Michel, "Die Assur-Texte Salmanassars III.", *WO* 2, 230, 174.

66. Cf. above, 53, n. 18; see also my article in *RA* mentioned there.

Aššur, great lord! Adad, great lord!

(This is) the lot of Jahālu, the chief steward of Shalmaneser king of Assyria, the governor of the city Kipšuni, the land Qumeni, the land Mehrani, the land Uqi, (and) the Cedar Mountain, (and) the chief of customs.

May Assyria's harvest prosper and be good in his *limmum*, his lot!
May his lot be drawn before Aššur and Adad!⁶⁷

Michel who edited the text suggested that the drawing was done by way of a pot which had so small an aperture that only one lot could come out at a time; by shaking it one could thus produce a lot. In Greek and Roman tradition the lots were always made of wood and the containers were filled with water. Rigging and cheating was of course very well known by these people, for instance by the use of different kinds of wood so that some lots would be so heavy that they would never come out first, and there is no doubt that at least in the Middle Assyrian period there must have been a good deal of manipulation. In fact, at the time of Shalmaneser III it was a centuries-old principle that the king served as eponym during his first regnal year, and when Shalmaneser himself "cast his lot" for the second time in his 31st regnal year the "correct" result must surely have been guaranteed in some way. When the practice still later became for the office to rotate according to a fixed schedule among the bearers of the highest posts in the imperial administration the sortition by lot obviously became obsolete.

The Jahālu-lot is of considerable interest also because it shows that the year-eponymy at this late date retained what one could call a religious flavour; the reference to the good harvest of the land certainly must have its roots in the traditional, ideologically orientated view of the year-eponymy. It is not just an empty honour bestowed upon a highly placed and trusted official, and the fact that the king himself reserved the post

67. Published in YOS 9 as no. 73 with photograph on plate XLV; cf. E. F. Weidner, "Die assyrischen Eponymen", *AfO* 13, 1939–41, 309–310, and E. Michel, "Die Assur-Texte des Salmanassars III.", *WO* 1, 1949, 261–264. See also Oppenheim, *AM*, 99–100.

(1) *Aš-šur EN GA[L]* (2) ⁴*IM EN GAL* (3) *pu-ú-ru* (4) *šá mJa-ha-li* (5) *AGRIG GAL* (6) *šá* ^{md}*SILIM-* (7) *ma-nu-SAG* (8) *MAN KUR Aš-šur* (9) *lúšá-kiñ* (10) *URU Kib-šú-ni* (11) *KUR Qu-me-ni* (12) *KUR Me-eh-ra-ni* (13) *KUR Ú-q[i]* (14) *KUR e-ri-ni[m]* (15) *GAL ka-a-ri* (16) *ina li-me-šú* (17) *pu-ri-šú* (18) *ŠIBIR KUR Aš-šur* (19) *SI.SÁ lid-SIGs* (20) *ina IGI Aš-šur* (21) ⁴*IM* (22) *pu-ur-šú* (23) *li-li-a*.

for his first regnal year points in the same direction. I do not think it possible to trace or determine the essential features in this institution, but I would at least point out that the year-eponymy appears to constitute a kind of counterbalance to the institution of kingship, and I cannot see how they could have a common origin as proposed by Oppenheim.⁶⁸ It should also be kept in mind that one of the most extraordinary monuments found by the excavators of ancient Assur was an enormous row of stone stelae which was discovered just outside the walls of the inner city, for these stelae are directly connected with our problem.⁶⁹ In fact, we have two rows of stelae, some of which bore inscriptions, and it can be determined that one row contains stelae with the names of kings – and a few queens, whereas the other row contained stelae with the names of men who had served as eponyms. The earliest datable stela stems from the 14th century B.C. but the entire monument was partly destroyed in Antiquity so it is impossible to determine whether the rows continue backwards into the more distant past. It seems relatively certain that the stelae were put up in chronological order, but it is still highly improbable that their purpose should have been to serve as what Ugnad called “eine monumentale Eponymenliste”, enabling the people of Assur to count the years by walking up and down the rows.⁷⁰ It is possible that the rows

68. Cf. above, 36 with n. 42; in *AM*, 99, Oppenheim wrote as follows: “It was an Assyrian custom to have the king act as eponym (*limmu*) on a par with the highest administrative officials of the realm. [...] The king gave his name to the first year of his own reign and the officials of the realm, in a traditional sequence, to the subsequent years, after which the king could again be the eponym for one year. A possible explanation for this custom could be that the king was originally only the *primus inter pares* of an amphictyonic league of sheikhs, as we know the kings of Hana to have been, and possibly also those of Na’iri. Assyrian tribal chieftains could well have lived around the sanctuary of the god Aššur and acted there, at an early period at least, as kings and priests, each for one year.” The situation described by Oppenheim in the first part of the quotation refers to the later Assyrian practices and, as has been shown here, the older evidence cannot provide support for Oppenheim’s theory. The year-eponymy is in my opinion more likely to originate in the internal power-structure of the city-state than in a tribal milieu.

69. Cf. W. Andrae, *Die Stelenreihen in Assur*, WVDOG 24, Leipzig 1913.

70. *RIA* 2, 412; Ugnad also says: “Als die Anlage noch intakt war, dürfte es möglich gewesen sein, durch Abzählen der Stelen die zeitlichen Differenzen der einzelnen Jahre festzustellen.” The Greek lists of eponymic officials from Lindos and Miletus are also in monumental form, but the keeping of a *list* in the form of one monument is surely quite different in nature from the Assyrian rows of stelae.

could have been used in that way, even though the anepigraphic stelae and the special row of royal stelae, which even included some queens who could not have been eponyms, must have made it rather inconvenient for its "user". The real purpose behind this impressive monument must have been of a quite different nature, and even though we cannot explain the stelae it is not difficult to grasp the religious significance of the rows; the erection of the yearly stela which according to the inscription it bore was the *salmu*, perhaps meaning something, like "picture", of the eponym, must have been a cultic event of some importance.⁷¹ The entire monument testifies to the significant role played by the year-eponymy as late as the Middle Assyrian period. It should also be said, however, that there is nothing in the available Old Assyrian evidence which points to a religious background for the eponymy at that time.⁷²

The fact that such institutions as the Greek *archon eponymos* from Athens or the similar offices from such places as Sparta, Lindos, or Mile-tus, as well as the Roman *consul* constitute calendaric devices as well as elements in the political and administrative structure, has convincingly been explained as being due to a borrowing from the Assyrians. The

71. Note that the inscription always is written within an amulet-shaped cartouche on the stelae.
72. A connection between the god Aššur and the office called *bit ālim*, "City Hall", should perhaps be postulated on the basis of the seal of the god which is found impressed on the vassal-treaties of the Neo Assyrian king Esarhaddon, cf. D. J. Wiseman, *The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon*, London 1958, 17–19. The seal appears to be of a type that can be dated to the Old Assyrian period and the writing supports this conclusion: (1) ša "A-šūr" (2) ša É *A-lim*^{k1}; Wiseman is hardly right in interpreting *bit ālim* here as "the temple of the City", and it would thus seem that the god's seal (or one of them?) was kept in the City Hall. J. Lewy suggested some years ago that the *bit limmim* was the "treasury of the Aššur temple" (*JAO* 78, 1958, 97, n. 54), and he referred to the old suggestion of Poebel's that the "care for the sanctuary and the cult of Aššur" was "the basis for the *limmu* institution." Such speculations cannot be dismissed of course, but the evidence in favour of them is too weak to provide decisive support. If the eponym was in fact in charge of the treasury of the temple, the sharing of power with the king must have been even more pronounced than in the reconstruction favoured here. Note however that in TC 3:68 we hear of goods being brought into the Aššur-temple (*bit Aššur*) where a *kumrum*-priest appears to be in charge, so the temple itself must have had a treasury of its own: (19) [ri-ik-]sà-am ša KUG.KI (20) ku[-nu-ki-a] a-na É A-šūr (21) šé-ri-ba-ma na-ru-qam (22) ša a-šar ri-ik-sú (23) ku-nu-ku-a i-ba-ši-ú-ni (24) ku-um-ra-am er-ša-ma, "bring a bundle of gold with my seal into the Aššur-temple and ask the *kumrum*-priest for the sack which is found where the bundles with my seals are."

Spartan list of *ephors* starts in the middle of the 8th century B.C. so the loan took place not later than that time.⁷³ As already mentioned, the Greeks borrowed only the idea of naming years after certain officials, for they had of course fully evolved political institutions which were based on annually changing offices as part of their aristocratic constitutions. It is interesting for an Assyriologist to note that there is a general agreement among Classicists that the archonship is to be seen as the first element in the gradual abolition of the hereditary life-kingship, a creation made by the nobles in order to take away some of the essential powers from the kingship; the second and third steps in this evolution was the creation of the annual office of the *polemarch*, the leader in war, and the final abolition of the life-kingship with the transference of its religious functions to an annual office.⁷⁴ The evolution in Assyria obviously went in the straight opposite direction with the king gradually encroaching on the institutions which represented the "aristocracy" in Assur. Precisely the old city of Assur seems to have retained some degree of independence in its relationship to the later Assyrian kingship, although it was of course a fully integrated part of the Assyrian state; the historical evolution which led from city-state to territorial state and ultimately to the Neo Assyrian empire is clearly reflected in the increasing power of the king and his court, but in this we cannot find an *explanation* of the development of the political patterns. In fact, at the present time we are not in a position to do more than point to the facts and perhaps describe some of the major problems.

It has been shown recently by Oppenheim that the Old Babylonian society knew of an institution which in many respects is similar to the Old Assyrian eponymy. The texts from the provincial city of Sippar in northern Babylonia, an important commercial centre, indicate that an official who is called *wakil tamkāri*, "overseer of the merchants", functioned as a kind of "mayor" in the town, and that the tenure of this office was annual; a man could serve more than once but never in successive years. The study of the texts has also shown that the men who held this post came from well known, wealthy families in the city, and Oppenheim concludes from this as follows:

I propose to see in this state of affairs a direct reflection of a civic institution which regulates the term of office of the head of the city government in the following way: from a small group of individuals

73. Cf. Hanell, op. cit., 92–93.

74. See for instance Hignett, op. cit., 38–46.

of wealth and status one person is selected by lot to serve for an annual tenure with the proviso that the retiring official cannot participate in the selection of his successor. This indicates the existence, within the city of Sippar, of a civic tradition that implied a degree of personal equality – at least among a restricted circle of citizens – as well as of the basic concept of home rule or, to be more specific, municipal autonomy.⁷⁵

In a later contribution Oppenheim has returned to these questions and more specifically to the fact that it was a limited circle of very wealthy men who could hold this office. His explanation, which I find to be not entirely convincing, is that the “mayor” was personally responsible to the central royal administration in Babylon for the tax imposed on the city of Sippar:

In order to shift the burden equitably – and perhaps also to distribute in the same way the income and the honors implied – lots were drawn every year under the supervision of the outgoing official.⁷⁶

It may well be that Oppenheim is right in his suggestion that the “mayor” was responsible for the correct delivery of taxes to the king, but it seems to me that the rotating nature of the office is more likely to be due to the internal politics of the city, i.e. it represents a sharing of power among the most important families of the community.

As a matter of fact, the final publication by R. Harris of the study of the Sippar material has shown that there were two annual offices which were both held by wealthy citizens: the *wakil tamkāri*, “overseer of the merchants”, and the *rabi’ānum*, “mayor”. The latter seems to have been the most important office until the time of Samsu-ilūna’s reign, after which time the overseer of the merchants takes precedence as head of the main administrative body of the city, composed of both the *kārum* and the court of judges. The third major office of the city was the GAL UNKIN, *mu’errum*, “the chief of the assembly”; it is not clear whether this was annual but its holders appear to have been local men.⁷⁷

75. A. Leo Oppenheim, “A New Look at the Structure of Mesopotamian Society”, *JESHO* 10, 1967, 6.

76. Oppenheim in Lapidus (ed.), *Middle Eastern Cities*, 10–11. In this we encounter “a social mechanism somewhat akin to the ‘liturgy’ of the Greek *polis*.”

77. Cf. Harris, *Ancient Sippar*, 60–72.

Sippar may be relatively atypical for the Babylonian area, partly because of its close relations with the nomads of the steppe, and partly because of its position on the important caravan routes – and both of these points may well constitute links with Assur. It is surely also important that apart from a short line of early Old Babylonian kings in the city, it seems that there was no strong local tradition for a system of kingship in Sippar.

In Sippar as well as in Assur the political power was partly in the hands of the important kinship groups, and it seems likely that the families in both cities were supported predominantly by a lucrative foreign trade. These clear connections between the political systems of two cities, of which one was a royal city whereas the other was a provincial city, may well point to common traditions, but at the moment we are not in a position to draw further conclusions regarding the political structure of other cities in the south. It is relatively clear, however, that the kings of Babylon interfered in the political system in Sippar and the change which gave new power and influence to the office of overseer of the merchants together with the judges may represent the result of “outside”, Babylonian intervention. Nevertheless, these offices were still held by influential local men who must have had close ties with the elders, and this is true even of the Chief of the assembly who may have represented the royal administration in a more direct way.⁷⁸ The latter official may in fact be said to correspond to the king of Assur who as “our lord” held the post as chairman of the assembly.

In conclusion it can be said that the Old Assyrian year-eponymy was an important element in the political structure of the city-state. It represented the interests of the major families and even functioned as a kind of counterbalance against the powers of the king. It is uncertain whether it had a religious basis in the same way as the kingship. As an executive office it was not under the direct control of the king but was obviously closely connected with the city assembly.

78. Cf. Oppenheim, loc. cit.

CHAPTER FOUR

Assur and Assyria: Some Conclusions

Hopefully, the preceding chapters have provided a relatively comprehensive analysis of the material available from the Old Assyrian period, and the enquiry conducted here has been based on conventional, well tested philological techniques. This does not, of course, represent a complete or final analysis, for even though material from Babylonia and occasionally other areas has been made use of here and there, the Old Assyrian evidence has of necessity been subjected to a synchronic and non-comparative investigation. One of the questions that has therefore had to be left floating is concerned with the relationship between the Old Assyrian city-state and the later Assyrian social, economic, and political structures. The following tentative remarks cannot make up for the lack of a proper diachronic analysis, but I do feel obliged to attempt to sketch the outlines of such analyses, in spite of the deeply felt problems of scope of factual knowledge and of methodology.

The contrast between the Old Assyrian city-state and the Neo Assyrian empire can seem so overwhelming that one may doubt whether it is really feasible to discuss it in a useful way. On the one hand we have a city-state inhabited by merchants and financiers who live from long-distance trade, and on the other we have a territorial state "Assyria", ruled by a despotic monarch and a military nobility, and ruling and exploiting a vast empire of subjected peoples. If we concentrate on the kingship we find the contrast between a "priest-king" whose power was shared with the city-assembly, and a despotic "king of the Universe" whose vast palaces constitute economic and military centres. It is therefore perhaps not so surprising that it has proven difficult for some scholars to accept this contrast, and as a result even the Old Assyrian period has been seen as an "imperial" epoch. The so-called "Grossreichstheorie" which – with certain revisions and variations along the way – was upheld by a few eminent scholars¹ was based on the idea that the Assyrian presence in Anatolia reflected the existence of an Old Assyrian empire and the subjugation of large areas in Anatolia by Assyrian armies.

1. See for a brief review of these ideas Garelli, *AC*, 25–27; also Orlin, *ACC*, 90–97.

It goes without saying that I cannot here provide an analysis of the Neo Assyrian material concerning the later period's political structure. A comprehensive comparative study can accordingly not be offered; and moreover, such a study would have to concern itself in some detail with the much less conclusive material from the intervening, Middle Assyrian period, during which the transformation of the Assyrian society took place. We are faced with a complex pattern of old traditions which were retained and transformed and of institutions and ideas which derive from foreign influences received during the long history of the Assyrian people; some of these influences most certainly had a direct and profound effect on the "basis" which has been described in the preceding. They became operative with the fall of the Old Assyrian dynasty and the usurpation of the Amorite Šamši-Adad I who was obviously under deep influence from southern, Babylonian traditions. Perhaps even more drastic was the influence received from the Hurrians who at some point around the middle of the second millennium had established a kind of federation which united political powers in an area stretching from the Zagros Mountains to the Mediterranean. The city of Assur became engulfed in the Hurrian sea and it was most certainly at times under direct subjugation, even though the line of local kings continues without any break. To some extent we must admit that we are here on *terra incognita*, for the Hurrian culture is not well known or precisely defined.

The stability of the local traditions of Assur should not be underestimated, however, and Oppenheim has pointed to the following important elements: "The preservation of the linguistic tradition, of specific social institutions such as the Assyrian concept of kingship and certain basic aspects of the religious life, e.g. the cult of Aššur."² As a matter of fact, all of these elements confront us with aspects of discontinuity as well as continuity. Thus, it is perfectly clear that the Assyrian dialect remained the spoken language of the area even at the time of the most intense Hurrian infiltration, but it is also true that from the time of

2. Oppenheim, *AM*, 164; we find there some essential comments on precisely the problem of this chapter. Oppenheim is perhaps a little too pessimistic in his statement that "we know next to nothing of the civilization of the Assyria of the early kings", although the preceding has indeed served to underscore the paucity of our sources. His graphic description of the later Assyrian complex civilization is brilliantly convincing: "The Assyrian formulation of the Mesopotamian civilization of the subsequent periods presents a multi-layered agglomeration of Hurrian and Babylonian influences interspersed with solid blocks of genuine Assyrian attitudes and concepts that had not died out."

Šamši-Adad I we have a tradition of composing royal inscriptions in the Babylonian dialect; in fact, the Assyrian dialect was only used sporadically in several literary and scientific textual genres. In the same way we must say that the kingship was subjected to important modifications and it is not unlikely that these were reflected in the religious life of the city, first of all in the evolution of the Aššur-figure. The king remained the chief priest of the god and the special relationship was transformed into an aggressive ideology which formed the basis for the imperial expansion. The king conducted wars on behalf of his god and reported on his successes to him. His military exploits reflected the glory of the god.

I have attempted to show that the Old Assyrian material indicates the existence of a delicate equilibrium between the three fundamental institutions of the city: king, assembly, and eponym. There are no references to any kind of conflict between them but it is not difficult to point to some potential areas of dispute. When a king notes the willingness of his city to support him in his building-projects we are reminded of the possibility that there was a latent conflict of interest; but our concepts are likely to be too crude if we for instance suggest that the king granted certain economic privileges to the city in return for the support for his own projects. The citizens of Assur were presumably entirely as pious as their ruler, and it is furthermore unlikely that the king alone had the power to grant such privileges. The prestige of the kingship was undoubtedly to a large extent based on the special relationship with the god Aššur and it seems that the curse of the king was feared and could seriously affect the status of an individual. Disunity among the major families must have led to an increase in the royal power, and it is not unlikely that the fact that the king presided over the city-assembly indicates his position as a kind of mediator between the kinship groups and their interests.

It is not easy to assess the proportions of Šamši-Adad's impact on the political institutions of the city. He must surely have left some things in peace but on the other hand it is hard to imagine that the basic elements should not have been affected. The trade on Anatolia continued to exist, so it is clear that at least some families after a certain interval were able to go on providing the necessary capital. However, we see that Šamši-Adad introduced such a southern institution as the royally appointed "overseer of the merchants",³ and the fact that the word *tamkārum*

3. Cf. TIM 2:15, a letter exchanged between merchants in the Diyala-area, which mentions a certain Iddin-Amurru who is described as "the *wakil tamkāri* of

came to be used as a proper title as in the south shows that the status of the traders had changed. We must assume the existence of a much stricter royal control of the trade, perhaps even a system of licensing of merchants who took part in the overland trade. It seems that the king himself spent relatively little time in the city and we do not know how it was governed; the year-eponymy was retained but the week-eponymy at Kanesh was abolished and this perhaps reflects a discontinuation of a system of local self-government. Šamši-Adad retained the old titulary and accepted the position as Aššur's steward, but this was a secondary title which came after such titles as *šakin Enlil*, "Enlil's prefect", and *pālih Dagān*, "who fears Dagān". His monumental rebuilding of the Aššur-temple appears to be connected with an attempt to introduce the cult of Enlil. When his fourth successor was forced from the throne in what appears to have been a patriotic revolution Šamši-Adad was described as "a man of foreign extraction, not of the 'flesh' of the city of Assur", and it is surely significant that one of the crimes for which he is blamed was the destruction of a temple and the subsequent building of a royal palace at the spot.⁴ The old strong families of the city obviously had been forced to relinquish their political power and influence, and a new system had been introduced.

It is impossible to decide how effective this revolution was in reinstating the old order. The long series of short royal inscriptions from the following centuries down to the time of Aššur-uballit I in the 14th century seem to show a return to the Old Assyrian patterns, but the continued influence of the short Šamši-Adad dynasty may be observed in the fact that his name became a favourite throne-name in the later periods. The instigator of the revolt against this dynasty, a certain Puzur-Sin, is not even mentioned in the king list.⁵

It is clear that the Old Assyrian material does not provide us with the tools for a real understanding of the factors which determined the trans-

Šamši-Adad", and who brings a special sealed tablet concerning a coming military campaign; as pointed out by Leemans, "Old Babylonian Letters and Economic History", *JESHO* 11, 1968, 199, this man was obviously a royal official, and the title therefore seems to be used in a different way in Sippar as mentioned above, 215–216.

4. Cf. Landsberger, *JCS* 8, 1954, 32–33, for a treatment of the inscription in question.

5. Neither were the last members of the Šamši-Adad dynasty accepted, cf. Landsberger, *op. cit.*, 37.

formation from city-state to empire. The conflicts between the royal interests and those of the city-institutions can hardly be traced either, but it is significant that Assur retained a special position in its relationship to the king even at a time when it no longer served as capital. Several kings preferred to move their court from Assur to new cities which they founded or rebuilt: Dür-Tukulti-Ninurta, Calah, Nineveh, Dür-Sarrukin, and this was of course an established practice at the time of the imperial flowering. This must certainly to some extent be explained by the special position which the old capital retained; Oppenheim places these activities in a special context of city-privileges which the kings were forced to grant, and he even says that the Assyrian kings' efforts "pointedly show that the cities had been winning their fight for freedom."⁶ Assur certainly remained a "free city" with certain rights (freedom from corvée and taxation etc.), and although it is clear that the old sacred cities had a religious basis for such claims, it is likely that the city-state traditions became difficult to accept for the powerful monarchs who ruled large empires. Attempts to deprive the cities of their privileges apparently ended in disaster,⁷ probably because of the religious prestige of the cities, and since the god never relinquished his claim to complete authority over his city, the kings decided to move to their own cities. They still accepted the authority of the gods of course, and they certainly also remained closely bound to the city; thus, a series of kings were buried in vaults under the old palace of Assur, and it can be seen that the coronation ceremony took place in the Aššur-temple.⁸ It is not likely that this situation created any great difficulties for the kings, except perhaps in extreme situations and when the city could become the centre for politically dissenting groups; it cannot be excluded that the dominant conflict in Assyria in the time of the empire between the "nationalists" and the "Babylonians" directly involved the city of Assur, for it is known that Assur was under very heavy influence from the south, but on the other hand we should not imagine that this conflict was caused by or directed from Assur: we are faced with an issue which transcends Assyrian culture as a whole.

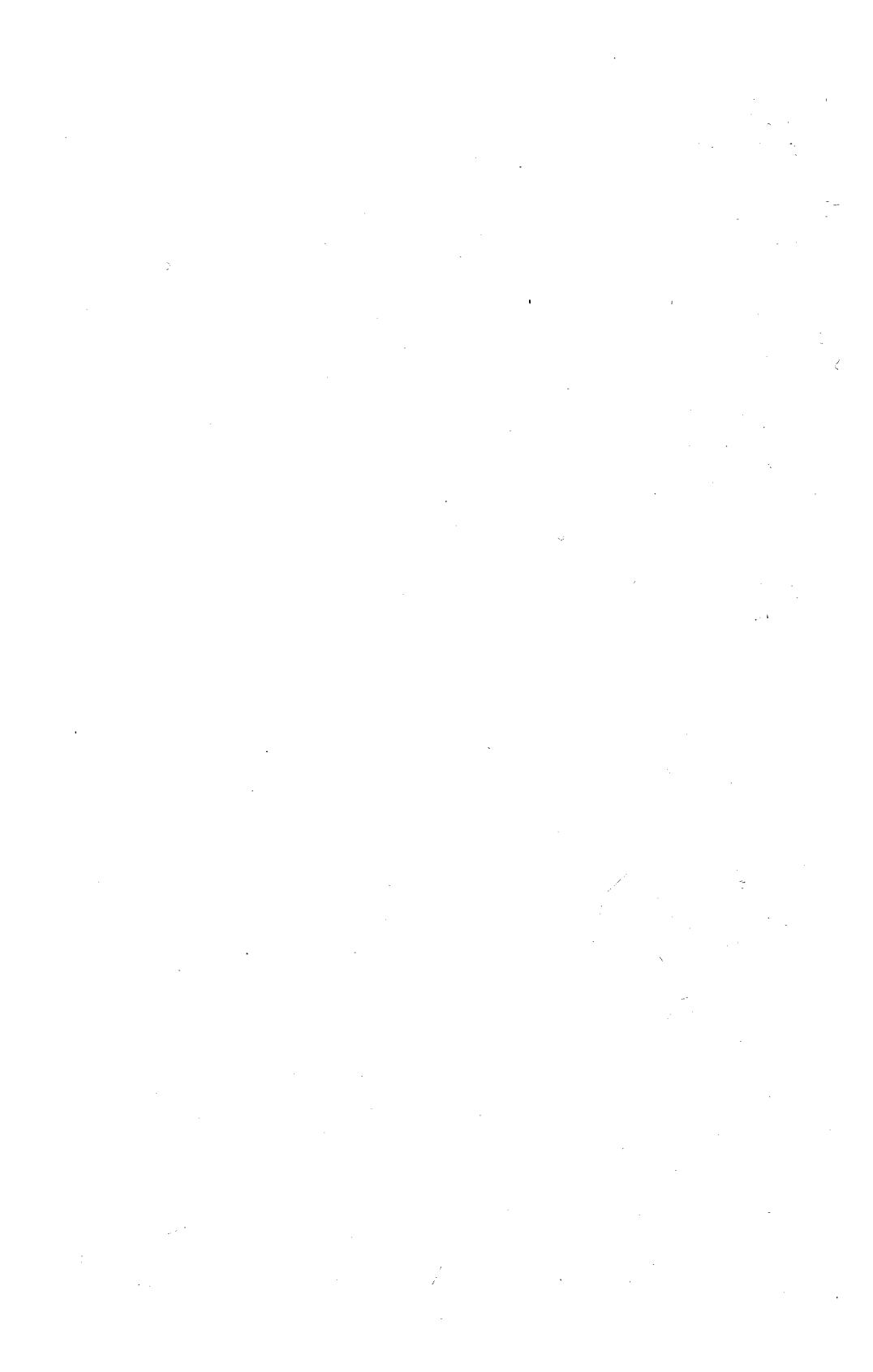
6. Cf. Lapidus (ed.), *Middle Eastern Cities*, 7.

7. Sargon II who reinstated the old privileges of Assur which had been abolished by his predecessors certainly explained the historical evolution in this way in the text known as the "Charter of Assur".

8. See Oppenheim's basic contribution, "The City of Assur in 714 B.C.", *JNES* 19, 133-147.

The growth of the royal power had, as already mentioned, direct influence on the institution of the year-eponymy, and the king's encroachment on this office provides a yardstick for the strength of his position *vis-à-vis* the city's institutions. First they begin to appear as eponyms and later the system was completely taken over and integrated into the royal administration so that officials served as eponyms in accordance with a firm schedule.

There is no simple explanation of the complex political evolution and the Old Assyrian material can first of all serve to indicate where problems may be found; only to a very limited extent can it tell us the nature of the possible solutions. We are clearly confronted by a series of violent interruptions and changes, rather than by a gradual, linear evolution. The specific events and patterns which came to shape the transformation of the city and the land must be sought in the poorly documented, but obviously complex and active periods round the middle and at the end of the second millennium.



PART THREE

The Government of the Colonies

CHAPTER ONE

The Colonial System

Seen in a wide historical perspective the Old Assyrian colonies represent an example of a recurring pattern with a specific economic and political basis. There are obviously great differences between the Old Assyrian colonial system and what is found in the Middle Ages in Europe and the Levant, illuminated by the evidence from the Italian cities and from the Geniza, but one should not let these differences blind oneself to the fact that there are just as obvious identical features. Some of these have already been pointed out in an earlier chapter and I shall return to these questions later on.

Seen in the much more restricted perspective of Mesopotamian history, the Old Assyrian colonial system seems to represent something unique. It is true that we can find antecedents and parallels to individual features, but the distinguishing trait in the Old Assyrian system is its degree of complexity, and it may be described as a quite drastic further evolution of a pattern which can be found in the south in preceding periods. It has long been known that the peoples of Mesopotamia had far-flung commercial contacts, reaching from the Mediterranean coast and the Anatolian plateau to the Indus Valley. Such trade was however only to a limited extent in the hands of the Mesopotamians themselves, and we know that there are important differences between the "traditional" Mesopotamian system of foreign trade and the system which is represented by the colonies in Anatolia.

The trade conducted from the southern cities in Mesopotamia over the Persian Gulf, which ultimately in some periods reached India, is being studied intensely in these years and we know that it lasted several centuries, presumably from 2500 B.C. to about 1900 B.C.;¹ it was basically a

1. For a general survey I refer to Muhly, *Copper and Tin*, 221–231, 234–239, and 307–318; there one will also find references to previous investigations and discussions, but add C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, "Trade Mechanisms in Indo-Mesopotamian Interrelations", *JAOS* 92, 1972, 222–229, E. C. L. During Caspers, "Harappan Trade in the Arabian Gulf in the Third Millennium B.C.", *Mesopotamia* 7, 1972, 167–191, and idem, "De Handelsbetrekkingen van de Indus-Beschaving in de 'Perzische Golf' in het IIIe Mill. v. Chr.", *Phoenix* 19,

trade in metals and luxury goods and the most important item appears to have been copper which came from Makkan. The Mesopotamian traders never went further than Makkan, presumably the southern coast of Iran (Makran), where they fetched copper in the early period down to the end of Ur III; in the following period the Mesopotamians went no further than Dilmun, perhaps the island of Bahrain including neighbouring coastal areas. This trade is illustrated by a number of texts, especially contracts found in the city of Ur which regulate the relations between the investors and the travelling merchant.² There are startling resemblances with the Greek and Medieval so-called *societas maris*, "sea loan";³ they are partnerships in which the investor carries the maritime risk, i.e. the travelling partner will only have to repay the loan plus profit in case of a successfully completed voyage; and the profit which is assured the investors is a fixed amount which is not to be regulated in accordance with the commercial success or failure of the travelling partner. Both of these features connect our contracts from Ur with the classical sea loan, and it is also clear that such transactions only involved one voyage to Dilmun and back; the next venture had to be based on a completely new contract in which different persons might appear.

We have no indication of a permanent Mesopotamian presence in any of the areas abroad which were involved in this trade; as far as I am aware we have no reference anywhere to a Mesopotamian going further than Makkan, but we do know that e.g. the Old Akkadian kings proudly proclaimed that ships from as far as India anchored in the harbour of their capital, and occasional Indian seals as well as an isolated reference to the existence of an interpreter of the Meluhha-language show that people from these distant areas did come to Mesopotamia.⁴ The type of trade illustrated by the texts from Ur would not usually lead to the formation of long-term partnerships which could form the basis

1973, 241–266; see also the rich documentation provided in G. Pettinato, "Il commercio con l'estero della Mesopotamia meridionale nel 3. millennio av Cr. alla luce delle fonti letterarie e lessicali sumeriche", *Mesopotamia* 7, 1972, 43–166.

2. Cf. A. L. Oppenheim, "The Seafaring Merchants of Ur", *JAOS* 74, 1954, 6–17, and Leemans, *Foreign Trade*, 18–56.

3. Cf. Ashburner, *The Rhodian Sea-Law*, ccix–ccxxxiv, and Lopez and Raymond, *Medieval Trade*, 168–173.

4. See also Muhly, op. cit., 308–309.

for a system of permanent representation in the areas abroad. These two features: 1) the complete reliance on "venturing-contracts" of the so-called *tappūtum*-type, i.e. what has aptly been designated "Gelegenheitsgesellschaften", and 2) the tendency to set up a corona of *emporia* on the fringe of the Mesopotamian area instead of penetrating directly to the source of the commodities in the trade, determine the character of the traditional Mesopotamian foreign trade. And it is precisely on these two points that the Old Assyrian system differs radically from the southern pattern: we find long-term partnerships which were regulated by what we must call "firms", and these firms had established a system of permanent representation in the towns abroad in the areas where the Assyrian traders fetched their silver and gold by way of direct commercial contacts with the producers. Thus we find that permanent colonies had been established in the foreign lands under conditions which were regulated by formal agreements or "treaties" with the local political powers.

This contrast between the southern and the northern patterns in Mesopotamia is even more striking in the light of the material concerning the Italian medieval trade as interpreted by Yves Renouard.⁵ According to him there is a very significant difference between the patterns found in the maritime cities and the inland cities of Italy, and he bases his explanation entirely on the simple fact that transportation over sea is more dangerous than over land or on rivers. This fits very nicely with our material of course, but it may be a somewhat too simple explanation. Nevertheless, it is surely of great significance that the picture he draws of the situation in the inland cities on most important points exhibit very striking similarities with what we know about the Old Assyrian period. He says that transportation overland is largely riskfree so one can expect most business ventures to be successful; accordingly money is borrowed and loaned with greater freedom and the traders enter into long-term agreements without specifying on beforehand exactly what is going to be involved in the business conducted during the span of years which is agreed upon. In other words, we find that stable, general companies arise which have no specified purpose except for the very general one to do business. Also, since profit is mostly assured from such companies there is no incentive for a division of risks by investing only small amounts in a large number of transactions. Renouard continues:

5. Y. Renouard, *Les hommes d'affaires italiens du Moyen Age*, Paris 1968, chapters 2 and 3.

Leurs sociétés se constituent donc vite selon des méthodes toutes différentes de celles des villes maritimes, si parfois ils les ont imitées au début. Ce sont des sociétés à nombreux participants, à capital social considérable, conclues pour exercer une activité générale qui tende à réaliser des bénéfices pendant une assez longue période de temps. On les appelle des compagnies; ce sont des sociétés en nom collectif. Elles groupent ordinairement les membres d'une même famille qui, se connaissant bien et ayant des intérêts communs, sont tout portés à travailler ensemble.⁶

Renouards goes on to note that such companies often sent one of their own men abroad in order to represent their interests, and it is interesting to note that the existence of such permanent *factories* made it possible and reasonable to accept retail sale on credit; Renouard notes that it was in this way that "des hommes d'initiative, sans fortune" could build their own fortunes which eventually secured them access to one of the companies. In this feature we find a precise parallel to the system of retail sale in Anatolia as described earlier.⁷ But practically all of these observations can be applied to the Old Assyrian material; it is true that the medieval system evolved far beyond the Old Assyrian one⁸ but the similarities pointed out here cannot be accidental. The mode of transportation is undoubtedly a highly important factor but hardly the only one. It seems to me that these considerations give further depth to the picture of the Old Assyrian society as dominated by the great families of Assur, and the existence of these powerful families and the pattern they have created could well constitute another factor which explains why the Old Assyrian trade was organised as it was. We may in this light view the colonial system as a technical device which served to facilitate the trade of the companies in Assur and diminish the risks.

As with the institution of kingship we must look to the south in order to find the cultural basis on which this entire structure was built. The word which is used by the Old Assyrians to designate their colonies was *kārum*, a loan-word in Akkadian from Sumerian *kar* which originally meant an embankment or quay; the semantic development over such

6. Op. cit., 86.

7. Above, 98; cf. also 95-97 for a discussion of the Old Assyrian *naruqqum*-contract and the family-firms as the parallels to the Italian institutions.

8. Note especially that the large companies of the Italian cities became the first real banks.

concepts as "mooring place" or "harbour" to "harbour district", "trading station", and "community of merchants", has been traced several times and can be studied in *CAD*. In the early Old Babylonian period the word typically denoted a location outside the city proper, a "harbour quarter" where the commerce of the city, especially of course its contacts with other cities and areas, took place.⁹

In the Babylonian area where all important urban centres were located on a river arm or a major canal it is not surprising that the harbour quarter became the place where the merchants had their warehouses etc. It is less easy to explain why the harbour quarters somehow became distinct areas which in many respects were separated from the adjoining cities.¹⁰ They enjoyed a special political, administrative, and social status, and the harbours had a certain administrative independence, including its own officials; the harbours moreover functioned as courts with a separate legal status.¹¹ This latter element is bound to have been of absolutely vital importance provided the system in the Babylonian harbours permitted resident foreigners to participate in the government of the harbour, thereby ensuring a common practice in the various cities which were involved in the overland trade. Although we do have a study of the position of the "merchant", *tamkārum*, in the Old Babylonian society,¹² it is unfortunately very little that can be said with certainty about the relations between the harbours as economic and administrative units and the political power of the royal palace. The laws do give rules for the conduct of merchants of course, and it is surely significant that these were under certain obligations to the state, for instance the duty to ransom soldiers who had been taken captive and reduced to slavery in a foreign land.¹³ But the harbour is not directly referred to in the laws; it appears in the Edict of the king Ammi-ṣaduqa, but unfortunately not in an entirely clear context. It can be seen that the harbour was under the control of the central royal administration which was also directly involved in the foreign trade by way of investments in the activities of

9. Cf. Oppenheim, *AM*, 113–117.

10. Oppenheim, op. cit., 114, speculated that "it is as if the intracity and the intercity economies had to be kept apart either for status reasons or in order to maintain the specific economic and social climate of the community."

11. Cf. Walther, *Das altbabylonische Gerichtswesen*, 70–80, and Harris, *Ancient Sippar*, 67–71.

12. W. F. Leemans, *The Old-Babylonian Merchant*, Leiden 1950.

13. See paragraph 32 in CH.

the members of the harbours.¹⁴ It seems that the harbour in the Old Babylonian period was a corporate body which consisted of the merchants of the city to which it was attached. As such it could write and receive letters, it could function as a court of law, and apparently some dues were imposed on the trade by the harbour. A couple of texts mention a "leader" of the harbour, using the term *qaqqadum*, "head", and it is perhaps possible that this is simply another designation for the official called "overseer of the merchants". In Sippar this post had a special significance since its holder appears to have exercised authority over both harbour and city proper.¹⁵ Membership of the harbour organization was presumably based on a kind of "license" and the term *tamkārum* was clearly a title in the Old Babylonian society, in contrast with the main Old Assyrian period. A possible system of licensing must of course have meant a quite strict governmental control.

The material from Sippar gives some indications of the importance of the harbour quarter in those towns which were closely involved with overland trade, even though it seems that the harbour itself has never been dug there. The relations between city and harbour cannot be adequately described on the basis of the available material. Oppenheim has suggested that there was a movement from harbour to city by those merchants who had made enough money from trade to become land-owning citizens.¹⁶

This institution, the separate harbour area where foreign traders live, may of course be found in other periods and places. In western parts of the Middle East it seems that traders usually were given special areas inside the walls of the cities, and we do have an example from Sippar of precisely such a practice since we know of a "Street of the men of Isin" within the city itself;¹⁷ this is so much more surprising since we know that Sippar had a harbour. The Western system is of course well illustrated by the "colonies" of the Italian cities in various places in the Levant and in Byzantium. In return for military aid to the crusaders the cities se-

14. Cf. Kraus, *Edikt*, 30–31 and 75–83, for comment on §8' (according to the new text published by Finkelstein, *RA* 63, 1969, 45–64 and 189–190, the correct number of this paragraph is 10). See also Harris, *op. cit.*, 259.
15. Cf. above, 215–217, for the situation in Sippar; see also Leemans, *Merchant*, 100–106.
16. Cf. Lapidus (ed.), *Middle Eastern Cities*, 11.
17. BE 6/1, 105, 10; cf. R. Harris, *Ancient Sippar*, 10–11; on p. 19 it is stated that this street was located in the suburb Sippar-Jahrurum, perhaps a place where foreigners settled.

cured certain trading privileges and the right to establish colonial communities in the cities; it could be a single street or it could be a whole city-quarter with a landing place, mill, bakery, warehouse, bath, and church. Such colonies were regularly equipped with extraterritorial rights and were administered by officials who were sent out from the mother cities, "viscounts" or "consuls"; these also had judicial powers over the affairs involving their own countrymen. These colonies in the Levant did not have the same basis as the *factories* established by the merchants of the Italian inland cities, however, and the population of the Levantine colonies does not appear to have consisted to any large degree of permanent representatives of firms placed in the mother city; they had a floating population of traveling traders and a permanent core consisting of officials, artisans, brokers, shopkeepers, and local tradesmen. They also attracted a number of non-Latinos such as Jews, Greeks, and Syrians.¹⁸

In the Muslim areas the Latin merchants were often given what is termed a *fondaco*, usually a walled compound which could contain such facilities as a warehouse, bakery, bath, chapel and graveyard; the gates of the *fondaco* were closed at night and the foreigners locked in.

The Greek colonies which were founded in order to serve commercial purposes, *emporia*, such as for instance Naucratis in the Nile Delta and the cities in the Adriatic area, were apparently of a distinct type since they had no "mother city"; it may be that some did retain close connection with an old city from which the founders of the colony came, for instance the colonies in the northern Pontus.¹⁹ It seems, however, that it was usual for such settlements to be located close to already existing towns, often on an island off the coast.²⁰

Oppenheim has pointed to the very obvious parallel to the Mesopo-

18. See for the Italian colonies in the Levant W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, Leipzig 1885, vol. 1, 129–163, and R. de Roover in *CEH* 3, 59–66. The situation in Byzantium was different since this centre became the seat of several Italian merchants who operated their business from there. For examples from the Old Testament see e.g. 1 Kings 20, 34 (Achab acquiring a trading privilege in Damascus), and from a much later time we may refer to the English traders in the "Great Khan" in Aleppo in the 18th century (cf. R. Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*, London 1967). The companies of the inland cities are described by de Roover, op. cit., 70–105, and idem, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank*, New York 1966.
19. See A. J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*, Manchester 1971, 5–6 and 109–110.
20. For the Phoenicians I refer to D. Harden, *The Phoenicians*, Harmondsworth 1971, 33.

tamian "harbours", namely the European *portus*.²¹ In the early Middle Ages the *portus* was a settlement of traders which was located as a kind of suburb to the *castrum*, i.e. the fortified town, and for a long time the two remained separate; the *poorters* of Bruges of the high Middle Ages were the dealers or retailers of cloth, the upper middle class – or simply, the "townsmen".²² According to Pirenne the growth of the medieval towns happened by a process of assimilation of traders who settled round the ancient centres in settlements which were given various names.²³ According to Lopez and Raymond the term *portus* came to denote "any center to which commodities are carried or any legitimate mart under the control of public authorities."²⁴

The Old Babylonian material does not show that permanent or long-term partnerships in the commercial sphere existed or at least played any significant role, and there does not seem to be any reason to believe that firms existed which had representatives stationed permanently in the harbours located outside other cities. The exact position of the official called *wakil tamkāri* and of his office *bit tamkārim* in the relations to foreigners is not clear, and it does not seem very likely that the Old Babylonian institution may be compared with the Muslim *wakil al-tūjjār*, in spite of the obvious linguistic parallelism; the latter was a kind of representative of foreigners in the Muslim cities, a man who could represent absent traders in various situations, for instance in court.²⁵ On the other hand, there are some indications which could show that the harbour organizations as corporate bodies came to fulfil some of the functions of private *factories* and firms, for it seems that a harbour could have a permanent representation in another city. We have a letter which was sent from "The Sippar harbour which resides in Mari and Mišlan and its leader"²⁶.

21. Oppenheim, *AM*, 116; cf. also Muhly, op. cit., 313, n. 648.

22. Cf. F. Röhrig, *The Medieval Town*, Berkeley 1967, 76.

23. H. Pirenne, *Medieval Cities*, New York 1956, 101–109.

24. Lopez and Raymond, op. cit., 58, n. 40.

25. Cf. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* 1, 186–192.

26. IM 49307, an unpublished letter from Tell ed-Dēr, one of the mounds in the Sippar city-area; it was partly communicated in transliteration and translation in Leemans, *Foreign Trade*, 106–107, and corrections to this transliteration have been given by Edzard, *Altbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tell ed-Dēr im Iraq Museum, Baghdad*, BAW, phil.-hist. Klasse, Abh. NF, Heft 72, München 1970, 15, n. 15. The letter was addressed to a certain Hammīsura in Sippar who had sent a messenger with a consignment to Mari, but the king of Mari had intervened and seized the messenger or refused him permission to leave; we observe that the *kārum* appears to have engaged in certain direct negotiations with the local political authorities.

Although this example is isolated at the moment it does in fact represent a logical evolution of the typically southern pattern, and it indicates that the concept "the Sippar harbour", *kārum Sippar*, must be understood as a clearly defined association of traders who had their permanent base in Sippar; wherever a member of this association went he remained part of the harbour of his home city.

The Old Assyrian use of this term is completely different. Following the southern pattern the Assyrians living in the harbour at Kanesh in Anatolia should have been called: *kārum Aššur ša ina Kaneš wašbu*, "the Assur harbour which resides in Kanesh", but the terminology is of course simply: *kārum Kaneš*, "the Kanesh colony." This expression does not denote the association of Kanesite traders for such a local body did not exist. It is true that Jankowska has claimed that the *kārum Kaneš* was precisely such an association of local traders, and that the Assyrians were only members hereof by being "registered" in the colony and thereby becoming eligible to its leading offices.²⁷ I believe that this theory rests on a faulty interpretation of some of the basic concepts in the Old Assyrian society and I shall not attempt to elaborate a precise criticism of these views; it will appear from the preceding as well as from the following chapters that I subscribe to the customary view that the Kanesh colony, and all the other colonies in Anatolia, represented an Assyrian institution. It is certainly correct to stress, as does Jankowska, that the area of the harbour quarter at Kanesh was not entirely, perhaps not even predominantly, inhabited by Assyrians; we find that a sizable number of houses were owned and occupied by Anatolians who must have been involved in the commercial activities; some of them most certainly became closely connected with the Assyrians and came to play some role even in the context of the Assyrian trade and perhaps the Assyrian institutions, but it is strictly necessary to maintain that these individuals do not constitute proof of a local Anatolian control over the commercial and politico-administrative institutions of the *kārum*.

Seen from the point of view of southern Mesopotamia such cities as Mari on the Euphrates and Assur on the Tigris were marginal centres, *emporia*, and it has already been made clear that the Babylonians went to these cities in order to fetch those commodities which had been brought from further away. It is possible that neither of these two cities was organised according to the typical southern pattern, being divided into a city and its harbour, for there is no evidence anywhere that a *kārum*

27. Jankowska, *ArOr* 35, 1967, 526.

Assur or Mari existed. We are unfortunately not well informed about how the trade in Assur was organised but it seems clear that there was a kind of market – also in contrast with the southern cities – and that the purchase of goods was arranged in the “houses” of the involved families in the capital.²⁸ In Assur we therefore seem to find only the *ālum*, “city”, and no *kārum*. The city was certainly to a large extent a city of merchants and one cannot but wonder whether the situation was not comparable to the one found in Genoa, where the commercial activity was so diffused through the governing class that the city had no merchant guild since the commune itself took care of most of the functions of such an institution. The saying: *Genuensis ergo mercator* may well be meaningful also for the citizens of Assur in this period.²⁹

The Old Assyrian colonial system can thus be seen to build on traditions taken over from the south and adapted to suit conditions which in many ways were different; the terminology accordingly was subjected to changes. One very obvious change is the extension of the concept “mooring place, harbour” to a trading station which was not located near any navigable waterway. There were no ships in the Kanesh “harbour”. Another basic innovation was the establishment of permanent “harbours” in territories which were truly foreign, both in a linguistic, a cultural, and a political sense. Finally, it must be mentioned that the Old Assyrian system included settlements of two types, called either *kārum* GN or *wabartum ša* GN, and the latter term represents another innovation. The precise difference between these two types of settlement can hardly be established at the moment, but it seems relatively clear that the *wabartum*-type was smaller and had a special position as being partly under the authority of a neighbouring *kārum*. I shall return to this question in the next chapter in connection with a discussion of the official correspondence from Anatolia.

Several of the settlements changed character in the interval between the time of level 2 and level 1b so that they are attested both as *kārum*-settlements and as *wabartum*-settlements. Moreover, it is obvious that our material is too small to make it probable that all, or even most, of the less important settlements are attested in the texts available for study. In the period of level 2 we know of the following *kārum*-settlements:³⁰

28. Cf. Veenhof, *Aspects*, 397–400.

29. Cf. Hyde, *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy*, 72.

30. For the basic textual references I refer to the lists in Orlin, *ACC*, 34–35 and 75–86; certain additions will be presented below, and it must be kept in mind

Durhumit – located northeast of Kanesh in the Halyss river basin;

Hahhum – according to Garelli³¹ located near Elbistan southeast of Kanesh; Veenhof proposes a location closer to the Euphrates, i.e. further to the southeast;³² Hahhum was a very important road station which seems to have been placed on the border to the Anatolian area, i.e. where the caravans coming from the Syrian plains had to begin the main ascent to the plateau;

Hattuš – it is not entirely certain that this place had a colony in the period of level 2 since the text which contains this information remains unpublished.³³ Hattuš is of course identical with the later Hittite capital Hattusas north of Kanesh;

Hurama – located in the mountain valleys southeast of Kanesh; another station on the road from Assur;

Kanesh

Nihrija – located in the area around modern Urfa, i.e. east of the river Euphrates in the southernmost part of Turkey;

Purušhaddum – presumably the most important Anatolian kingdom and apart from Kanesh the most often mentioned in the Old Assyrian texts. Its precise location is unknown but it must be sought in the area south of Tuz Gölü, perhaps not far from modern Bor. It was a metallurgical centre and apparently controlled some of the most important silver mines;

Uršu – located near the main crossing of the river Euphrates, probably on the western side not far from modern Gaziantep;

Wahušana – a neighbouring country to Purušhaddum, probably more to the east;

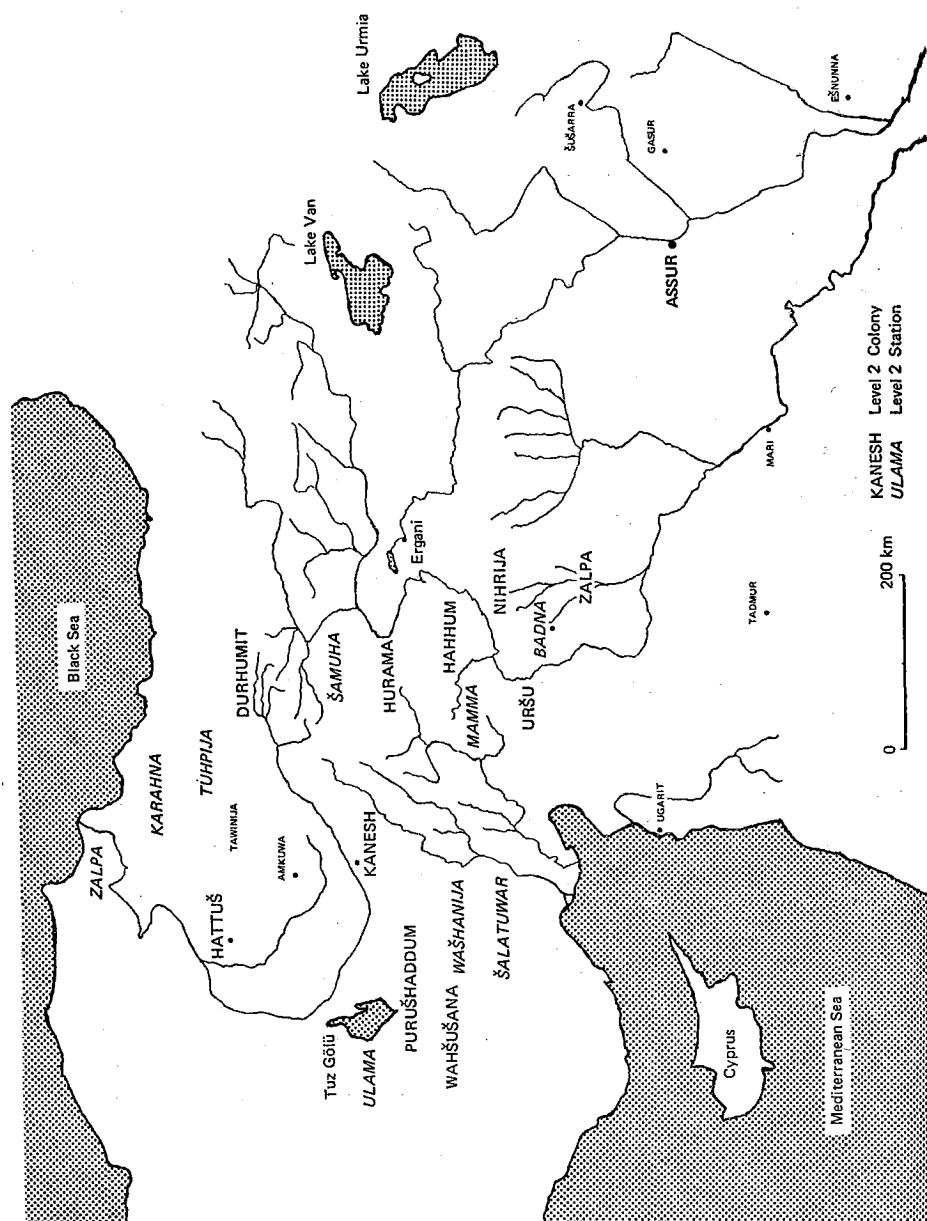
Zalpa – not identical with the town of the same name where there was a *wabartum*; according to Veenhof the *kārum* was the southernmost one,

that Orlin makes no attempt whatsoever to distinguish between the two levels. The political geography of the area involved is still a matter of great controversy and I do not intend to enter the ongoing discussion in this context. I refer to the article by Bilgiç, "Die Ortsnamen der 'kappadokischen' Urkunden im Rahmen der alten Sprachen Anatoliens", *AfO* 15, 1945–51, 1–37, for a general list of references; the most recent discussions have been offered by Garelli, *AC*, chapter 2, and Orlin, *ACC*, chapter 1. For the Hittite material which is of obvious relevance here I refer to J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, London 1959.

31. *AC*, 109.

32. *Aspects*, 243.

33. Cf. R. S. Hardy, *AJS* 58, 1941, 179, n. 6.



located in northern Syria somewhere within the bend of the river Euphrates.³⁴

It is uncertain whether all of these cities also had a "harbour" in the following period of level 1b. The few texts available indicate a rather considerable change in the pattern since we can add the following four names which all had a *kārum* in the 1b texts:

*Šamuha*³⁵ – the site of a *wabartum* in the period of level 2. Located east of Kanesh, probably on the Euphrates not too far north of Malatya; *Tawinija* – also known as Tamnija; located north of Kanesh, not far from Hattuš;³⁶

Timelkija – an important city also in the period of level 2 but neither a *kārum* nor a *wabartum* is attested in our texts. It was located in the eastern area, in the general vicinity of Hurama and Hahhum;³⁷

Wašanija – the site of a *wabartum* in the level 2 period. It must have been located quite near to Wahšušana.³⁸

The references which show that *wabartum*-settlements of level 2 become "harbours" in level 1b could tempt one to the conclusion that the system of *wabartum*-settlements was simply abolished in the later period, but that is contradicted by some texts which show that Amkuwa³⁹ and Mamma⁴⁰ were the sites of *wabartum*-settlements during the time of level 1b. In the material from level 2 we have the following sites with a *wabartum*:

34. Veenhof, *Aspects*, 292, n. 423.

35. Cf. Balkan, *OLZ* 60, 1965, 155, quoting an unnumbered text which is a letter from "the *dātum*-payers and the Timelkija colony to the Šamuha colony." However, the equally unpublished text b/k 21, quoted in Balkan, *Observations*, 43, n. 10, is a legal protocol dated to the year-eponymy Zaprum, son of Puzur-Suen, i.e. clearly from level 1b, and it refers to the *ubartum ša Šamuha!* Does this mean that Šamuha changed status during the level 1b period? For the *dātum*-payers I refer to further discussion below, 264–267 and 275–277.

36. The text f/k 183, cf. below, 274.

37. See the text referred to in note 35.

38. Cf. Balkan, *OLZ* 60, 1965, 155, quoting the unpublished text n/k 27b which refers to "the *dātum*-payers (and) the primary assembly of the Ušanija colony"; cf. also below, 275.

39. Cf. below, 276.

40. See the unpublished text n/k 5 quoted by Balkan, loc. cit.

Badna – near modern Süriç, classical Batnae, and thus not far from Nihrija, Uršu, and Zalpa;⁴¹

Hanaknak – unknown location;

Karahna – located north of Kanesh and probably also northeast of Hat-tuš;

Mamma – surely a very important kingdom; the letter published by Balkan from the king of Mamma to the king of Kanesh shows that these two states had a common frontier.⁴² Mamma is to be located in the mountains southeast of Kanesh, according to Garelli at or near Göksün, i.e. at a distance of about 50 kms;

Šalatuwar – another important city which was located close to both Purušaddum and Wahšušana, being dependent on the latter *kārum*;

Šamuha – cf. above;

Tuhpija – located north or northeast of Kanesh, probably not very far from Durhumit;

Ulama – in the west and close to Purušaddum as shown for instance from the unpublished text Ka 1053 which says that the two countries have negotiated a peace after hostilities;⁴³

Wašhanija – cf. above;

Zalpa – the northern Zalpa which was located in the extreme north near the mouth of the Halys river.⁴⁴

It is worth pointing out that a number of these settlements are referred to only once or twice with the terms *kārum* or *wabartum*, and it should also be remembered that some sites which appear to have been of some importance according to the material presently available had neither a *kārum* nor a *wabartum*; as a somewhat intriguing example I mention the city of Nenaša, located west of Kanesh on the road to the great centre Purušaddum and the capital of an independent kingdom. It is surely likely that this city had some kind of Assyrian presence and perhaps the unpublished texts will show the existence of a *wabartum* or *kārum*. This must be taken into consideration when we try to understand the pattern

41. Cf. Veenhof, *Aspects*, 293–295.

42. Balkan, *Letter of King Anum-Hirbi of Mama to King Warshama of Kanish*, Ankara 1957, with the text of the letter (g/t 35) to be found on pages 6–7.

43. Quoted by J. Lewy, *HUCA* 32, 1961, 50, n. 113: "There is peace in Purušaddum; Ulama has accepted now the oath from Purušaddum."

44. Cf. H. Otten, *Eine althethitische Erzählung um die Stadt Zalpa*, StBot 17, Wiesbaden 1973, 58–61.

of distribution of the Assyrian settlements, and in particular it is vital to realize that the absence of settlements of either kind in the cities of northern Mesopotamia, the area which was traversed by the Assyrian caravans, may be misleading.

On the other hand, the ten *kārum*-establishments (or, as I shall call them from now on: "colonies", distinguishing them from the *wabartum*-establishments which I shall call: "trading stations") attested from the level 2 period may be all those that existed; the figure 10 makes sense in connection with the letter demanding the payment of 10 minas of silver from all the colonies under the authority of the central Kanesh colony.⁴⁵ In spite of the lack of precise knowledge of the political geography of the area we can at least obtain a general view of the distribution of settlements. Not surprisingly they cluster along the main roads leading from northern Mesopotamia through the Taurus to Kanesh, with a group in the area around the river Euphrates and the main crossing at Bireçik, and another group in the mountain valleys; perhaps the most important area for the Assyrian trade was the western plateau towards the Konya plain north of the main *massif* of the Taurus, with such cities as Purušaddum, Wahšušana, Wašanija, Ulama, and Šalatuwar.⁴⁶ In the Halys basin we have a group of apparently less important towns, and a final group should probably be located in the areas further to the east in the direction of Ergani Maden and its copper mines.

Veenhof's analysis of the payments made to various authorities in the cities in northern Mesopotamia and Syria has confirmed the general impression that the Old Assyrian colonial system as we know it from the texts from Kanesh somehow began in the region between the rivers Balih and Euphrates.⁴⁷ Nihrija could be the easternmost colony known from our texts, and the network of colonies and stations which were placed under the administrative authority of the Kanesh colony did not reach any further. As pointed out above, this does not necessarily mean that there were no such institutions in the cities which were located further to

45. TC 1:1; cf. above, 163.

46. See also the remarks in Garelli, *AC*, 125, where it is concluded that "le commerce assyrien est nettement orienté vers le Sud-Ouest." He suggests that especially Wahšušana was on the road which led through the Cilician Gates to the south but I wonder whether the route via Cilicia can in fact be documented in the Old Assyrian texts. Perhaps we have here another sign of the drastic one-sidedness of our material.

47. Veenhof, *Aspects*, 295.

the east, towards Assur, but if there were colonies and stations in that area they must surely have been directly under the authority of the capital. However, if there were no such institutions in the area of northern Mesopotamia, this is likely to be due to economic factors rather than political ones. As far as we can see none of the cities known from the area (for instance the obviously important Eluhut) functioned as terminals for Assyrian caravans; a certain amount of 'commercial activity must of course have taken place all along the major caravan routes, but it seems beyond doubt that this was of marginal importance compared to the turnover of tin and textiles within the borders of the Anatolian area. It is true that the evidence from one site is likely to be somewhat misleading, but it is all we have and it does show that the Assyrian trade was directed towards the Anatolian plateau. We do not know the pattern of the trade in the Syrian area at this time, the caravan route along the river Euphrates towards the Mediterranean coast may have been in operation but we know nothing about it. It may be significant that our texts mention a man who is said to be from Tadmur, i.e. Palmyra deep in the Syrian area.

When we turn to the evidence from Mari which is contemporary with the later Old Assyrian period we find that the entire area of Syria and northern Mesopotamia was divided into a very great number of petty kingdoms, some of which (for instance Eluhut) are known already from our Old Assyrian level 2 texts. I believe that we may safely assume that the same political system was in existence already in the earlier period.⁴⁸ From the city Tarakum which is not far from the river Habur we know of the existence of a local king, or rather prince,⁴⁹ and the same is presumably true of Eluhut,⁵⁰ so we may assume that the entire area was split up into small states which the Assyrians had to pass with their caravans. We cannot conclude, however, that the absence of Assyrian institutions of the types known from Anatolia indicates that the Assyrians had political control over these areas.

Veenhof's study of the payments made *en route* by the caravans coming from Assur has shown that the payment known as *dātum* (the same word as the special "tax" paid by the "*dātum*-payers" but apparently denoting a quite different concept) regularly amounted to about 10% of the estimated value of the shipment.⁵¹ It seems probable that this represents a kind

48. This is also the view held by Veenhof, loc. cit.

49. Cf. reference by Orlin, *ACC*, 85.

50. The nisbah *luhājum* is probably formed from the name Eluhat as suggested by J. Lewy, *OrNS* 21, 1952, 393; cf. Veenhof, *Aspects*, 242, n. 375.

51. See the table in *Aspects*, 238.

of "road-tax" paid to local authorities through whose territories the caravans passed. Note that the term *nishātum*, denoting the tax paid to the palaces in Anatolia, is only attested for towns lying within the Old Assyrian "colonial area."

The political conditions in Anatolia, the local kingdoms and their interrelations as well as the relations between Assyrians and Anatolians, have been the subject of some very exhaustive investigations in recent years. I shall provide only the bare outlines of the complex arguments produced by scholars like Landsberger, J. Lewy, Garelli, and Orlin; for further detail I refer first of all to the books produced by the last two men, and also in the context of this book to the following chapter where the official correspondence, necessarily concerned to some extent with the political problems, will be discussed.⁵²

The old argument concerning the nature of the Old Assyrian colonialism, where – to put it very briefly indeed – J. Lewy claimed that the Old Assyrians had established a real empire based on military power, whereas Landsberger explained the Assyrian presence in Anatolia in terms of a peaceful, commercial expansion, referring specifically to the model provided by the Italian merchant colonies in the Levant, has now been put to rest. Garelli and Orlin have dealt in detail with the not very numerous documents which refer to negotiations between Assyrians and the local rulers, and Veenhof has now published a very complete discussion of the evidence concerning the occasional Assyrian attempts to evade the consequences of the resulting treaties by smuggling.

In published form we do not have any document which contains even part of the text of an agreement between the Assyrians and one of the local rulers, but the framework established by these treaties for the daily work of the Assyrian traders seems relatively clear. A basic element is naturally the system of taxation which is known in some detail, and one is struck by the fact that this system appears to have been uniform in all the Anatolian kingdoms. Obviously, there must have been considerable differences between the various local states and one would expect that the Assyrians would have attempted to exploit these, so that they would gain better conditions in the smaller and less important kingdoms. As far as taxation is concerned this does not seem to be the case, however, but we must of course assume that the variations would have other effects. It is accordingly quite uncertain how the elements in a standard treaty

52. Cf. also my review of Orlin's book, "The Old Assyrian Colonies in Anatolia", *JAOS* 94, 1974, 468–475.

came into existence; the occasional references to negotiations with the rulers show that it was customary to deal with one king at a time, and a general solidarity among the Anatolian kingdoms in their relations with the Assyrians is somewhat hard to envisage. There are certainly some indications of certain kinds of cooperation which could be turned against the Assyrians, most clearly exemplified by the letter ATHE 62 in which the ruling queen at Kanesh is said to have sent letters to "Luhusaddija, Hurama, Šalahšuwa and her own country, with respect to the question of smuggling, and scouts have been posted."⁵³ Another example is found in the unpublished text n/k 32, from level 1b, which Landsberger mentioned in his lecture at the Rencontre Assyriologique in Chicago in 1967; he described the text as unique and suggested that it contained the text of a treaty. It was sealed by eight Anatolians, all of them apparently high officials, and by four Assyrians; according to Landsberger the Assyrians had to give an oath in the sacred precinct (*hamrum*) in Kanesh before the sword of Aššur to the effect that they had not or would not smuggle anything (mentioning gold, silver, cups, textiles, *husārum* etc.) in the kingdoms of Mamma and Kanesh. The text was certified by the kings of these two states together with their crownprinces.⁵⁴ Whether or not this is really a treaty, we must hope that Professor Balkan will make it available for study as soon as possible.

Much weight has been laid on the terminology which is found in the texts which concern diplomatic contacts, and it has been attempted to determine the nature of the relationship between Assyrians and Anatolians on the basis of certain key terms. Some Anatolian kings address the Kanesh colony in a very polite way as "their fathers", and from this it was concluded that the kings acknowledged a status as "vassals" of the colony. It was also noted that in practically all cases the local kings were the ones who swore the oath, i.e. he was the one who obligated himself; this was explained as another sign of the superiority of the Assyrians. Moreover, in practically all cases it can be seen that the diplomatic

53. The passage has been treated by Veenhof, *Aspects*, 307–308; the crucial lines run as follows: "The son of Irraja had his smuggled goods conducted to Pūšu-kēn but his smuggled goods were seized, and the palace seized Pūšu-kēn and put him in prison. The guards are vigilant. The queen wrote to Luhusaddija, Hurama, Šalahšuwa, and to her own country with respect to the smuggling, and scouts have been posted. Urgent! Do not smuggle anything!"

54. Cf. already Veenhof, *Aspects*, 305, n. 428.

overtures were started by the kings rather than the Assyrians. Some of these features are undoubtedly to be explained by the simple fact that practically all our material concerns contacts with small and relatively unimportant kingdoms; the unpublished text referred to above seems to show a different picture of the relations between Anatolians and Assyrians and it concerns important local kingdoms.⁵⁵ It is now no longer a matter for scholarly debate whether one or the other part was dependent on the other; instead we have to refine our analysis of the mutual interdependence which was clearly in existence. The terminological investigations are of obvious relevance but they should be used with restraint, and the use of the common polite phrases "my dear brother, father, lord" cannot be taken as clear pointers to defined political relationships. In the absence of the text of a real treaty we have to confine ourselves to the basic elements which can be observed to affect the daily lives of the Assyrian traders, and I believe that we have to formulate a set of mutual guarantees. The Assyrians obviously had to acknowledge the following points:

- 1) The payment of certain taxes on the caravans; the basic tax paid to the palace of each Anatolian kingdom was the *nishātum* which amounted to $\frac{1}{20}$ of the textiles and $\frac{2}{65}$ of the tin.⁵⁶
- 2) The palaces furthermore retained the right to buy up to 10% of all shipments consisting of quality textiles.
- 3) The palaces had a monopoly on the trade in certain luxury commodities, first of all meteoric iron (*amūtum* and *aši'um*) and the precious stone *husārum*.

The local kings in turn granted certain guarantees to the Assyrians:

- 1) Residence rights in the harbours and presumably some kind of protection there.
- 2) Full extraterritorial rights so that the colonies were in a political and juridical sense extensions of the government of Assur.
- 3) Protection of the roads and guarantees against losses due to robbery and brigandry in the territory controlled by the king.⁵⁷

55. See also the passage from KTK 3 quoted below, 251–252.

56. Cf. my *OACP*, 156–157.

57. Orlin, *ACC*, 179–180, presents a list of differently formulated provisions in a treaty, but see my criticism hereof in my review (cf. note 52), note 32.

The Assyrians who dared break these agreements on an individual basis were tried and punished by the local kings who could throw even very influential merchants in jail and make others fear for their heads.⁵⁸

58. Cf. ICK 1:1, 53–57, where “our father” fears for his head because someone has told the palace about incorrect dealings in *ašl’um*; or KTH 14, 31–35, where an Assyrian reminds his correspondents that he would have cause to fear for his head if he presented empty containers to the local *rabi sikkitim*; finally, cf. TC 3:71, a letter to Innaja in which three of his associates write that they had heard that “the palace had put a scare on you” (5) *pí-ri-tám i-ṣé-ri-ká* (6) É.GAL-*lúm iš-ku-nu*, and the same expression is found in BIN 4:36, 14.

CHAPTER TWO

The Administration of the Colonial System

To a large extent this chapter will have to rely on the evidence contained in the letters which constitute the official correspondence from Anatolia, letters written or received by the various governmental agencies. Most of these texts have been the subject of some comment in various articles and books but we do not have a comprehensive evaluation or treatment of the entire corpus.¹ The earlier discussions have often failed to make a clear distinction between the material from the two main Old Assyrian periods, called after levels 2 and 1b at the Kanesh colony, and it is not at all certain that texts from level 1b can provide an adequate illumination of the system as it was in the level 2 period – and of course vice versa. I shall therefore attempt to distinguish on this point, but it must be admitted that this is not always easy for the official letters often contain very few, or no clues to their precise dating.

One of the basic facts about the system as we know it from previous investigations is that it formed a proper hierachic pyramid: on top we have the authorities in Assur whose relations with the colonies have already been commented upon here; in Anatolia we have the Kanesh colony at the top, acting together with the Envoys of the City; below it we have the nine colonies and below each of those we presumably have one or more stations or local authorities of other types.

a) The Envoys of the City and the Kanesh Colony

We have in all nine letters which were either sent from or received by these two authorities, always mentioned first and always given in this sequence, which means, of course, that the Envoys constituted the superior authority. Most of these texts are concerned with relations with the

1. Many of the texts were discussed by J. Lewy in the article entitled "On some Institutions of the Old Assyrian Empire", *HUCA* 27, 1956, 1–79; however, as indicated by Lewy's own title, they were interpreted under a different overall point of view.

Anatolian kingdoms but a few refer to problems of an internal nature. I have already mentioned the letter BIN 6:120 which was sent from the Envoys of the City and the Kanesh colony to all colonies, advising them of the coming of two special messengers:

Our messengers Aššur-rabi and Ikuppija have been sent to give instructions. Give them two escorts. (Each) colony must help them reach the (next) colony!¹²

This illustrates the normal chain of command in the colonial system, and we must assume that the text which we have was the letter of credentials carried by the messengers.

The very badly damaged letter Chantre 11 was sent from the Zalpa colony in northern Syria to the Envoys of the City and the Kanesh colony and it shows that in certain cases the communication between the authorities in Assur and the individual colonies could bypass the Kanesh colony. This is not surprising in this instance, of course, for it would surely have been awkward for the assembly in Assur to send a letter to Zalpa via Kanesh, and it should also be stressed that the letter which we have shows how the Kanesh colony was being duly informed. The text can hardly be translated but it seems to be concerned with an order from the City dealing with the use of the special caravan road known as "the narrow track", favoured by the merchants who wanted to dabble in

2. (1) [um-ma št]-ip-ru-ú (2) [ša A-]lim^{kl} ù (3) [kà-]ru-um Kà-ni-iš^{kl}-ma (4) [a-na]
kà-ar kà-ar-ma (5) [qi]-bi-ma (6) [A-]šùr-GAL ù (7) I-ku-pí-a (8) ši-ip-ru-ú-ni
(9)[a-n]a ta-hi-tim (10) [š]a-ap-r[u] (11) 2 mu-qá-ri-be (12) di-na-[šu-n]u-tí (13)
[k]à-ru-um a-na (14) [kà-]ri-im (15) [l]i-ip-qi-sú-nu.

The word in line 9 which is here translated "instructions" is understood as a derivation from *nahādum* with Hecker, *GKT* § 30; his translation was "Auftrag". Garelli's suggestion to derive the term from *tahā'um*, which yields the translation "une délégation" seems less convincing (cf. *RA* 60, 1966, 127, n. 1), but it cannot be determined with certainty whether the word was *fahhitum* or *tahhittum*. The translation "(urgent) instructions" is supported by the occurrence of the word in other texts; in the letter BIN 4:19 we find the passage: (21) *a-ša ki-ma i-a-tí* (22) *a-na Dur4-hu-mi-it ta-hi-tám* (23) *šu-pur-ma ti-ir-tí*
lu-za-ki-ú-nim-ma (24) *lu-šé-bi4-lu-nim*, "send instructions to my representatives in Durhumit so that they clear my consignment and send it to me." In another letter, BIN 4:55, we find the following phrase at the very end of the text: (25) *a-pu-tum DUB-pu-um* (26) *ša ta-hi¹-tim*, "urgent! it is a tablet with instructions!"

smuggling. The Zalpa colony stresses the fact that the letter from the City was addressed to *them*, not to the Kanesh colony.³

The internal structure of the colonial system is also well illustrated by the letter KTP 14, a text which – like the remainder of the letters in this group – refers directly to contacts with the Anatolian authorities. It is in fact one of the classical sources for our knowledge of the diplomatic relations and has been treated several times. The letter is sent from the Wahšušana colony which writes that the king of Wašanija – a city where the Assyrians had a trading station – has sent them a letter to inform them that he has taken over his father's throne and that he wishes to renew the treaty with the Assyrians. The Wahšušana colony continues:

We answered: “The Kanesh colony is our [lord]. We shall write so that they may write either to you (directly) or to us. Two men from the Land will come to you and then they can make you swear the oath.” It is up to you now. Let your orders come here.

We have given 20 minas of copper to our messengers.⁴

3. The interpretation suggested by H. Lewy, “Notes on the Political Organization of Asia Minor at the Time of the Old Assyrian Texts”, *OrNS* 33, 1964, 197, is based on the idea that there was only one city called Zalpa, so that the difference in terminology (*kārum* and *wabartum*) was due to a change in political status; her contention is “that the Assyrians called their local government body *kārum* whenever the settlement in question was located in territory dominated by Assyria; they called it *ubārtum* when the respective town or city was under foreign domination.” Our text, according to Mrs. Lewy, was in fact written by the *wabartum* of Zalpa, but they had received a tablet addressed to the *kārum* Zalpa in spite of the fact that they did not any longer hold that position. The error should be explained by the recent change of status, but it is surely hard to imagine that the authorities in Assur should have forgotten such a rather vital fact. However, the theory builds on the obsolete empire hypothesis and cannot be upheld. Cf. also Veenhof, *Aspects*, 328.

(1) [a]-na ši-ip-r[i ša A-lim^{ki}] (2) ù kā-ri-im [Kā-ni-iš] (3) qī-bi-ma um-ma k[ā-ru-um] (4) [Za]-al-pá-ma DUB-[pu-um] (5) [i-š-tù A]-lím^{ki} i-l[i-kam ša] (6) [ha-ra]an sú-qá-nim (7) [x x x x] ma-ma[-an] break
 (1') [Pu]zura-^aIM (2') [ši-ip]-ru-ni (3') [na-āš]-ú-ni-ku-nu-ti (4') [i-n]a DUB-pi-im ša [A-lim^{ki}] (5') [kā-r]u-um Za-al-[pá-ma] (6') [la-p]i-it a-[x] [...] (7') [x x] DUB-pi-ni (8') [x x] Za-al-p[ā] [...] (9') [ta-al]-pu-ta-ma break.
 4. (9) um-ma ni-n[u-ma] (10) [kā]-ru-um Kā-ni-iš (11) [be-lu]-ni ni-ša-pár-[ma] (12) [šu-nu] ú-ul a-sé-ri[-kā] (13) [i-ša]-pu-ru-nim (14) [ú-ul a-sé-]ri-ni (15) [i-š]a-pu-ru-ni[m] (16) [š]i-na ša ḫma'-tim (17) i-lu-ku-ni-ku-ma (18) ù ḫma'-mī-Ḫtám'

The special envoys whose arrival had to be awaited before the treaty with the king could be renewed, the men "of the Land", are unique in our body of texts, but it is not very difficult to see that they must have been representatives of the central authority in Kanesh. J. Lewy pointed out that "the land" could denote the political entity known as *māt Kaneš*, i.e. the Kanesh kingdom, and he therefore explained these envoys as coming from and representing an Assyrian palace administration in Kanesh – all this within the framework of the alleged Old Assyrian empire in Anatolia.⁵ Such an interpretation is not very convincing and Garelli instead pointed out that the term *mātum*, "the Land", could denote the Anatolian area: the men would be representatives of the special colonial administration. Perhaps we thus have here an example of the basic political terminology dividing the Assyrian state into two units: *ālum*, the City, and *mātum*, the colonies abroad. However, caution is required here for not only is the expression in this letter otherwise unattested, but the reading is not entirely beyond doubt.

The king of Wašanija has not turned to the Assyrians living in his own city with this request; we know that there was a *wabartum ša Wašanija* and the city itself is mentioned regularly in the Old Assyrian correspondence. It is possible, although not entirely probable, that this indicates that a trading station was not always manned, i.e. that it was not a truly permanent establishment, in contrast with the colonies. If the king had asked the local Assyrians for advice they would surely have been able to tell him that he was to write directly to Kanesh rather than to Wahšušana. On the other hand, it does not strike me as surprising that the king would not know this for it must surely have been relatively rare for the local rulers to have direct diplomatic contacts with the Assyrians on a high level.⁶

A couple of letters refer to situations where special envoys had been

- (19) *ú-ta-mu-ù-kā* (20) *a-tù-nu ma-^{lā}-ku-nu* (21) *ti-ir-ták-nu* (22) *li-li-kam*
 (23) 20 MA.NA URUDU (24) *a-na ši-[ip-ri-ni]* (25) *ni[-di-in]*.

Cf. for discussion and references to earlier treatments Garelli, *AC*, 329–331, and Orlin, *ACC*, 114–118. Collated by me in March 1975.

5. Cf. Lewy, *HUCA* 27, 1956, 17–21.

6. Orlin, op. cit., 116, claims that Wašanija was located much nearer to Kanesh than to Wahšušana, one day's journey as opposed to two or three days; if this were true, it would be even more strange why the king acted in the way he did. However, in the absence of quite certain identifications of archaeological sites it is necessary to realize that our knowledge of the political geography of the area is not sufficiently precise to allow us to use that kind of arguments.

sent from Kanesh to one of the other colonies or trading stations in order to help the local Assyrians in their negotiations with the palace. TC 1:40 is directly addressed to "our envoys" and must have contained the orders of the Envoys of the City and the Kanesh colony, but only the last few lines are preserved:

Your message should come as soon as possible, stating whether or not he will pay, and whether or not he will release the *gulgullum*-containers. The king must seal the money and our messengers should [bring] it here under his seal.⁷

VAT 6209 is a letter from the trading station at Šamuha which begins as follows:

We have approached the palace here in the matter concerning the donkey which the palace seized, and the palace said: ...

After a gap in the text the letter continues with the information that someone – surely the local king – has given the station $16\frac{1}{2}$ talents of tin plus three donkeys, and that this shipment has been entrusted to "your envoys" who will bring it to Kanesh. It seems clear that the envoys mentioned here must be men who had been sent out from Kanesh in order to take over the negotiations with the king.⁸ Not very clear is the text KTK 3, sent from the primary assembly of the Wahšušana colony; it refers first to a matter concerning something called *perdum*, a word whose precise meaning is unknown but which perhaps denotes a riding animal, about which the Envoys of the City and the Kanesh colony had written to Wahšušana. It is not possible to make any sense out of the first half of the text but on the reverse we find the passage:

If you please, do not give the palace your promise concerning the *perdu*, and do not let your messenger interfere with his messenger!

7. (1') *i-ša-qal* là *i-ša-qal* (2') ú *gu₅-ul-gu₅-li* ú-šar là ú-šar (3') *iš-tí pá-nim-ma* (4') *ti-ir-ták-nu li-li-kam* (5') KUG.BABBAR *ru-ba-um li-ik-nu-uk-ma* (6') *ku-nu-ki-šu šl-ip-ru-ni* (7') *lu-ub[-lu-nim]*. Text collated by me in 1974.
8. (4) *a-na-kam* (5) *a-šu-mì ša* ANŠE (6) šá É.GAL-lím *iš-bu-tù-[ni]* (7) É.GAL-lam₅ nu-<*ma*>*hir-ma* (8) *um-ma* É.GAL-lím-*ma* (9) *šu-ma ml-iš-lá-am* (10) [1]*a-lá-qé-a* ... (2') 16 GÚ 30 M[A.NA AN.NA] (3') ú 3 ANŠE.H[I.A] (4') [*sa-lá-mì i-dl-ni-a-[tl-ma]*] (5') [*a-na*] *šl-ip-ri-ku-nu* (6') [*ni-]ip-qt-id-ma* (7) *i-[ra-]dl-ú-ni-ku-nu-tl*.

Communicated by J. Lewy, *HUCA* 27, 1956, 70, n. 301.

On no account let your messenger interfere with his messenger lest a quarrel with the palace should arise in the colony, and as to the message from the City of Assur, your messages and . . .⁹

This can only mean that the Wahšušana colony urges the central authorities to be careful in their direct relations with the local king, since the Assyrians in the colony fear that the problems which might result would hurt themselves. Again we note that the local Assyrians are being represented by messengers from the central colony at Kanesh.

This letter has some features in common with the damaged text KTP 3, which may also have been a letter from the Envoys of the City and the Kanesh colony; it is clear at least that the text belongs to the official correspondence. The writers refer to envoys of theirs who should be sent back to them with some copper, the price of an extrafine *perdum*.¹⁰ They then authorize the recipients to levy some taxes:

... bring Aššur's dagger to you. From this day on you are to levy the *šaddu'utum*-tax at the rate one mina per talent, and send $\frac{1}{2}$ of each mina here, and take $\frac{1}{2}$ yourselves to cover your expenses.¹¹

In the same text we also have a passage where the recipients are ordered to impose another tax known as *qaqqadatum*. The amounts mentioned must all be in copper. In spite of a collation I am not able to ascertain the meaning of the passage concerning the sending of Aššur's dagger, but it is probable that this cultic instrument in some way symbolized the authority delegated to the recipients. Does this text refer to the establishment of a new station?

The text AAA 1:6 is also badly damaged, but the contents make it clear that it must have been sent to the Envoys at the City and the Kanesh colony from a man named Mannum-ki-Adad, and I suggest that this

9. (6') [šu-m]a li-bi₄-ku-nu p̄i-ku-nu a-na p̄e-er-di (7') a-na É.GAL-lim lá ta-da-na à
(8') ši-pár-ku-nu iš-ti ši-ip-ri-šu (9') lá tū-fá-ha-nim a-sú-ri (10') ši-pár-ku-nu
iš-ti ši-ip-ri-šu (11') e ta(? - copy: DU)-hi-a-nim-ma sa-al-tù-um (12') ša É.GAL-
lim i-na kà-ri-im (13') e i-ši-ki-in-ma a-na t̄l-ra-at (14') A-lim^{k1} A-šur ti-ra-t̄l-
ku-nu . . .
10. (9) ši-im p̄e-er-dim wa-at-ri-im (10) di-na-ma [URUDU] ma-si-am a-na ši-ip-ri-ni
(11) [di-n]a-ma ši-ip-ru-ni lá i-sà-hu-ru (12) [tur₄-da-n]i-šu-nu.
11. (21') GfR ša A-šur na-áš-ú-ni-ku-nu[-ti] (22') iš-tù u4-mi-im a-nim 1 GÚ-tum
(23') 1 MA.NA ša-du-a-tim ša-di-a-ma (24') $\frac{1}{2}$ MA.NA TA a-ni-ša-am šé-bia-
lá-nim (25') $\frac{1}{2}$ MA.NA TA a-tù-nu a-na gam-ri-ku⁷-nu (26') "le¹-qe-a.

individual may have been an envoy whose report we thus have. He tells a story concerning the small principality of Kapitra where certain goods have been lost, and the writer's attempts to make the local king accept responsibility. He quotes a speech which he has given to the king, and it appears that the king had received "a letter from your fathers", i.e. the Assyrian authorities at Kanesh; if the goods are restored "they will pray to Aššur on your behalf", he adds, and the king evidently agreed to pay – although there are certain delays. In his answer the king acknowledges the Assyrian authorities as "my fathers". As far as I know there was neither a colony nor a station at Kapitra, a presumably quite small kingdom in the vicinity of Hattuš.¹²

The last letter in this group is KTK 6 (previously published as Gol. 21), sent from the trading station at Wašanija. It is badly damaged – like most of the official letters unfortunately – and all that can be said with certainty is that it deals with various legal procedures involving the confiscation of some merchandise, probably by the local *rabi sikkitim*, and this official involvement may be the reason why the matter was brought to the attention of the authorities in Kanesh.¹³

These texts show that the Envoys of the City were involved primarily in the diplomatic contacts with the Anatolians, and as I have already stated I believe that in the level 2 period the Envoys had to become involved, as no diplomatic affair could be handled without their direct involvement.¹⁴ This is apparently contradicted by some texts which clearly are concerned with such affairs without mentioning the Envoys, but I suggest that some of these really belong to the level 1b period; the remainder are letters sent from local kings who quite probably were not so well acquainted with the Assyrian system that they knew that the Envoys of the City really ought to have been addressed together with the Kanesh colony. As examples of the latter category I refer to the texts MAH 16203 and the unpublished WAG 48/1466.

MAH 16203 is a difficult letter written by an Anatolian king, "the man

12. For treatment of the text I refer to Garelli, *AC*, 347–348; for Kapitra see my article "A Revolt against Hattuša", *JCS* 24, 1972, 100–101.
13. (3) *a-na-kam* (4) [sl-li-a]-ni ša *A-šur-ma-lik* DUMU (5) [x x x] GAL *si-ki-tim* *is-ba-at* (6) [*ip-*]tù-ur-ma *ši-ma-am* KI *A-lá-hi-im* (7) [*A-šù*]r-e-mu-qí *il5-qé*, "the *rabi sikkitim* seized the containers belonging to Aššur-malik, son of [...], here; he opened (them) and Aššur-emüqí received the merchandise from Alähum."
14. The letter KTK 4 belongs in this group as well but nothing apart from the introductory formula is preserved; it was sent from the Wahšušana colony.

of Tiltumman", an unknown locality. Presumably it lay on the fringe of the Assyrian sphere of interest and was not visited very often by the merchants, and the lack of regular contact explains the extremely barbaric Akkadian of the text which makes its interpretation quite precarious; at the same time it is the main subject of the letter in which the ruler states his urgent wish to enter into regular commercial contact with the Assyrians:

What have I done to you? I, I have toiled for *you*! Is it because I am good that *you* hate *me*? . . .

I said to the messengers: "If you are cross or if the colony is cross at me, then write! . . . You and I should be on good terms!"¹⁵

WAG 48.1466 is an unpublished letter from which J. Lewy quoted a few lines and concluded that it was sent from a ruler of an Anatolian state, a certain Ili-madar, to the Kanesh colony.¹⁶ I have studied the tablet and am going to publish it in the near future. It is uncertain whether Ili-madar was really a king for some of Lewy's readings appear quite dubious; the letter begins as follows:

To the Kanesh colony, from Ili-madar:

My dear fathers, my dear brothers – I am your son! I handle your a[ffairs?] here! Ask your envoys there!¹⁷

Ili-madar refers twice to a certain Ikūnum, son of Samaja, a man who is known from the level 2 material.

According to Lewy the last lines should refer to an oath sworn by Ili-madar and administered by envoys sent out from Kanesh, but it seems more likely that it is a private person, Ikūnum's representative, who swears an oath in connection with a murder of some servants.¹⁸

- 15. (3) *mi-nam* (4) *e-pu-KU.ŠU-ku-nu<-tl>* *a-na-ku* (5) *ku-nu-ti an-ha-ku a-šu-mi* (6) *dam-qá-ku-ni a-tù-nu* (7) *i-a-tí ta-zí-ra-ni* . . . (20) [u]m-ma *a-na-ku-ma* (21) *a-na ši-ip-ri-ma* (22) *šu-ma e-mì-ša-tù-nu ú šu-ma* (23) *kà-ru-um e-mì-ši šu-up-ra-nim* . . . (27) *a-tù-nu* (28) [ú *a-na-ku n]i-dam-mì-iq*.
- 16. J. Lewy, "Apropos of a Recent Study in Old Assyrian Chronology", *OrNS* 26, 1957, 28, n. 4.
- 17. (4) *a-ba-ú-a a-tù-nu a-hu-a* (5) *a-tù-nu me-ra-ku-nu* (6) *ra-na-ku a-na-kam a-na a[-wa-tí-ku-nu?]* (7) [a]-za-az a-ma-k[am] (8) [š]i-pár-ku-nu ša-*rī-[lā]*.
- 18. (31) *ša ki-ma I-ku-nim [iš-ti]* (32) *ši-ip-ri-ku-nu [ʃ]i-li-kam-*rīma** (33) [a]-šar *li-bi-šu lu-ta-me *rīx* [(...)]* (34) *a-ba-ú-a be-lu-a a-tù-nu*.

b) The Anatolian System

The majority of the letters in the correspondence of the Kanesh colony are concerned with legal matters and typically with the question of the forced transfer of persons to Kanesh where they are to answer questions in court. The three letters BIN 6:8, 32, and TC 1:35 seem to represent a textual type which is modelled after legal documents:

From the Kanesh colony to every colony, wherever you catch up with Ikuppāša:

Buzāzu and Aššur-muttabbil appealed to us here and said: "We want our brother Ikuppāša sent back here. We accept responsibility for his being sent back."

Aššur-ṭāb and Addellat are our envoys. Y[ou are to be their executive power.]¹⁹

BIN 6:32:

From the Kanesh colony to the Hurama colony:

Aššur-rabi appealed to us here and said: "I want Aššur-lamassi, son of Laqēp, transferred here. I accept responsibility for Aššur-lamassi's lawsuit."

Let Aššur-lamassi be transferred here together with Aššur-rabi. You are to be his executive power.²⁰

TC 1:35:

From the Kanesh colony to the Durhumit colony:

Enlil-bāni, son of Aššur-malik, appealed to us here and said: "I want Nāb-Suen transferred here. I accept responsibility for his transfer."

19. (1) *u[m-ma kā-ru-]u[m]* (2) *Kā-ni-iš^{kl}-ma* (3) *a-na kā-ar kā-ar-ma* (4) *a-li I-ku-pá-ša* (5) *ta-kā-ša-da-a-ni* (6) *qi-bi-ma Bu-za-zu* (7) *ù A-šūr-mu-ta-bia-il₅* (8) *im-hu-ru-ni-a-tí* (9) *um-ma šu-nu-ma* (10) *I-ku-pá-ša* (11) *a-hu-ni* (12) *nu-ta-ra-am* (13) *a-na ta-ú-ri-šu* (14) *ma-ṣa-a-ni* (15) *A-šūr-DU₁₀* (16) *ù A-di-lá-at* (17) *ši-ip-ru-ni* (18) *a-[tú-nu lu]* (19) *[e-mu-uq-šu-nu]*.
20. (1) *[um-ma] kā-ru-um* (2) *[Kā-n]é-eš^{kl}-ma* (3) *[a-n]a kā-ri-im* (4) *Hu-[ra]-ma* *qi-bi-ma* (5) *a-na-kam A-šur-GAL* (6) *im-hu-ur-ni-a-tí-ma* (7) *um-ma šu-ut-ma* (8) *A-šur-lá-ma-sí DUMU Lá-qé-ep* (9) *ù-ša-sà-ha-am* (10) *a-na a-wa-at* (11) *A-šur-lá-ma-sí* (12) *ma-ṣa-ku iš-tí* (13) *A-šur-GAL A-šur-lá-ma-sí* (14) *li-sú-ha-am* (15) *a-tú-nu lu e-mu-uq-šu*.

Aššur-ennam is our messenger. Let him make the transfer of Nāb-Suen there. The colony is to be the executive power of our messenger.²¹

The basic legal procedure is known from the relations between the city-assembly in Assur and the Kanesh colony and has already been described briefly.²² It cannot be seen clearly from these three letters whether the forced transfer is based on a proper verdict issued by the colony, but there are examples which do connect such procedures with a verdict, for instance EL 238, a legal protocol in which two persons seize a third man and asks him to come with them; first they demand a slave as security, and having got one they stress that the slave is security for the willingness of the man to come with them – not security for the money he owes, and they say that they still intend to effect the transfer “in accordance with the verdict of the Kanesh colony.” Accordingly, they refuse to even discuss the proposal to simply get the money and leave him alone:

They answered: “We have not come for silver and gold. We have come for you because of Kurub-Ištar’s lawsuit.”²³

The two men are said to represent, act on behalf of, the absent plaintiff and one could therefore interpret them as such messengers as are mentioned in the letters translated above. These letters would thus constitute the credentials of the messengers and could presumably be referred to as *tuppum ša dīn kārim*, “a tablet with a verdict of the colony.”²⁴ However, the phrase found in all three letters which I have translated “I/we

21. (1) [um-ma] *kā-ru-um* (2) [*Kā-ni*]iš^{k1}-ma (3) [a-na] *kā-ri-im* (4) [*Dur₄-h*]u-mi-[i]t qī-bi-ma (5) [a-na]-kam ^d[EN].LÍL-ba-ni (6) [DUMU A]-šur-m[a]-lik (7) [im]-hu-ul[r-n]i-a[-ti-ma] (8) [um]-ma ū-ut-[ma] (9) [N]a-āb-Sú-in ū-š[a-sā]-ha-am (10) [a]-na ū-ša-sū-hi-šu ma-ša-ku (11) [A]-šur-e-nam (12) ū-pár-ni a-ma-kam (13) Na-āb-Sú-in (14) li-sū-ha-am (15) *kā-ru-um* (16) lu e-mu-uq (17) ū-ip-ri-ni.
Cf. Landsberger, *AHK*, 11; EL 1, 246, n. a, and corrections after collation in vol. 2, 185; I have collated the text in 1974.
22. Cf. above, 180–181.
23. The text is TC 1:110; (15) *a-ma-lá dí-in* (16) *kā-ri-im Kā-ni-iš^{k1} nu-ša-sā-ah-kā* ... (26) [um-ma] ū-nu-ma a-na KUG.BABBAR (27) [ū GUŠKI]N ū-lá¹ ni-li-kam a-na (28) [ku-a-tí a]-na a-wa-tim <ša> *Kur-ub-Ištar* (29) [ni-li-kam].
24. For the verdicts issued by the colony see further below, 326–332; see also the passage from KTS 42a quoted above, 134, n. 93, which indicates that at least in some cases the forced transfer by order of the colony would bring shame over the person involved. The letters KTH 16 and 17 and MAH 16373 (*RA* 60,

accept responsibility for the transfer/lawsuit”, does indicate that the transfer happens on a rather special basis. The crucial term is the verb *maṣā’um* which has been treated in various ways up to now. Following a suggestion by Landsberger, Lewy argued for the meaning “in die Mitte treten, intervenieren”,²⁵ but this has not been accepted by *AHw* where all the Old Assyrian examples are placed under the heading *maṣū* with the general meaning: “entsprechen, genügen, ausreichen”; most of the Old Assyrian examples show the forms of this verb in a hendiadys together with *laqā’um* or *sabātum*, “to take” or “to seize”, i.e. the construction must denote a special way of seizing things, and *AHw* explains: “(es) in die Hand nehmen, sich einschalten”. This particular expression occurs only in Old Assyrian texts; the three examples found in our texts are not referred to in the dictionary, and one further example which shows the same construction as here, i.e. with *ana*, is erroneously taken as an instance of the hendiadys construction.²⁶

My translation here is to be seen as an attempt to get closer to the real meaning of the term, not necessarily as the final truth in this matter. The context of the letters certainly does indicate that the persons speaking by this special remark acknowledge some kind of responsibility. If the old proposal of Lewy’s should be correct and we translated: “we have inter-

97) all refer to “tablets of the colony” in connection with shares in the office of the colony in the context of the copper trade organized through that office, whereas in a letter like TC 3:28 we find that a “binding tablet of the colony” corresponds to a court order which could aid a man who was being pestered in another colony by claims and summonses before witnesses.

25. EL 2, 20, n. b.

26. CCT 5:3a, a letter to Elamma’s shareholders and Elamma’s representatives from a group of persons in one of the other colonies in Anatolia; it is interesting to note that the recipients are in Kanesh. Apparently Elamma has died and his shareholders and representatives have written to the writers of this letter, ordering them to open Elamma’s magazine and take out the valuables there, seal them and send them to Kanesh. However, (13) *lā-ma* (14) *₅NIN.ŠUBUR-ba-ni* (15) *En-um-A-šur ḫ A-bu-ša-lim* (16) *iš-tù Kā-ni-iš* (17) *i-li-ku-ni-ni* (18) *me-er-ú Hi-na-a* (19) *ma-ṣa-ar-tám* (20) *ip-te-ú-ma* DUB-pá-am (21) *ha-ar-ma-am* (22) *ša* 21 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR (23) *ša hu-bu-ul* (24) *₅IM-ṣú-lu-li* (25) *᠀ I-di-Ištar* DUMU *A-šur-na-da* (26) *il-qé-ú um-ma šu-nu-ma* (27) *a-na a-wa-at* *um-me-a-ni* (28) *ma-aṣ-a-ni*, “before Ilabrat-bāni, Ennum-Aššur, and Abu-šalim came here from Kanesh the sons of Hinaja opened the magazine and took a certified tablet concerning 21 minas of silver of the debt of Adad-ṣulūli and Idi-Ištar, son of Aššur-nādā; they said: ‘We take responsibility for any complaint from the shareholders.’” – The translation proposed here in fact seems to impose itself in such a case.

vened for his being sent back", such a clause could in fact only make sense if the speakers thereby accepted some responsibility for their intervention. And the verb *mashū* with the traditional meaning "to reach, correspond to" is difficult to fit into the context of our letters, but if we try with such looser translations as "we are satisfied" or "we have accomplished", the basic idea must still be that the speaking person(s) acknowledge(s) responsibility. Note also that the verb in other dialects is construed with an infinitive with the meaning "be able to", for the distance from this concept to the one proposed here is not great. In fact, in Indo-European languages the concepts "correspond" and "be responsible" are very close obviously, and a similar semantic situation seems to be represented by the verb *maya'um* in Old Assyrian. I therefore suggest that the common hendiadys construction refers to a situation where a man seizes goods or persons with an open acknowledgement of the responsibility to prove his right to this action at a later time, i.e. a tablet *ša šibi*, recording this action before witnesses, will be issued. When we find the verb alone it may be translated as above in the three letters from the Kanesh colony.²⁷

The importance of the precise interpretation of this verb is obvious, for if my translation is correct we see that an individual may make use of the apparatus of the colonial system on his own responsibility, i.e. he will obviously have to be able to prove his case against the person who is being sent to Kanesh, or he must pay him damages. It is interesting that one of the legal protocols which record the action expressed with the verbs *mashā'um* – *laqā'um*, ICK 1:72, states that the man who has taken some money will have to repay them threefold if his claim is proven to be

27. I cannot provide a comprehensive treatment of the quite numerous references but shall give only a few examples to show how the meaning may fit the contexts. The letter ATHE 62 which deals with smuggling ends with a passage in which the writer warns against any further attempts; even if a stranger should propose a deal of this nature, saying: "Give me some tin or textiles and let me smuggle it! I personally accept the responsibility!" – Don't give him any!" (45) *lu AN.NA lu TÚG.HI.A* (46) *di-nam-ma l[u-p]d-zi-ir-šu a-na-ku ma-as-a-ku* (47) *lá ta-da!-an*. Veenhof suggested the translation: "I can manage" (*Aspects*, 308), but that can hardly be used in other contexts. In the letter BIN 4:2 we have a less clear example; Buzāzu writes to Puzur-Aššur that he has come to Šalatuwar where he has made the promise that he would write to have some of his tin sent there, and he now asks Puzur-Aššur to get hold of whatever tin belonging to Buzāzu he can find and send it on without delay; he then says: (19) *a-na-ku* (20) *a-ti-ir-ti-kà ma-sa-ku*, which I suggest has the meaning: "I answer for the fact that you will respond to this request." i.e. he is responsible *versus* the men in Šalatuwar for the coming shipment from Puzur-Aššur.

false.²⁸ In connection with the three letters it should also be noted that at least two of them, and possibly all three, deal with affairs which involve very close kin: Ikuppaša in BIN 6:8 is the brother of the two men who demand his return; Aššur-rabi and Aššur-lamassi in BIN 6:32 may also be brothers;²⁹ and Nāb-Suen is the son of Enlil-bāni who wants him transferred to Kanesh.³⁰ It is uncertain whether this is coincidence or whether the special procedure exemplified by the letters was deemed too risky when dealing with strangers. In such cases one may first have secured a proper verdict of the colony so that the special relationship expressed by way of the verb *maṣā'um* would not exist.

Three more letters reflect the judicial procedures which involved the relations between the Kanesh colony and the other Assyrian establishments. KTK 1 was sent to the primary assembly of the Purušaddum colony and it starts with the usual passage: "The representatives of Kurub-Ištar appealed to us here and said: . . ." The precise nature of the problem is not to be seen any longer but the purpose of the letter was not to secure the transfer of any person; instead it seems that the Kanesh colony here issues some rules which must be followed by the Purušaddum colony in the handling of a legal case.³¹

28. (1) 2½ GÍN KUG.BABBAR (2) ša Puzur₄-A-šur (3) *En-na-num il₅-qé* (4) *um-ma I-ku-pi-a-ma* (5) *mi-nam Puzur₄-A-šur* (6) *ha-bu-lá-ku-ma* (7) KUG.BABBAR-áp-šu *ta-al-qé-'*e¹ (8) *um-ma En-na-num-ma* (9) *da-a-at ANŠE[.HI.A-]šu* (10) *a-na-ku i-ra-mi-ni-a* (11) *ú-ša-qt-il₅* (12) *ma-ša-a-ku a-lá-qé* (13) *um-ma I-ku-pi-a-ma* (14) *a-ša-ar-ma* (15) <<DA>> *da-tám* (16) *Puzur₄-A-šur* (17) *ú-ša-<bi->ú-ká a-na* (18) 2½ GÍN KUG.BABBAR (19) *ša tal-qé-ú* (20) *šu-ša-al-šu-um* (21) *lá ta-ša-qal* (22) *um-ma En-na-num-ma* (23) *a-ša-qal*, "Ennānum took 2½ shekels of silver belonging to Puzur-Aššur and Ikuppija said: 'What does Puzur-Aššur owe you since you take his money?' Ennānum answered: 'I personally paid the road-tax for his donkeys out of my own funds. I accept responsibility (to prove this) in taking (the money).' Ikkupija said: 'In case Puzur-Aššur has in fact paid you for the road-tax, will you then not agree to pay three times the 2½ shekels of silver which you took?' Ennānum said: '(Then) I shall pay.'"

29. An Aššur-rabi, son of Laqēp, is attested some times, for instance ICK 1:125, 17, and CCT 5:12a, 26.

30. Cf. *OACP*, 39.

31. (4) *a-na-kam ša ki-ma* (5) *Kur-ub-Ištar im-hu[-ru-ni-a-tl-ma]* (6) *um-ma šu-nu-ma* [KUG.BABBAR] (7) *ma-a-dam i[-na É]* (8) *Kur-ub-Ištar . . .* (7') *a-ma-kam lu a-ša-at* (8') *Ša-al-ma-hi-im* (9') *lu me-ra Šál-mi-hi-im* [ša] (10') *i-na KUG.BABBAR[-p]l-šu [il₅]-qé-[ú]* (11') *lu-ta-er šu-ma 'lá'* ú-ta-er (12') *DUB-pi-šu [lu-u]p-'**ta'-nim* (13') *[i-pá-ni-ú]-ti šé-ri-a-nim*, "whether it is Šalim-ahum's wife or Šalim-ahum's son who has taken any of his money there, he must give it back; if he does not give it back, you must write out a tablet concerning him and send it here as soon as possible."

AnOr 6:12 is a letter from the Durhumit colony in which it is said that a shipment of textiles and donkeys has been seized from two named persons on the basis of instructions received from Kanesh; the goods have been brought into the local office of the colony and the money (i.e. the value in silver) will be sent to Kanesh "with your messengers". This is surely a reply to a letter which was brought to Durhumit by envoys from the Kanesh colony, a letter which presumably contained precise orders based on a verdict issued by the Kanesh colony. The Anatolian authorities were not involved in this incident.³²

The letter KTK 5 is very difficult to interpret because of the broken state of the first lines which contained the address. According to Jankowska who edited the text the letter was sent to the Kanesh colony from "the t[rading station of W]ašanija and that of Wahšušana", but that is impossible to accept; in all other texts we find a colony rather than a station at Wahšušana, and it is moreover highly unlikely that the least important body, the station at Wašanija, should be mentioned first. A definitive interpretation cannot be given but I suggest that the letter had only one sender: the station at Wašanija. The letter deals with a legal affair in Wašanija, and certain people have arrived there – perhaps coming from Wahšušana; the authorities of the station have opened some sealed containers in order to establish the validity of some claims. The letter is too damaged to make it clear why this particular incident was reported to the Kanesh colony.³³

The remaining letters do not constitute any coherent group, but they provide glimpses of the various procedures which were involved in governing the colonial system. However, two letters are of particular interest since they show that the colony itself engaged in commercial operations: MNK 636 from the messengers of the Kanesh colony refers to purchases

32. (1) *a-na kà-ri-im* (2) *Kà-ni-iš* (3) *qí-bi-ma um-ma* (4) *kà-ru-um* (5) *Dur-4-hu-mìt-ma* (6) *a-ma-la tl-ir-ti-ku-nu* (7) *ú-nu-sú* 2 ANŠE. *TH.I.A¹ sal-²lá-mì³* (8) *ù TÚG.HI.A* (9) *iš-tí¹ A-²x (x)³* (10) *DUMU x x x¹* (11) *ù¹ A-na-li* (12) *DUMU¹ A-zu-a-a* (13) *ni-iš-ba-at-ma* (14) *a-na É kà-ri-im* (15) *nu-šé-ri-ib* (16) *ù KUG.BABBAR iš-tí¹ (17) ši-ip-ri-ku-nu* (18) *i-la-kam.*
33. (4) *iš¹-tù² Wa-ah-šu-ša-na* (5) *x (x) -mì³ Lá-qé-pu-um* (6) *ù a-li-ku iš-tl-n[i-
iš?]* (7) *i-li-ku-nim-ma i-[na]* (8) *qé-ra-áb Wa-áš-ha-ni-[a]* (9) *A-mur-A-šur DUMU
A-ta-a* (10) *[is-ni]-iq-ni-a-[ti-ma] ...* (18) *a-tù-nu* (19) *ša-i-lá hu-ur-[ši-a-nam]*
(20) *IGI a-li-ki ni-ip-tu[r4-ma]* (21) *um-ma ni-nu-ma KUG.BABBAR* (22) *mì-ma
e ú-šé-er.*

of textiles and sale of copper in Wahšušana;³⁴ the fact that the text mentions copper “which has been deposited” may link it with the references which will be discussed later concerning collective trading operations organized by the offices of the colonies, for the “investments” made there involved a procedure where the use of the expression “to deposit” plays an important role.³⁵ The letter TC 1:60 is addressed to the Wahšušana colony and it also concerns commercial transactions involving textiles and copper, but the text is too damaged to make an interpretation possible.³⁶

A unique text is the letter SUP 7 from the Uršu colony in northern Syria:

To the Kanesh colony from the Uršu colony:

That which has never happened before has taken place – thieves have entered Aššur’s temple and they have stolen the golden sun on Aššur’s breast and Aššur’s dagger. The Justice(-emblem), the *kalubu*, the *samru’ātum*, the *katappu* – (all) have been taken away. The temple has been picked clean. They left nothing. We searched for the thieves but cannot find them.

Our dear fathers and lords, take care of the matter there!³⁷

34. Communicated by Matouš, “Zwei ‘kappadokische’ Tontafeln im Nationalmuseum zu Kraków”, *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, 1956, 116–118: (1) [a]-na kà-ri-im Kà-ni-iš (2) [qf]-bi-ma um-ma (3) [ši]-ip-ru-ku-nu-ma (4) um-ma a-tù-nu-ma (5) šu-ma TÚG.HI.A i-na (6) Wa-ah-šu-ša-na (7) i-še-ru-ni-ku-nu-ti (8) le-qé-a-ma URUDU (9) ša na-ad-ú-ni (10) šu-uq-lá URUDU ša na-ad-ú (12) sa-lá-am a-na-kam (13) ú-lá i-ma-ha-ar (14) ku-lu URUDU ša Dur4-hu-mi-it (15) TÚG.HI.A lá-šu-um, “To the Kanesh colony from your messengers: You said: ‘If the textiles are all right for you in Wahšušana then take some and pay with the copper which has been deposited.’ – The copper which has been deposited is black; it is not accepted here. All the copper is from Durhumit. There are no textiles.”

35. Cf. further below, 338–342.

36. The letter refers to a shipment consisting of 200 *kutānu*-textiles of ordinary quality, and this is apparently being bought by the local palace; two messengers have furthermore brought some copper from Tuhipija. At the end the Kanesh colony demands to have the entire price of the shipment(s), in all no less than 47½ minas of silver, sent to Kanesh.

37. (1) a-na kà-r[i-im] (2) Kà-ni-iš ql-b[i4-ma] (3) um-ma kà-ru Ur-[šu-ma] (4) ša iš-tu du-ri[-im] (5) lá ib-ši-ú-ni (6) ša-ru-qú a-na É-tí ^aA-šur (7) e-ru-bu-ma ša-am-ša-am (8) ša GUŠKIN (9) ša i-ir-tí ^aA-šur (10) ú pá-aṭ-ra-am (11) ša ^aA-šur (12) [x (x)] a ú mi-šu-ru-um (13) kà-lu-bu-ú (14) sà-am-ru-a-tum (15)

This text shows once more that the Kanesh colony was the centre of a special administrative and political structure which had its own internal coherence and which in its relations with the capital Assur enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy. The colony at Uršu writes to the Kanesh colony for help and asks that body to take care of the matter rather than the authorities in Assur. What assistance the men in Kanesh could provide is not at all clear, and one would think that the obvious thing to do for the Uršu colony would be to write to Assur where the main Aššur-temple was. The fact that there was an Aššur-temple in Uršu is perhaps not so particularly surprising for it was surely located in the area of the "harbour" and used by the merchants; we may assume that all major colonies had their own sanctuary which may not in all cases have been a particularly impressive building. From Kanesh we do not have any direct mention of a *bīt Aššur*, an Aššur-temple, but we have several references to the swearing of oaths at a sacred place, the "Gate of the God", and in all colonies we find the sacred emblems, the dagger of Aššur or his *Šugarri'āum*.³⁸

The letter KTP 4 appears to have been sent to the Kanesh colony by an individual whose name has been lost – together with a good deal of the rest of the text. This is unfortunate for the remainder of the letter contains some very intriguing bits of information; the writer seems to refer to a discussion which he has had with the king of Kanesh:

He said: "Do not release them for the . . . of Wahšana!" It is not I who will release them for secret purposes. I said: "The elders give advice to the king and the envoys, and why do they interfere?" As to

ū kà-ta-pu (16) *ta-áb-lu É-tum* (17) *lá-qú-ut mì-ma lá e-zí-[bu]* (18) *ša-ri-qí ni-še-e-ma* (19) *lá ni-mar* (20) *a-ba-ú-ni be-lu-n[i]* (21) *a-tù-nu a-ma-[kam]* (22) *ma-lá-ku-nu*.

The lack of mimation in line 3 is hardly sufficient basis for a dating to the time of level 1b. The various objects or emblems mentioned in the text are otherwise very poorly attested; *AHw* does not recognize the "justice" emblem but no other interpretation seems possible. *GA-lu-bu-ú* could perhaps belong to *AHw*'s *kalübu*, "Sporen" (for a horse), but according to *CAD* this word does not exist but should be read *katappū*; there are two NB references only so the connection is highly dubious anyway. For previous translations I refer to Landsberger, *AHK*, 11, and Hirsch, *UAR*, 14.

38. For the cultic emblems one may see Hirsch, *UAR*, 64–67; see also Matouš, "Der Aššur-Tempel nach altassyrischen Urkunden aus Kültepe", *Studies Presented to Professor M. A. Beek*, 183.

the messages for the king – the guide who brings the letter to you also brings them.³⁹

It is hardly profitable to speculate further about the possible background for this letter or the identity of its writer. And the even more fragmentary KTP 13, from a certain Bēlum-bānī to the Kanesh colony, must also be given up. We cannot know whether these writers were private individuals who had some business with the colony or whether they were official envoys. A couple of texts which have been partly communicated by Balkan show that the colony did conduct a certain correspondence with private persons and firms. Both of these texts are addressed to a certain Aššur-emūqī and his “company”, i.e. presumably the commercial enterprise which was led by this man, and they apparently refer to the same situation. The first, c/k 1055, contains the following warning:

No one must smuggle any tin or textiles! He who does smuggle will be caught by an order of the colony!⁴⁰

The second letter, c/k 1062, obviously refers to the result of the non-compliance with such orders since it relates that the palace at Kanesh has caused trouble for the colony.⁴¹ When this is told in particular to this commercial enterprise, the reason must obviously be that it is their fault that the king of Kanesh is angry with the colony. We can thus see that the actions of individual Assyrian traders had a direct effect on the political relations between the official authorities, palace and colony.⁴²

The Anatolian system of taxation which was regulated by the colonies,

39. (14) *um-ma* (15) [š]u-ut-ma a-na bu 『x』 uš [...] (16) ša [W]a-ah-šu-ša-na (17) lá tū-šar-šu-nu a-na-ku! (18) 『a』-na pu-úz-ri-im (two signs erased?) (19) 『lá』 ú-šar-šu-nu um-ma a-na-ku-ma (20) ši-bu-tum a-na ru-ba-im (21) ù ši-ip-ri i-ma-li-ku ml-nam (22) fá-hu-ú ti-i-ra-tim (23) [a]-na ru-ba-im ra-dí-um ša DUB-pá-am (24) [na-] 『dš』-a-ku-nu-[ti]-ni na-ši.
Text collated in 1975.

40. *Festschrift Güterbock*, 29, n. 2: (1) *um-ma kà-ru-um* (2) *Kà-ni-iš-ma* (3) *a-na A-šùr-e-mu-qí* (4) ù *ILLAT-ti-šu* (5) *qí-bi-ma* (6) *ma-ma-an* (7) *AN.NA ú TUĞ. HI.A* (8) *ú-lá ú-pá-za-ar* (9) *ša ú-pá-zu-ru* (10) *a-wa-at* (11) *kà-ri-im i-kà-ša-a-si*.

41. Balkan, loc. cit.: (6) *a-na-kam* (7) *É.GAL-lím i-na a-wa-tim* (8) *li-bi-i-ni* (9) *uš-ta-am-ri-iş* (for the correct division of lines cf. Balkan's previous quotation from the text in *Anum-Hirbi*, 21; note that there we have the spelling *li-bi₄-i-ni*).
42. The letter is longer than shown here and I have asked Professor Balkan for information concerning the further contents of the text, but unfortunately I have not been able to secure any answer to my request.

i.e. not the taxation of the indigenous palaces, included first of all the payment which is known as *šaddu'utum*. It is not surprising that we have a whole group of texts which deal with problems in connection with this taxation; one of these letters was written by the Kanesh colony to an unknown colony, and the others are all addressed to a special group of people known as *šāqil dātim u bēruttum*, "the *dātum*-payers and the chosen men", of various localities, first of all in our material the city of Šalatuwar.

Most of these texts have been dealt with recently by Veenhof⁴³ and there is perhaps not much that can be added to his treatment although I personally feel that not all of his conclusions are equally convincing. The main difficulty concerns the persons known as *šāqil dātim* and I shall return briefly to this problem below.

The letter from the Kanesh colony, BIN 6:101, is highly interesting since it obviously contains a set of general instructions which must be followed by the colony addressed whenever it attempts to levy the *šaddu'utum*-tax. The letter starts with the rhetorical question: "Why is it that when you levy the *šaddu'utum*-tax of the Kanesh colony and the man [i.e. the transporter] says: 'The goods belong to a *tamkārum*. The *tamkārum* pays *dātum* in Kanesh' – then you say: 'Mention the name of the *tamkārum*'?" – The letter then gives specific rules for the procedure to be followed, but these are unfortunately partly broken; it can be seen that the colony is not entitled to force the transporter to name the *tamkārum*, and it is possible that Veenhof is right in suggesting that the colony instead may induce the transporter to take an oath which presumably should prove that the goods really did belong to a *tamkārum* who paid *dātum* in Kanesh.⁴⁴

43. Cf. chapters 12 and 13 in *Aspects*, especially pages 274–286.

44. Cf. Veenhof, op. cit., 275–278, for a comprehensive treatment of the text and references to earlier attempts; my discussion here is based on Veenhof's interpretation but I would like to point out that some elements of it, in particular the assumption that the term *tamkārum* denoted people with special privileges and status, should be investigated further. Provisionally, one could maintain the old idea that *tamkārum* was used as an anonymous expression in the original transport-contract which thereby became a kind of bearer's cheque (cf. *OACP*, 49–51); the transporter would therefore be in the situation that he was unable to provide the name of the owner (*tamkārum*), not necessarily unwilling to do so. Also, I am not sure that Veenhof is right in saying that it "seems too far-fetched" to suggest that the term *dātum* could have a more general meaning which might incorporate the term *šaddu'utum* (cf. op. cit., 290).

Certain people are thus exempt from the payment of the ordinary *šaddu'utum*-tax because they pay what is called *dātum* in Kanesh, and Veenhof has suggested that such privileged persons were "merchants" (*tamkāru*) in a special sense which is close to the concept of a "licensed merchant", i.e. men who could afford in some way to become "share-holders" of the colony by way of regular, substantial payments known as *dātum*.

We have a few letters which are addressed to men with this title, four of them referring to the *dātum*-payers of Šalatuwar, and perhaps one to the *dātum*-payers of Kuššara. TC 1:32 was sent from the envoys of the Kanesh colony together with the Wahšušana colony to the *dātum*-payers and the chosen men of Šalatuwar:

As to the 2 shekels of silver and the 2 minas of good-quality copper which Alābum, son of Šarra-Adad, has given to you as *šaddu'utum*-tax, refund the silver and the copper there to Alābum's representatives.⁴⁵

We may assume that Alābum had been forced to pay the tax and had complained in Kanesh. As pointed out by Veenhof, the numerous references to uncertainty in connection with the payment of this tax seems to show that the system was not working particularly well. TMH 1:1a is a letter from the Wahšušana colony which simply informs the people in Šalatuwar that a certain man has paid a certain amount there and that if he should really bring more than what he has paid tax for, the men at

BIN 6:101: (1) *um-ma kā-[ru-um]* (2) *Kā-ni-iš[-ma a-na]* (3) *kā-ri-im [. . .] qī-bi-ma mī[-šu]* (5) *ša i-nu-mi ša[-du-a-tám]* (6) *ša kā-ri-im Kā-[ni-iš]* (7) *tū-ša-da-a-ni* (8) *ma a-wi-lúm i-qá[-bi-ú]* (9) *um-ma šu-ut-ma lu-qú-tum* (10) *ša DAM. GĀR DAM.GĀR* (11) *i-na Kā-né-eš* (12) *da-tám i-ša-[qal]* (13) *um-ma a-i[ù-n]u-^{rmā}* (14) *šu-mi DAM.GĀR zu-k[u-u]* (15) *mī-ma šu-mi DAM. GĀR* (16) *be-el lu-qú-tim* (17) *lā i-za-kar šu-ma* (18) *a-wi-lúm* (19) *i-na li-bi₄-ku-[nu (. . .)]* (20) *[w]a-ši-i GĪR* (21) *ša A-šūr li[it-ma-ma]* (22) *lu-qú-tum lu [ša DAM.GĀR]* (23) *ki-il₅[. . .]* (24) *a-na ^{rx} [. . .]* (25) *[š]a-a-du[-a-tám a-na-kam]* (26) *nu-ša-[da-a-ma šu-mi]* (27) *DAM.GĀR [š]a-qi-il₅ da-tim* (28) *nu-sá-[a]z-kā-ar.*

45. (7) 2 GÍN (8) KUG.BABBAR Ù 2 MA.NA (9) URUDU SIG₅ *ša-du[-a-tám]* (10) *ša A!-lā-bu-um* (11) DUMU LUGAL-^aI[M] (12) *i-dí-a-ku-nu-tí[-ni]* (13) *a-ma-kam KUG.BABBAR* (14) [ñ] URUDU *a-na* (15) *[š]a ki-ma A-lá-bi-im* (16) *[t]a-e-ra.*

Cf. Veenhof, op. cit., 283.

Šalatuwar must make him pay the rest and send it to Wahšušana.⁴⁶ KTP 12, exchanged between the same correspondents, states that a man already has paid his tax and should not pay again,⁴⁷ and the last text in this group, KTK 2, is too damaged to make any sense.⁴⁸

Veenhof suggested that these examples show that in subordinate and small settlements such as Šalatuwar members of the special “*dātum*-payer group” could be authorized or “licensed” to collect the *šaddu’utum*-tax on behalf of the colonies. We are thus reminded of the text mentioned above, KTP 3, which authorized certain people to collect the *šaddu’utum*-tax from a certain date, and to pay back half of the revenue while keeping the other half to cover expenses incurred. It may be that a similar arrangement was in existence for the men in Šalatuwar in their relations with the neighbouring colony at Wahšušana – the entire system ultimately being supervised by the Kanesh colony. This system would not really be what could be called “tax farming” for there is no reason to believe that the right to collect the *šaddu’utum*-tax was paid for. On the other hand, the incorrect action of some of these men does indicate that they drew some profit from the arrangement. In one case the collectors tried to get a special rate, three times higher than the usual one.

It is of course somewhat unpleasant that practically all our evidence for this institution stems from one single city, but this may well be due to pure chance; apparently the colony at Wahšušana had to send copies of all its official letters to Kanesh – where all our letters have been discovered; if the other colonies had similar arrangements with trading stations of minor importance within their jurisdiction, the correspondence

46. (6) *a-na-kam* (7) 15 MA.NA URUDU (8) *ma-si-am* (9) *ša* URUDU-*i-šu* (10) *ù* 1 GÍN KUG.BABBAR *ša* (11) *pi-ri-kà-ni-šu A-š[ur-...]* *i-dl-ni-a-ti a-ma-kam* (13) *šu-ma DIRI mi-ma* (14) *uš-té-ba-al* (15) *ša-di-a-šu-ma* (16) *ku-un-kà-ma* (17) *šé-bi₄-lá-nim*.

Cf. Veenhof, op. cit., 282–283.

47. Cf. Veenhof, op. cit., 283, and J. Lewy, *HUCA* 27, 1956, 68, n. 287. One must note that this text in fact was addressed only to “the *dātum*-payers and the chosen men” with no reference to a city; most probably this is simply a mistake as suggested by Lewy, loc. cit.

48. It should be noted that both this text and KTP 12 end with the phrase: PN *ana parsātikunu lērub*, “PN should enter your ...”, where the term *parsātum* is quite obscure; it is of course a derivation from *parsum*, *paristum*, which denotes something which in some way is “apart”, “divided off”, but I cannot offer any suggestions concerning the meaning of the term in our texts.

would presumably also have been sent to Kanesh where it still lies – only at a different spot. As a matter of fact, J. Lewy has claimed that the text known as Neşr. Bogh. 2, an unpublished text from Kültepe, was sent from the Mamma trading station to the *dātum*-payers and chosen men at Kuššara;⁴⁹ the address is nearly entirely broken away, however, and it is disturbing for Lewy's interpretation that the Mamma station by naming itself last clearly acknowledges that it is addressing a superior authority.⁵⁰ One cannot exclude the possibility, therefore, that the letter was addressed to “the ... colony and the trading station at Kuššara”. It may also be noted that the Mamma station refers to its correspondents as “our dear fathers and lords”. Anyway, the portion of the letter which is of special interest here says:

Our dear fathers and lords, a tablet has arrived from the City, stating that you should not levy the *šaddu'utum*-tax; also, tablets from the [Kanesh] colony concerning the *šaddu'utum*-tax ...⁵¹

The very last lines of the document say that “the natives produce all the time (captives?) and there is no money for their ransom.”⁵² According to J. Lewy this shows that the settlement at Mamma had sustained a raid from local forces of some kind which resulted in the capture of many Assyrians; the authorities in Assur therefore intervened by “permitting the authorities of the *ubārtum ša Mama* to collect, on their part, the tolls or fees usually perceived at Kuššara.”⁵³ Although this interpretation seems to be substantially correct, I want to take exception from the idea

49. J. Lewy, “Old Assyrian Evidence Concerning Kuššara and its Location”, *HUCA* 33, 1962, 49–52. Bilgiç, *AfO* 15, 30, suggested the reading: [a-na kā-ri-im Ha-tū-uš ū ú-bar-t]im š[a] Ku-ša-ra, and Lewy's previous proposals (cf. *HUCA* 27, 1956, 59, n. 251) were: the Hurama colony and the station of Kuššara, and [a-na ru-ba-im ḫ] (2) [ru-ba-t]im ša Ku-ša-ra, “to the king and queen of Kuššara”.

50. As shown below, this would not be particularly surprising if the text reflected the conditions prevailing during the later level 1b period where the *dātum*-payers were mentioned before the colony; however, as pointed out by Lewy, *HUCA* 33, 1962, 49, n. 23, there is good reason to believe that the text stems from the level 2 period.

51. (25) *a-ba-ú<-ni>* *be-lu-ni* (26) *a-tù-nu* DUB-pu-um *iš-tù* (27) *A-lim^{k1}* *i-li-kam* (28) *ša ša-du-a-tim lá tū-ša-da-a* (29) *ú* DUB-pè-e *ša kā-ri-im* (30) [*Kā-ni-iš*] *ša ša-du-a-tim* ...

52. (33) *nu-a-ú uš-té-ni-sú-ni-ma* KUG.BABBAR (34) *a-na pā-tù-ri-šu-nu lá-šu*.

53. J. Lewy, loc. cit., 51.

of a military raid on the trading station at Mamma for that appears to be purely speculative.

There are still very many unanswered questions in connection with the internal Assyrian system of taxation; it is somewhat strange that the *šaddu'utum*-tax appears to have been paid in several different localities, and one must emphasize that the town Šalatuwar was not situated on the major caravan route linking Assur with Kanesh. The tax was clearly one which was paid in Anatolia and levied on the Assyrian caravans which travelled there from town to town. But it can surely have been paid only once on each trip, not to all the various stations and colonies through whose territory a caravan had to pass. The rate at which it was levied is not entirely certain either in all cases, but the official rate ordered by the Kanesh colony was 1:60, i.e. 1 shekel on each mina. Finally, it should be mentioned that the tax was normally received by a "scribe", the secretary of the colony, and paid to the office of the colony.⁵⁴

We have with these texts come one further step down the ladder of the political and administrative system and can observe that the trading stations were under the jurisdiction of the colonies in whose territory they were situated. This is also illustrated by the letter KTP 10, sent to the Wahšušana colony from the trading station at Šalatuwar; this text deals with political matters and it is therefore not the tax-collectors who correspond with the colony but the local authority as such; the difference may not have been great. The first half or so of the text is unintelligible but the end is highly interesting: someone, presumably a local king says to the men at Šalatuwar:

Arrive in the land of Wahšušana! If you do not arrive there I shall become your enemy!⁵⁵

As far as I know there is no king of Šalatuwar attested in our material so it is possibly the king of Wahšušana who has said this to the station at Šalatuwar; earlier in the letter it is said that the writers had sent a letter to Purušaddum and it cannot be excluded that it was this king who ordered them to Wahšušana; it has been suggested that the king of Pu-

54. Cf. *OACP*, 159–161, and Veenhof, *Aspects*, 278–286; for the secretary of the colony cf. further below, 304–307.

55. (9') *iš-ta-pá-ar um-m[a šu-ut-ma]* (10') *a-na ma-at Wa-ah-šu-š[a-na]* (11') *mu-uq-ta šu-ma* (12') [*lā*] *ta-am-qú-ta* (13') *iš-ti-ku-nu na-ak-^rra-ak*'.

rušhaddum had a certain political predominance in the area and that the surrounding kings were his vassals.⁵⁶

Before turning to the material from level 1b I shall briefly discuss one further type of authority, the *ešartum*, or “ten-man board”, which is attested a very few times. This institution leads us to the dividing line between public and private and thus opens the way to a host of unanswerable questions. We have two letters which were written or received by a ten-man board and one further letter which refers to such a body. The first text is CCT 3:36a, a letter from the ten-man board of Buruddum to Pūšu-kēn:

The ten-man board of Šimala is angry with us. Our dear brother, if they have sent any slanderous accusations to the Kanesh colony, then refute their words in our behalf, and also send a message to inform us!⁵⁷

Both of these towns are to be sought in northern Syria; it is perhaps somewhat strange that a governmental body – if that is what the ten-man board was – should not write directly to the Kanesh colony to plead its case – or send a messenger with information; what Pūšu-kēn can do on the basis of this letter is hardly more than some demonstration of good faith. However, the letter could be meant simply to secure the good offices of Pūšu-kēn and be sent after a more detailed one to the Kanesh colony. Still the apparently semi-private or private nature of the institution remains a likely conclusion. We do not know what type of establishment the Assyrians had in these towns, if in fact they had any permanent ones.

AnOr 6:15 is a letter addressed to the ten-man board of Nihrija from the

56. Landsberger, *ArOr* 18, 1–2, 338; cf. also Balkan, *Anum-Hirbi*, 59–60. Whether the text Cont. 27 really gives the title *rubā'um rabi'um*, “Great king”, to the ruler of Purušhaddum is surely doubtful; the sign GAL is not very clear and moreover there is a break exactly at this point. Orlin’s treatment of the text, *ACC*, 139–141, is not entirely satisfactory and his conclusions can hardly be sustained in the form they now have; it should be noted that the text down to line 23 deals with a hypothetical situation, something which may happen rather than something which has already taken place.

57. (3) *lo-tum* (4) *ša Ši-ma-lá iš-ti-ni* (5) *sá-bi-is a-hu-ú-ni* (6) *a-ta šu-ma mī-ma* (7) *ta-ki-li* (8) *a-na kā-ri-im* (9) *Kā-ni-iš^{k1}* (10) *iš-ta-á-p-ru-nim* (11) *ki-ma ni-a-ti* (12) *a-wa-tám ta-e-er-ma* (13) *ù tī-ir-ta-kà* (14) *li-li-kam-ma* (15) *ú-za-ni pe-té*.

Cf. Trolle Larsen, *OrNS* 40, 1971, 321.

same Pūšu-kēn, and this text certainly strengthens the suspicion that the ten-man board was a semi-private institution for the letter is concerned entirely with normal commercial procedures. It is a text of the type which I called a "caravan account"⁵⁸ in which Pūšu-kēn acknowledges the receipt at Kanesh of a shipment consisting of 28 textiles and a donkey, transported by one Amurrum-bāni, and provides a list of expenses and the proceeds from the sale of the textiles. Pūšu-kēn has paid taxes to the palace and sold the shipment for silver; for part of the money he has bought two special vessels, a šannum and an *asīrum*, and he sends these together with the rest of the money back to the ten-man board of Nīhrija.⁵⁹

If these "boards" or "committees" were commercial units, then they must have been of a quite special nature, not being built on the family structure but incorporating the traders who had their main base in one city. However, why should such groups have precisely ten members? This fact alone makes it likely that we are faced with a special institution

58. Cf. *OACP*, 6.

59. (1) [a-na] *e-šar-tim ša* (2) [*Ni-i*] *h-ri-a q̄l-bi-ma um-ma* (3) [*Pu-šu-ki-in-ma* 27
ku-ta-ni (4) [1 *e-*] *p̄i-ša-am* 1 ANŠE (5) ^{TU} *-ba-ni ub-lam i-na* (6) 27
 TÚG *ku-ta-ni* 1½ TÚG (7) *ni-is-ha-tum* 2½ TÚG *a-ši-mi-im* (8) É.GAL-lúm
 $\frac{1}{6}$ -qé ŠĀ.BA-^T*šu* (9) *ša* $\frac{5}{6}$ TÚG 2½ GÍN (10) KUG[BABBAR] *i-na*
wa-sa-a TÚG.HI.A (11) [*ta-lá-qé-a* *ša* 1½¹ TÚG (12) ^T*x* MA.NA 5 GÍN
i-na (13) *me-ši-ti e-lá-tim* (14) *ta-lá-qé-a* 23¹/₆ TÚG (15) *iz-ku-ú-nim* 12 GÍN
 TA (16) 4½ MA.NA 8 GÍN (17) KUG.BABBAR ^T*-ap-šu-nu* 12½ GÍN (18)
^T*ši*-im ANŠE 5 GÍN 1 TÚG (19) *e-p̄i-ši-im* 15 GÍN (20) *ši-im* 2 MA.NA
 AN.NA-*ku-nu* (21) ŠU.NIGÍN 5 MA.NA 10½ GÍN (22) KUG.BABBAR
 ŠĀ.BA ½ MA.NA 7½ GÍN (23) *ši-im ša-nim áš-qul* (24) $\frac{5}{6}$ MA.NA 5 GÍN
a-na (25) [*a-ši-ri-im áš-qul* (26) 1 MA.NA 2½ GÍN *a-qá-ti* (27) [MAR].TU-
ba-ni a-dl-in ši-ti (28) [KUG].BABBAR-*p̄i-ku-nu* 2½ MA.NA 5½ GÍN (29)
[ku-]nu-ki-a ša-nam (30) *u a-ši-ra-am* (31) [...] ^T*a-na* MAR.TU-*ba-ni* (32)
^T*ap-qi-id-ma* ^T*i-na* *pá-nim[-ma?]* (33) [...] *i x me im*.

A few words may be in order concerning the procedure referred to in lines 7–14, the pre-emption of ten percent of the shipment, also referred to in some texts as the "tithe"; for $\frac{5}{6}$ of one of the pre-empted textiles the palace will pay a price in silver, corresponding to an estimated value for one whole piece of 3 shekels of silver, i.e. a favourable price for the purchaser compared with the price of 12 shekels mentioned later. It seems probable that the amount mentioned in line 12 was in copper, and if it is still silver those textiles obviously fetched a much higher price than the other piece which was preempted. – Our examples of the rare word *asīrum* should be added to ones collected in *CAD*; both that and the equally uncommon *šannum* most probably denote metal containers of some kind.

which has to be placed within the administrative framework of the colonies and stations. It is certainly very probable that they had their basis partly in commercial enterprises but it seems nevertheless that we must understand them as a kind of standing committees which had certain responsibilities within the framework of the system. One must remember that at Nihrija the Assyrians had a colony. The last example known is the ten-man board of Hahhum, another town which had a colony, and the letter CCT 4:30 deals with certain violent events which have taken place there:

To Innaja from Elāli:

Since I arrived Idi-Kūbum and his company, the *ešartum* of Hahhum, and I myself – we have repeatedly gone up to the palace but the princes keep answering us in the same way. There! Copies of the oath which they offer to us have been written for the colony. – After we agreed with them on a settlement the men changed their minds. The king has committed a bloody deed and his throne is blemished. The agreements are suspended. The princes keep watching each other.

My dear father, when the colony hears the letter, then appeal to it and may a message from the colony and one from you come here, so that I can get away ...⁶⁰

Negotiations with the palace at Hahhum have obviously been conducted by a group of people which incorporated the ten-man board; as a result of these apparently quite difficult talks a letter has been sent off to the Kanesh colony with a proposed treaty. The next step must be for the colony and the Envoys of the City to send out a couple of special messengers who will administer the oath when a new ruler has been found.

60. (1) *a-na I-na-a q̄i-bi-ma* (2) *um-ma E-lá-lí-ma iš-tù* (3) *a-li-kà-ni I-dl-Ku-bu-um*
 (4) *ù ILLAT-sú lo-tum ša Ha-hi-im* (5) *ù a-na-ku a-na É.GAL-lim* (6) *ni-ta-na-*
li-ma ru-ba-ú (7) *ki-ma i-ta-pu-lim i-ta-na-pu-lu-ni-a-tl* (8) *a-ma me-eh-ra-at* (9)
ma-mi-tim ša [ú-b]i(? or *k]à)-lu-ni-a-tl-ni* (10) *a-na kà-ri-im lâ-pu-ta-nim* (11)
ù št-“ki”[-tám] *ni-im-gu5-ur-šu-nu-ma* (12) *a-wi-lu-ú i-ta-ba-al-ku-tù* (13)
“LUGAL” da-me e-ta-pá-dš-ma (14) *ku-st-šu lá ta-aq-na-at* (15) *št-ik-na-tum a-*
hu-ra (16) *ru-ba-ú i-na ba-ri-šu-nu* (17) *i-ta-ťu-lu a-bi a-ta* (18) *be-li a-ta ki-*
ma (19) *DUB-pá-am kà-ru-um* (20) *iš-me-ú-ni mu-hu-ur-šu* (21) *ti-ir-tí kà-ri-*
im (22) *ù ti-ir-ta-kà li-li-kam-ma* (23) *lá-tal-kam*.

Cf. Balkan, *Anum-Hirbi*, 26, Garelli, *AC*, 349–350, and Orlin, *ACC*, 123–129 (not satisfactory).

The local political situation is clearly very confused and the old king completely out of the picture.^{60a}

As it stands the text allows of two different interpretations with regard to the ten-man board: 1) it could be identical with "Idi-Kübüm's company", i.e. the word *ešartum* would stand as an apposition to *ellat PN*,⁶¹ 2) or it could be a different body so that the groups which went up to the palace were: Idi-Kübüm and his company, the ten-man board, and the writer. I regard the latter alternative as the more likely, both because some real negotiations appear to have taken place and because I find it less than probable that a group such as a ten-man board "of" a city, even if it is a commercial enterprise, should be referred to as "PN's company"; a commercial group based on a particular city would most probably not be organized as a firm with one boss.⁶²

The evidence available is not decisive, of course, but it does seem most

60a) Professor Garelli has been kind enough to send me a copy and a transliteration of a text which will be contained in the forthcoming volume of Old Assyrian documents from the British Museum, CCT 6:15b, and I want to express my gratitude for his permission to study and make use of this valuable text which belongs closely together with the letter discussed here. It is another letter to Innaja from Elāli and it begins as follows:

(3) *na-dš-pè-er-tám ša kà-ri-im* (4) *ša a-na ru-ba-e* (5) *lá-pu-ta-at-ni* (6) *ša-ma-am*
ù-lá i-mu-ú (7) *ù na-⟨dš-⟩ pè-er-tám ša-li[?]-tám* (8) *ša a-na lo-tim ú i-a-tí* (9)
lá-pu-ta-at-ni x-tám (10) *ù-ša-ak-ni-ik[?]-ma* (11) *ù na-dš-pè-er-tám* (12) *ša ru-ba-ú*
ša-ma-am (13) *lá i-mu-ú-ni lo-tum* (14) *ù-lá-pi-ta-ma* (15) *na-áš-a-ku*, "As to
 the message of the colony which had been written for the princes, they refused
 to listen to it. Also, the message of authorization(?) which had been written
 for the *ešartum* and me, I/he/it had it sealed . . . , and then the *ešartum* wrote
 a message stating that the princes refused to listen to it, and I bring it."

The difficulties in this text are substantial and it does not really resolve the problem concerning the exact nature of the ten-man board. However, it does become very clear that this body was directly and actively engaged in the negotiations with the palace. The text is obviously later than the one discussed above.

61. See CAD I/J, 84, where *illatu* is given the meaning "collegium".

62. According to M. C. Astour, "The Merchant Class of Ugarit", D. O. Edzard (ed.), *Gesellschaftsklassen im Alten Zweistromland*, München 1972, 11–26, the merchants in Ugarit were organized in "decumates", associations which may be compared with the Old Assyrian institutions. Such associations were headed by one man, *rb ešrt* or *akil eširti*, in Nuzi perhaps known as *rab eširti*, a person who had an official status; the groups were often divided in two subgroups of each five men, *hamištum*, and Astour refers to the Old Babylonian *wakil hamištum*, men who were involved in the direction of the merchants' affairs. Whether these parallels are relevant for the Old Assyrian material remains to

likely that the ten-man boards were some kind of standing committees which were found in at least some colonies and which had a limited political authority. In the present case it is reasonable to suggest that the ten-man board went to the palace together with the traders who happened to be passing through the kingdom at the time of the violent political events, and who therefore were trapped so long as there were no responsible authorities with which to deal.

c) The Level 1b Period

Of the 4 letters treated in this section only two can with certainty be ascribed to the period of level 1b, Gelb 40 and f/k 183; I have chosen to treat the two further letters, KTP 6 and KTK 8, in this context because they both refer to diplomatic matters without mentioning the Envoys of the City, and I suggest that these latter were not in existence in the later period.

Gelb 40 has been restored precisely in such a way that the Envoys of the City became one part of the senders, but I cannot accept this restoration and instead suggest that the letter was sent from the Kanesh colony to all colonies and trading stations, to their plenary assemblies. The text is closely related to the "transfer"-letters from the Kanesh colony in the level 2 material, telling that someone has appealed to the colony and said . . . The rest is broken away.⁶³

The other certain 1b text is concerned with political questions and it

be seen, but it does seem clear that the pattern postulated for Ugarit was not the prevailing one in the Old Assyrian commercial organisation. Oppenheim has shown that there was a Neo Assyrian institution of special ten-man groups which were headed by a scribe ("Divination and Celestial Observation in the Last Assyrian Empire", *Centaurus* 14, 1969, 106–107); like the OA boards, these much later ones were important administrative bodies which were found in the major Assyrian cities.

63. J. Lewy, *HUCA* 27, 1956, 71, n. 304, suggested the reading: (1) [um-ma ši-ip-ru ša A-lim^{k1}] (2) [u] kā-r[i-im Kā-ni-iš-ma] (3) [a-n]a kā-ár [kā-ar-ma] (4) u wa-ba-ra-[tim] (5) TUR GAL, i.e. from the envoys of the City and of the Kanesh colony, but such a designation is not attested in any other text. If we must read kā-r[i-im . . .] in line 2, and thus restore a genitive, I suggest the reading: [umma šipru] (2) [ša] kār[im Kanešma], "from the envoys of the Kanesh colony". – I should also like to dissociate myself from Lewy's conclusion that these envoys – whatever authority they may have represented – must have been present in the settlement at Alishar where the letter was found.

seems to show that the system had changed in some way. It is the Tamnija colony which writes to the Kanesh colony that some envoys from Durhumit have addressed the king of Tamnija with a view to concluding a treaty; the king answered that he wanted to negotiate with "the envoys of my fathers in the Kanesh colony". This is therefore the situation from the level 2 letters upside down, and it is indeed surprising that it should have been envoys from Durhumit who approached the king. The fact that the encounter is being reported to Kanesh does not necessarily show that the men from Durhumit had acted incorrectly, and it is certainly possible that the later period was marked by a certain degree of decentralization of the political apparatus of the colonies.⁶⁴

The letter KTP 6 was sent from the Kanesh colony to the king of Širmija, obviously a small principality whose exact location is unknown to me. We are told that the colony has sent out two named messengers with a gift consisting of one mina of silver and three shekels of gold, and there are references to negotiations whose precise nature we cannot ascertain.⁶⁵ I list this text here because of the omission of the Envoys of the

64. (1) *a-na kà-ri-im* (2) *Kà-ni-iš qí-bi-ma* (3) *um-ma kà-ru-um* (4) *Ta-am-ni-a* (5) *ší-ip-ru-ú ša kà-ri-im* (6) *Dura-hu-ml-it* (7) *a-na ru-ba-im ša Ta-am-ni-a* (8) *a-na ta-mu-im* (9) *ir-ba-am ub-lu-ni-šu-ma* (10) *um-ma šu-ut-ma a-na* (11) *ší-ip-ri-ma* (12) *a-li ší-ip-ru* (13) *ša a-ba-e-a* (14) *ša kà-ri-im Kà-ni-iš* (15) *šu-nu li-li-ku-nim-ma* (16) *iš-tí-šu-nu* (17) *ma-mi-tám a-lá-qé-ma* (18) *ú-ma-sá-ah-ni-a-tí-ma* (19) *um-ma šu-ut-ma* (20) *a-lá-am e-pá-dš* – five lines nearly completely broken away – (26) *ir-ba-am ni-ší-šu-um* (27) *ú-za-ku-nu ni-ip-té* (28) *a-li-kam e ú-ma-sí-hu*, "To the Kanesh colony from the Tamnija colony: Envoys from the Durhumit colony brought the king of Tamnija a present for (the ceremony of) swearing the oath, but he said to the envoys: 'Where are the envoys of my fathers, of the Kanesh colony? They should come here and then I shall take the oath from them!' He treats us with contempt and says: 'I shall build a city!' ... We brought him a present. We have informed you. They should not treat a traveller with contempt."

Text communicated in transliteration in Balkan, *Observations*, 73–75; see also J. Lewy, *OrNS* 26, 1957, 26–31, Garelli, *AC*, 333–337, and Orlin, *ACC*, 118–123. – The final *-ma* in line 17 seems quite misplaced since a quotation from a direct speech cannot end with *-ma*; I wonder whether it is in fact to be read with line 16 where it would make excellent sense.

65. (1) *a-na ru-ba-im* (2) *Ší-ir-mí-a-im* (3) *qi-bi-ma um-ma* (4) *kà-ru-um Kà-ni-iš-[ma]* (5) 1 MA.NA.KUG.BABBAR *ša-ru-pu-um* (6) *ù 3 GÍN GUŠKIN* (erasure) (7) *A-bi-a-a ù A-gu-a* (8) *ší-ip-ru-ni* (9) *na-aš-ú-[ni]-kum* (10) *DUB-pl-kà ni-iš-me-ma* (11) *[l]i-bi-ni-ma* (12) *[x x]aš* (13) *[a²-m]a²-la* (14) *[ta]aš-pu-ra-ni* (15) *e-pu-uš-ma* (16) *ta-aq-bi-ta-kà* (17) *i-li-bia-ni* (18) *i-ba-ši me-ra-ni be-el-ni a-ta* (19) *ma-la ší-ip-ru-ni* (20) *i-qá-bi-ú-[ni-ku-ni]* break. Left edge: (1') *ša a-na*

City, and this is also the reason for the inclusion of KTK 8, a letter to the Kanesh colony from “[your] envoys”. After a very promising start, where we read: “In accordance with [your] order they made the king and the crownprince(?) swear the oath and the king [said] . . .,” the text becomes practically unintelligible. It is quite strange that it should not have been the writers but someone else who administered the oath but we cannot draw any certain conclusions from this.⁶⁶

The material from level 1b shows other peculiarities compared with the texts from level 2. The special institution the *dātum*-payers, which is so sparsely attested in the rich material from level 2, is found a number of times and connected with other cities; in unpublished texts we find the *dātum*-payers associated with the Hattuš colony, the Wašanija colony, and the Timelkija colony,⁶⁷ and in the text n/k 5 we read that “the *dātum*-payers, the travellers on the road to the City, and the trading station of Mamma have given a verdict.”⁶⁸ As long as all this material is unpublished we can do no more than note the facts.

Balkan referred to the persons who are called “*dātum*-payers” as “der geschäftsführende Funktionär”, and he pointed out that in one of the references from level 1b these men are named before the colony in the concluding formula in the legal protocol: “the *dātum*-payers (and) the plenary assembly of the Wašanija colony gave me as arbiter in this matter.”⁶⁹ In n/k 5 referred to above these men were also mentioned before the trading station and took part in a judicial decision (it would be interesting to know what the matter was about) together with “travellers

se-ri-k[ə] (2') i-lá-kà-ni [. . .], “To the Širmijan king from the Kanesh colony: Abija and Agua, our messengers, bring you 1 mina of refined silver and 3 shekels of gold. We have heard your letter and our mind is . . . Act as you wrote and we shall keep in mind what you said. Our dear son and lord, [do?] what our messengers tell you . . . who will come to you . . .”

Note the exceptional use of the sign AŠ. – I have collated the text in 1975.

66. (1) *a-na kà-ri-i[m Kà-ni-iš qí-bi-ma]* (2) *um-ma ši-ip-r[u-ku-nu-ma]* (3) *a-ma-lá tí-ir-i[i-ku-nu]* (4) *ru-ba-am ú GAL [st-mi-il5-tim]* (5) *ú-ta-me-ú-[ma um-ma]* (6) *ru-ba-um-m[a . . .].*

The redating of these two letters is of course tentative only, and if they should belong to level 2 after all, they would presumably be evidence of some improvisation in the system.

67. For the references to unpublished sources I refer to Balkan, *OLZ* 60, 1965, 155.

68. (1) *ša-qi-il5 da-tim* (2) *‘a-’li-ku ša ha-ra-an* (3) *‘A-’lim^{k1} ú wa-ba-ar-tum* (4) *(4) ša Ma-a-ma di-nam* (5) *i-di-nu-ma.*

69. n/k 27b: (27) *a-na a-wa-tim* (28) *a-ni-a-tim ša-qi-’il₅’ da-tim* (29) *kà-ru-um Uš-ha-ni-a TUR GAL* (30) *i-di-nu-ni-ma.*

on the way to the City." The "travellers" seem to recur in some texts from Alishar; Gelb 17 is a somewhat damaged text of uncertain type which starts with the passage:

The traveller [and the trading station] of Amkuwa . . . We stood up [before?] Haššu'ara, [the . . .] of the king, and said . . .⁷⁰

What the traveller and the station are doing here is not clear, but it may be that they spoke to the Anatolian official; or they could serve as witnesses to the exchange.

Gelb 18 is a legal protocol recording a questioning of an Anatolian by an Assyrian, and it ends as follows:

The travellers [and the] trad[ing station] of Amkuwa gave [us] as arbiters in this matter.⁷¹

The word in question, *ālikum*, is extremely common in the level 2 texts where it always denotes a man who travels in normal, commercial context; it is never used as a synonym of *šiprum*, the word which denotes a messenger or envoy. One wonders whether it had acquired this special meaning in the later period in view of these references.⁷² If the fact that one was "a traveller" could give a special importance and status in the level 1b period, the pattern of daily life in the colonies and trading stations must have changed drastically and that is rather difficult to believe. These settlements must after all still have based their existence on foreign trade so most of the inhabitants would travel regularly. But we cannot say very much with certainty as long as we have so few documents.

Balkan is surely right in his claim that these texts show that some changes had taken place between the two periods, and the fact that we have all these references to the *dātum*-payers in the later period most

70. (1) *a-li-ku-um w[a-ba-ar-tum]* (2) *ša A-am-ku-w[a . . .]* (3) [IGI?] "Ha-šu-a-ra"
[. . .] (4) *ša ru-ba-im ni-zi-[iz]-ma* (5) *um-ma ni-nu-ma*.

For the reading of line 2 see J. Lewy, "Old Assyrian Documents from Asia Minor", *AHDO* 2, 1938, 128, n. 1.

71. (24) *a-na* (25) *a-wa-tim a-ni-a-t[im]* (26) *a-li-[ku w]a-b[a-ar-tum]* (27) *ša Am-ku-wa i-di-nu[-ni-ma]*.

72. Cf. perhaps also f/k 183, 28 (note 64 to this chapter), where we have the sentence: *ālikam ē umassihu*, "they should not treat a 'traveller' with contempt"; in that case it could probably denote a caravan – as it usually does – but a meaning "envoy" is not excluded.

probably is a sign of some basic changes in the social structure; *dātum*-payers must have existed in most places also in the level 2 period if Veenhof's interpretation is correct, but apparently this institution did not play the same role in the administration of the colonial system.

d) Concluding Remarks

At least in the level 2 period the Kanesh colony played a central role in the administration of the colonial system, and this does in fact demand some explanation. It is quite true that the kingdom of Kanesh held a very important strategic position on the Anatolian plateau but the Assyrians could have chosen other cities as their central colony, for instance the very important Purušaddum. I think that the most likely explanation is that the entire system is to be seen as an expanded version of a much simpler one where the Assyrians had only Kanesh as their base. In the fully developed commercial structure of the level 2 period we can observe that the Old Assyrian trade basically functions as a pendulum trade between Assur and Kanesh, and the latter represented the centre from which the further penetration of the plateau was organized. Many caravans were dissolved in Kanesh and the retail of the goods was taken over by commissioned agents who travelled round Anatolia from city to city. This most probably reflects the original pattern where Kanesh was the terminus for all caravans, a proper emporium; it is worth pointing out that there is some reason to believe that some further decentralization took place in the course of the level 2 period, and some important merchants apparently established their permanent headquarters in cities further to the west, first of all Purušaddum and Wahšušana. In Purušaddum we may have had a commercial establishment for a very long time, however, for the epic story known as "The King of the Battle" recounts how Akkadian merchants visited this city at the time of Sargon of Akkade.⁷³ At best, this epic was heavily influenced by the later knowledge of the Old Assyrian commercial expansion, however, and it is quite uncertain how much trust we must place on a text of this type. Anyway,

73. Cf. Garelli, *AC*, 49–50, and Orlin, *ACC*, 228–231, for comments on this question and references to previous discussions. In my view the text is a late propagandistic fairy-tale which incorporates traditions concerning the Old Akkadian "superhuman" rulers and the Old Assyrian merchant colonies, and it cannot be used for a historical evaluation of either of these periods.

the existence of commercial links with Purušaddum as early as the Old Akkadian period is not in itself unlikely, but these links were presumably broken in the intervening period so that the Old Assyrian traders had to reestablish the commercial pattern.

It is not unlikely that the large number of colonies in northern Syria indicates that this area had been directly touched by the trade for a longer time than the less central parts of the plateau, so that the Assyrians were better entrenched there. However, we are not yet in a position to analyse the difference between a colony and a trading station, in spite of the fact that we do have some material which indicates that a *wabartum*-settlement had a subordinate position in relation to the *kārum* settlement. However, a *wabartum* could issue verdicts, it could authorize arbiters or witnesses to function in legal procedures, and it could conduct its own correspondence with the world around it. One text even shows that such a settlement could conduct certain low-level negotiations with the local Anatolian authorities; the text, KTH 3, is a letter to Aššur-nādā from a certain Pilah-Ištar who tells him that three named men, all Assyrians, had released him from custody in Badna and urged him to leave together with them, apparently in secret:

They did not let me into the guest-house together with them. Alone I passed the night in the cow-stable. They broke into the house and took away 6 textiles.

I poured dust on my head (in despair) and returned to Badna to Alā-hum, and the trading station of Badna went up to the *barullu*-officers and said: "Let us search (for the textiles), and if they are lost, then we will give compensation!"⁷⁴

It is clear that the Assyrians are interested in keeping this affair under their own control rather than letting the Anatolian authorities take over the search for the criminals. These were obviously known and they were Assyrians, but it remains uncertain from whom they stole the textiles.

74. (12) *iš-ti-šu-nu* (13) *a-na É wa-áb-ri* (14) *ú-lá ú-šé-ru-ni* (15) *a-ha-ma É al-pi*
 (16) *a-bi-it É-tám* (17) *ip^l-lu-šu-ma* 6 TÚG.HI (18) *i-ta-áb-ku* (19) *ep-<(ra)>ra-am*
a-na qá-qi-di-a (20) *áš-pu-kum-ma* (21) *a-na Ba-ad-na* (22) *a-na sé-er A-lá-bi-im*
 (23) *a-tù-ra-ma wa-ba-ar-tám* (24) *ša Ba-ad-na* (25) *a-na sé-er ba-ru-li* (26) *e-li-*
ú-ma <(um-ma)> (27) *um-ma šu-nu-ma lu ni-iš-e* (28) *ú šu-ma i-ha-li-qú* (29) *ni-nu-*
nu-ma-lá.

The house which they broke into during the night could be the one called the "guest-house", *bīt wabri*, but that is not certain.

Looking at the list of cities which were associated with a *wabartum* one must admit that most of them quite clearly were of minor importance, but Mamma, Šalatuwar, and Wašanija did play important roles. I cannot offer any final explanation of why exactly these places had this lower status but we must assume that there were predominantly commercial motives for it, i.e. these places, although perhaps of some political importance, were overshadowed by other cities and kingdoms in the same general area as trading centres. This may be particularly relevant for the last two places, and Mamma's location in the deep mountains could perhaps explain why it did not become a *kārum*.

The difference between a *kārum* and a *wabartum* in a physical sense is even more difficult to ascertain. The word *wabartum* must surely be connected with *wabrum/ubrum*, a term which denotes a "guest"; it is attested a number of times in the phrase *bīt wabrim* and this is in many cases very clearly to be understood as a kind of caravanserai, a place where travellers may spend the night against some payment, usually very small.⁷⁵ In other instances the term denotes a private room or house which could be used by guests; it is a place where a difficult guest may sit all day and order his host around (CCT 4:45b),⁷⁶ or where a traveller may leave some merchandise for safe-keeping (CCT 3:9),⁷⁷ and one can perhaps assume that a firm would have such special houses available for its members in various places round Anatolia. Maybe the *bīt wabrim* usually was a kind of *fondaco*, a place where foreigners could spend their time within the city itself, and maybe the *wabartum* concept is a further development of such an institution, i.e. not a "harbour", but rather a more restricted quarter within the city and thus also less independent.⁷⁸ It could perhaps be argued that the text quoted earlier concerning the *wabartum* of Badna stated that the trading station "went up" to the Anat-

75. Cf. the list of such payments (called "prix des hôtelleries") in Garelli, *AC*, 303–304, and additional material in Veenhof, *Aspects*, p. 250.

76. (8) *a-na-kam* (9) *i-na* É *ub-ri-ni E-na-num* (10) *ú-ša-áb-ma i-tá-na-ra-da-ni*. – Cf. J. Lewy, "Old Assyrian *puru'um* and *pūrum*", *RHA* 5, 1938, 121–122.

77. (9) 10 *ku-ta-ni* (10) ù 4 TÜG *šu-ru-tim* É *wa-áb-ri-ni* (11) *e-zí-ib*.

78. Cf. also Oppenheim, *AM*, 78, where *bīt ub(a)ri* is explained as "a special section within the city wall ... set aside for foreign visitors or merchants". One may perhaps also compare the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice, a compulsory residence and storage place for foreign traders.

lian authorities, i.e. from the suburb to the city placed on the mound, but that is somewhat uncertain; maybe the word "go up" was used in a more loose sense, denoting the approach to the Anatolian authorities.

The transmission of the orders of the colony at Kanesh to the various settlements was entrusted to special messengers, obviously all Assyrians. I cannot say anything certain about the men whose names appear in such contexts,⁷⁹ but it can be seen that they often functioned as authorized agents who could negotiate with the Anatolian authorities on behalf of the Kanesh colony, or take action against individuals in other colonies; they would thus make use of the local administrative apparatus. Some of the letters which have been translated here must have constituted the credentials of such messengers. Messengers of the Kanesh colony are not mentioned very frequently in the private letters, but I refer for instance to the letter BIN 6:23 where Pūšu-kēn's eldest son Suejja tells that he will try to secure his money from a local Anatolian official by entering in the company of the messengers of the colony when they are to have an audience, and present the Anatolian with a lavish gift.⁸⁰ In the letter BIN 4:58 we are told that some messengers (probably from the colony) have detained some travellers from going to the Kanesh colony, but the background for that action is not clear.⁸¹ Occasionally the messengers could apparently be counted upon to accept a small consignment for transportation from private persons, in CCT 4:16c a single piece of textile.⁸² It cannot be seen whether these messengers were men who had a lasting connection with the colony.

79. The named messengers in our texts are: Aššur-rabi and Ikuppīja (BIN 6:120), Puzur-Adad (Chantre 11), Mannum-ki-Adad (AAA 1:6), Aššur-tāb and Ad-dellat (BIN 6:8), Aššur-ennam (TC 1:35), Rabi-Aššur, son of Nannaja, and Šalim-Aššur (TC 1:60), Abija and Agua (KTP 6), Bēlum-bāni (? - KTP 13), Adad-bāni, son of Ištar-iššu, Būr-Aššur, and Šu-Suen (Nešr. Bogh. 2), Idi-Aššur and Ibezua (KTP 10).

80. Cf. above, 122, n. 46.

81. The writer of the letter says that "words of the palace" have been heard where he is and orders his correspondent to dispatch some wool to a town called Tišmurna and wait there; (10) *a-na-kam* (11) *ši-ip-ru-ú a-na* (12) *kā-ri-im Kā-né-eš* (13) *a-na a-li-ki-im* (14) *kā-lá-im e-ku-šu-nim* (15) *ši-ip-ru-ú* (16) *e ik-šu-du-ni-kā-ma* (17) *e ta-si-ki-ir*, "The messengers came here to detain the caravan from going to the Kanesh colony. The messengers must not reach you so that you will be detained!" – Obviously, it is quite possible that the messengers came from the palace rather than the Kanesh colony (or another colony).

82. (24) 1 TÚG *a-bar-ni-am* (25) *Puzur4-A-na DUMU I-di-4IM* (26) *na-áš-am iš-tí ši-ip-ri-im* (27) *ša kā-ri-im še-bi4-lá-nim*.

Some of the institutions mentioned in our texts cannot be clearly defined as either private or public associations, first of all the ten-man board, but also the *dātum*-payers and the group which appears beside these in Šalatuwar: the "chosen men". This latter term, *bēruttum*, appears nowhere else in the Old Assyrian material so it is obviously not possible to reach a precise definition of the institution;⁸³ it is futile to speculate about the existence of elected officials etc. so long as no more material is available. However, these various authorities – as well as the somewhat mysterious "travellers" from level 1b – show that the dividing line between private and public may be impossible to establish; it is presumably a rather anachronistic idea which attempts to establish a distinction which had no or very little meaning for the ancients, somewhat in the nature of the frequent attempt to distinguish between "sacred" and "profane". One may also well remember such facts that for instance the Italian communes were basically private associations in which membership was on a personal basis, each member being bound by a common oath.⁸⁴ We do not know whether the Old Assyrian traders had any explicit, conscious criteria for "membership" of a colony or a trading station, but it is very probable that there was a clear distinction in fact between members and "natives". The *dātum*-payers, as interpreted by Veenhof, formed a special group of wealthy, influential men and it is possible that they recur in the statutes of the Kanesh colony under the designation "the big men". It would seem that they were not officials but private persons who held a status which enabled them in some situations and places to take over some official functions. The available material cannot support any further conclusions but some reasonable speculations may be in order here, and it is surely tempting to combine the "*dātum*-payers", the "big men", and the persons who act as members of the ten-man boards and see in all these institutions the instruments whereby the ruling class of the society excercised its powers. We could accordingly suggest that bodies such as the ten-man board existed in all colonies and presumably also in all stations, and that they were composed of such privileged men who by their special deposits in the office of the colony became eligible for membership in what would perhaps correspond to a kind of "executive boards". For instance, the ten-man board of Hahhum would in fact be the "executive board" of the colony, the body which was

83. Cf. most recently Veenhof, *Aspects*, 290.

84. See for instance Hyde, *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy*, 48–52.

entitled to negotiate with the local palace on behalf of the colony. Since these men would also by definition be the "*dātum*-payers" it is not surprising to find that the ten-man board could operate as a commercial company in certain situations. Finally, the predominance which the *dātum*-payers appear to have acquired in the later level 1b period could reflect an evolution in the social structure towards a strengthening of the powers of the very rich, i.e. towards a more openly oligarchic system.

CHAPTER THREE

The Government of a Colony

As the basis for my survey of the institutions which were involved in the government of a colony I shall use the three fragmentary texts which are generally known as the "statutes" or "laws" of the Kanesh colony, and it is accordingly clear that the emphasis will be on the affairs of that one colony although I shall make use of some material from other stations and colonies in the discussion. The preceding chapters have indicated that it is unlikely that there was much difference between the political and administrative pattern of each Assyrian settlement, although obviously the Kanesh colony occupies a special position which most probably must have been reflected in the political structure of that colony itself. Thus, the institution of the week-eponymy, which will be discussed in a later chapter, was certainly a unique feature of the Kanesh colony. Likewise, it cannot be excluded that at least some of the institutions and procedures which are mentioned or hinted at in the Statute texts were at home exclusively in Kanesh, but the basic pattern must have been the same everywhere. The existence of these texts is of course a blessing since they acquaint us with institutions which are otherwise either entirely unknown or at best very badly attested, but it should be kept in mind that precisely this uniqueness of the features encountered in the Statutes makes it exceedingly difficult to relate them to the other evidence available, and it is in fact impossible at the present time to assess the precise implications of the Statute texts.

a) The Statutes of the Kanesh Colony

The three texts which contain the rather pitiful remains of what must have constituted a corpus of rules governing the correct procedure of the assemblies of the Kanesh colony, KTP 19, TC 1:112, and 123, have been translated and discussed a few times, notably by J. Lewy and I. Diakonov, but it seems that a definitive interpretation which is obviously convincing

has yet to be offered.¹ I cannot, unfortunately, hope to achieve this goal but will be very satisfied if the following discussion will result in a few new insights. I fear that a number of my results will be of a negative character, underscoring the extreme fragility of some of those conclusions which have previously been generally accepted. Substantial difficulties must necessarily remain, partly because of the unsatisfactory state of preservation of the texts, partly because they contain words and phrases which appear nowhere else and which cannot be properly understood on the basis solely of these terse documents.

I intend to present my translation of the texts followed by some short philological notes, and thereafter I shall discuss the most important questions raised by them, i.e. the nature of the political and administrative institutions of the colony and their functions.

Text 1: KTP 19

... and ... [they investigate] their case [and] if it is a matter of convening the primary assembly, they so order the secretary in their Council and the secretary convenes the primary assembly.

Without (the consent of) a majority of the big men one single "man of accounting" cannot order the secretary to convene the primary assembly. If the secretary has convened the primary assembly without (the consent of) the big men, at the request of one single person, the secretary will have to pay (a fine of) 10 shekels of silver.

No one among the small (men) must approach the "man of accounting" and (he) must not walk around "maltreated" in the gate (or house) of the colony. If [he walks around] "maltreated" [in the gate (or house) of the colony ...]

break

[... in] a verdict concerning silver and gold [...] discussed the [...] of the merchants [(..)] they stood up [in the Council(?)] and [they gave?]

1. The most important contributions are: G. Eisser, "Altassyrische Prozessgesetze unter den kappadokischen Urkunden?", *SZ*, Rom. Abt., 48, 1928, 579–582; J. Lewy, "Fragmente altassyrische Prozessgesetze aus Kaniš", *MAOG* 4, 1928, 122–128; *EL* 1, 334–340 and 2, 191–192; Th. Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia", *JNES* 2, 1943, 161, with note 13; G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Assyrian Laws*, Oxford 1935, 1–3, 376–379, and 455–457; I. Diakonov, "Zakony Vavilonii, Assyrii i Khettskogo Carstva", *VDI* 1952–1954, 205ff.; G. Evans, "Ancient Mesopotamian Assemblies", *JAOS* 78, 1958, 1–11 and 114–115; N. B. Jankowska, *ArOr* 35, 1967, 525–526.

a verdict [(..) in] the Council the men [...] from the Council they will fetch.²

Text 2: TC 1:112

Rule:

The secretary will divide the ... in three groups [and] they will give a verdict.

Whether ... or the *hamuštum* [(or)] a big man ... will sit. ... of accounting did not confirm(?)

break

[... where] they stand the secretary will divide them in [three groups and] they will solve [the matter]. Provided(?) they do not solve it, the primary assembly will convene [and the secretary will divide them in] seven groups [and they will solve it] by majority(-vote). Also, wherever any ... may sit they will solve [the case] by maj[ority].³

2. (1) ú [...] (2') *a-wa-sú-nu* [*i-mu-ru-ma*] šu-ma (3') ša TUR GAL pá-hu-ri-im
i-na (4') *pu-ih-ri-šu-nu* *a-na* DUB.SAR (5') *i-qá-bi4-ú-ma* TUR GAL DUB.SAR
 (6') ú-pá-ha-ar *ba-lúm a-wi-li* (7') GAL-ú-tim nam-e-dim *we-dum* (8') *a-wi-lúm*
 ša NÍG.KA.ZI *a-na* (9') DUB.SAR ú-lá *i-qá-bi4-ma* (10') TUR GAL ú-lá
 ú-pá-ha-ar (11') šu-ma DUB.SAR *ba-lúm a-wi-li* (12') GAL-ú-tim *i-pl-i we-dim*
 (13') TUR GAL *up-to-he-er* 10 GÍN KUG.BABBAR (14') DUB.SAR *i-ša-qal*
ma-ma-an (15') *i-na ša-hu-ru-tim a-šé-er* (16') *a-wi-lim* ša NÍG.KA.ZI ú-lá *i-tá-*
hi-ma (17') *ma-sú-kam* KÁ? *ká-ri-im ú-lá* (18') *i-ta-na-lá-ak* [*šu]-ma* *ma-sú-kam*
 (19') [KÁ? *ká-ri-im i-ta-na-lá-ak.*] break (1'') [... *i-na*] *di-in* KUG.BABBAR
 ú KUG.KI (2'') [...] DAM.GAR-ru-tim *e-ta-wu* (3'')[...] *i-na pu-uh-ri]-im*
i-zi-zu-ma di-nam (4') [*i-di-nu* (...) *i-n*] *a pu-uh-ri-im a-wi-li* (5') [...] *i-pu-uh-*
ri-im i-ta-ru.

[Inspection of the copy and of the tablet indicates that the sign in line 17' which has always been read É in fact may be KÁ, *bābum*, which means that we may be faced with another unique expression: *bāb kārim*, "the gate of the colony". Apart from the fact that such a term indicates that the colony must have been provided with walls, we would also have to assume that it was at this location that much of the legal business of the colony took place, a feature which is of course abundantly attested for many cities in Mesopotamia where the city-gate appears to have had a function which corresponds to that of the Greek *agora*. It is very striking, however, that this expression does not occur anywhere else and it could be suggested – if the reading is accepted – that the gate of the colony is known already under another name, perhaps even the Gate of the god.]

3. (1) *ta-šl-im[-tum]* (2) DUB.SAR GA RU T[IM?] (...) (3) *a-na šál-šl-š[u]* (4)
i-zu-a-az-[ma] (5) *di-nam i-d[i-nu]* (6) *lu GA RA A[T(...)]* (7) *lu ha-muš-tum*

Text 3: TC 1:123

... they will not stand up ... of accounting ... they will join together and [(...)] at one place [(...)] they will stand. The secre[tary ...] this [...] in the office of the co[lony ...].⁴

Notes:

The two texts in the Louvre have been collated for me by Professor Garelli and I have since had the opportunity to study them myself in 1974; I have obtained excellent photographs of the text in Philadelphia from Professor Owen and have since had opportunity to inspect the original. Unfortunately, not much can be added to the copies of Contenau and Stephens and some of the emendations or restorations which have been suggested are, if not ruled out, then at least not supported by the collations.

Text 1:

Approximately one-third of the tablet is preserved and the published copy is correct on all points; however, it should be noted that the text really ends with the word *i-ta-ru* on the left edge and there is no break after it.

[(lu)] (8) *a-wi-lúm* GAL *a-^rx¹* [(...)] (9) *ú-ša-ab* ÁB [(...)] (10) *ša* NfG.KA.ZI
 (11) *ú-lá ú-^rká² -i[n³]* break (1') *i-za-zu-ni* (2') DUB.SAR *a-na* [*šál-ší-šu*] (3')
i-za-a-sú-nu[-ma a-wa-tám] (4') *i-pá-šu-ru a-n[a ša?]* (5') *ú-lá i-pá-šu-r[u TUR]*
 (6') GAL *i-pá-hu-u[r-ma a-na]* (7') *ša-ab-e-šu* D[U.B.SAR] *i-za-a-az-ma* (8') *ša*
ma-du-tim [i-pá-šu-ru] (9') *ú a-li ú[...]* (10') *šu-um-šu wa-dš-[bu]* (11') *ša ma-*
[du-tim a-wa-tám] (12') *i-pá-šu-r[u]*.

Line 9: it is possible that the last sign which is read ÁB is really the beginning of NI[M]; the text is nicely written and dittoigraphy, making use of the sign ÁB which does not otherwise occur in the text, is not a very good explanation. One wonders whether the sign belongs to the end of the preceding line. – Line 11: the reading given here was suggested to me by Garelli; an alternative, though less likely, suggestion is the reading *ú-^rša¹-b[u]*. Line 7': the suggestion originally made in EL to emend this line so that one reads: *ša tapl-pá¹-e-šu-[nu]* is quite superfluous; the variant writing *a-ša-be-šu* is found in BIN 4:90, 9. It is somewhat surprising that the lines on the reverse of this tablet all seem to have contained many more signs than those on the obverse; this observation may indicate that the suggested restorations, and perhaps especially the one in this line, presuppose too much space.

4. (1') *ú-lá i-za-[zu x x x x x]-ú* (2') *ša ni-ka-s[if ...]* (3') *i-ni-mu-du-m[a ...]* (4')
a-šar iš-ti-in [...] (5') *i-za-zu* DUB.S[AR ...] (6') *a-nim É ká[-ri-im ...]* (7')
[x x] ša bi [...] break.

Text 2:

The results of Garelli's and my own collations are incorporated in the transliteration; it should be stressed that one cannot read either *kā-ra^l-[tám]* or *bi^l-ru-tim* in line 2, and that Contenau's copy of line 6 is correct so that we most probably have to read *GA-ra-a[t (...)]*; note that the sign TUM in the following line has a different shape. In line 8 the old proposal to restore *GAL a-l[im]* must be abandoned and the best reading of the damaged sign that can be offered is *n[i]*.

Text 3:

Garelli writes: "Après *ù-lá i-za-*[il manque au moins 6 signes, qui se terminent par] *ù*. La tablette n'a pas la forme copiée par Contenau. La partie droite, cassée, est assez longue." He also noted that on the reverse there is a series of signs between two damaged parts, isolated signs which cannot be used to produce any meaning.

b) The Institutions of the Colony

The three texts must be understood as parts of the original statutes of the Kanesh colony, a corpus of rules which provided the framework for the various political, administrative, and judicial decisions which had to be taken by the various bodies. Only one of the institutions of the colony is mentioned in all three texts, the secretary or scribe of the colony, and it is in fact a possibility that our texts are to be understood as specifically concerned with this figure and his duties and rights. This must remain speculation as long as we know so little about the background for the texts, i.e. what the two-thirds of text 1, which are gone, dealt with. It is also quite possible that the three texts refer to different types of procedure, and I am inclined to agree with the observation made several years ago by Eisser that text 1 seems to be relatively close to the concept of a "law", whereas the two other texts appear to be concerned exclusively with the technical question of the correct procedure to be followed by the secretary.⁵ Text 1 deals with the circumstances under which certain bodies may or may not be convened, but the others are not concerned with the how or the why but simply with the question of in which way these bodies should function

5. Cf. Eisser, *SZ Rom. Abt. 48*, 1928, 580. For the designation "Statutes" instead of "Laws" I refer to Koschaker, *SZ Rom. Abt. 50*, 1930, 688.

during their meetings. Whereas these therefore mention the purpose of the meetings (to give a verdict or to "solve a case"), text 1 does not in fact in the preserved sections state explicitly why the assemblies should be convened.

Big and Small Men

Text 1 concerns first of all the relationship between the two groups of men who are described as "big" (*awilu rabi'ūtum*) and "small" (*sahhurūtum*), concepts which have already been referred to earlier.⁶ As the words stand in our text there can be no doubt that we must accept the existence of the special group of persons who could be called "big", but the term for the "small" men has been interpreted differently by some scholars; J. Lewy wanted to read *sahhurūtum* and derived this word from *sahārum*, "to wait", so that the meaning here would be "die Anwesenden" – "wörtlich 'von den verweilend Gemachten'."⁷ In *AHw* we find the same derivation suggested, and the tentative translation: "etwa 'herangeholt (zu einer Versammlung)'?" There is little to recommend either of these suggestions and I prefer to see in the word in question the term which denoted those members of the colony who were not "big", i.e. the Statute text directly refers to the division of the colonial society which is commonly expressed in the phrase *kārūm saher rabi*, "the colony, small (and) big", an expression which denotes the entire colony and which here is translated the "primary" or "plenary assembly." Before turning to an evaluation of the Statute text itself it may be useful to look briefly at the two concepts and see whether they can be more precisely defined.

Some of the children of the well-known Pūšu-kēn have written the letter BIN 6:59 to one Puzur-Aššur in Kanesh:

To Puzur-Aššur from Ahaha, Suejja, Buzāzu, and Ikuppāša:
 As to the matter concerning Kulumaja which you wrote about, we shall not disobey your instructions or put you to shame; but his term is overdue by 3 years! And since he left he has shown contempt towards our father's spirit and [even] us he has thereby [treated] as "small" persons, and never . . .⁸

6. Cf. above, 124–125.

7. EL 1, 339, n. b.

8. (1) *a-na Puzur4-A-šūr qī-bi-ma* (2) *um-ma A-ha-ha Sū-e-a* (3) *Bu-za-zu ù I-ku-pá-ša-ma* (4) *a-di-i ša Ku-lu-ma-a ša ta-áš-pu-ra-ni* (5) *a-ma-la na-áš-pé-er-ti-kā*

It is true that some restorations are necessary to make this passage understandable but it is difficult to see how any of the translations proposed by Lewy or von Soden can make any sense here. Moreover, it seems relatively obvious that there is a close connection between the unpleasantness of Kulumaja, who has failed to repay a loan which is overdue by 3 years and who has moreover shown disrespect for the 'spirit' of their father, the presumably recently deceased Pūšu-kēn,⁹ and their status as "small" persons; they are offended and hurt because they have somehow been treated with less respect than was due to them. In other words, it seems clear that our term refers to a special status which is socially defined. There are two equally possible interpretations, 1) smallness is a matter of age – i.e. the writers complain because Kulumaja has treated them as children, or 2) it could be a more broadly defined social status, based on descent and wealth – and age as well. The reference to their father's spirit, *etemnum*, favours the second alternative since it is clear that the ancestral spirits were of basic importance for the family, in its internal as well as its external relations.¹⁰ Moreover, if this text really does belong to the time after Pūšu-kēn's death we can say with confidence that the writers were already adults, in fact, quite probably over thirty. However, these arguments are far from decisive, for it would of course be very possible for the writers to feel that they were treated like children by a man who showed disrespect towards their family. This man, it should be recalled, is known to have served as a transporter for Pūšu-kēn in quite a number of cases and he may have been permanently employed by the firm in some way.¹¹

q[á-t]ám (6) la ni-ma-ha-aş ù la nu-ba-áš-kà (7) ù u4-mu-šu 3 ša-na-tim lu e-ta-a[t-qú] (8) ù iš-tù úş-ú-ni e-té-me (9) [ša a-b]i-ni lu ú-qá-li-il5-ma (10) [ù] ni-a-ti-a-na ša-hu-ru-tim (11) [lu iš-ku-ni-a-tl-]ma ma-ti-ma ...

9. For reasons of space it seems impossible to read [ša É a-b]i-ni, i.e. "the ancestral spirits of our family", but that would clearly be a more easily understandable construction; read perhaps [É a-b]i-ni.
10. Cf. the examples collected in Hirsch, *UAR*, 71–72, and add *KTK* 18: (3) *mi-šu-um ša ma-ma-an ni-iš-ta-na-me-ma* (4) *li-bi-ni ú-ša-nu-ú-ma té-şl-tum* (5) *i-ba-şl-ma a-me-er u4-mi-ni i-ma-i-du* (6) *a-na-ku a-na ma-nim ù a-tl-i a-ma-nim* (7) *u4-ra-am a-hi-um ma-ma-an* KUG.BABBAR 1 GÍN (8) *i-da-ni-a-ti-ma É a-bi-ni ú e-té-me* (9) *ú-kà-al*, "Why is it that whoever we may listen to will make us change our mind so that the result is discord, and those who want our end become numerous? Whom do I (trust) and whom do you? Is there any stranger who tomorrow will give us just one shekel of silver to uphold our family and our ancestral spirits?"
11. Cf. my *OACP*, 69.

¹⁹ Mesopotamia 4

There is of course no doubt that the word *sahrum*, “small”, has the meaning “young” in Old Assyrian as in all other Akkadian dialects, and examples can easily be found in our dictionaries.¹² Likewise, it is quite clear that *rabi’um*, “big”, when connected with kinship terms such as brother or son has the meaning “old”, “elder”.¹³ The form *sahhurūtum* which is found in the Statute text and in the letter referred to above appears to be formed on the basis of the D-stem and should thus be what is called a “Steigerungsadjektiv”, i.e. something like “very small”; Veenhof suggested a comparative meaning: “smaller” or even “too small” when the word is used e.g. about textiles.¹⁴ It seems to me that we may profitably compare this form with the Old Babylonian and later word which is found in *CAD* s.v. *sihhirūtu*; this is used as a substantive and as an adjective in contexts where it functions as a plural of *sihru*, “small”, and there are also some references to stative forms. Characteristically, the corresponding form *rabbūtu* from *rabi’um*, “big”, is often found in juxtaposition with this word. *CAD* does not cite any Old Assyrian examples and the two main meanings of the word are: 1) small, young, 2) servants, retainers.

There is one more known Old Assyrian example of this word in a letter from Aššur-idi to his son Aššur-nādā, where the man in Assur asks for certain shipments to be sent to him and continues:

You yourself should clear yourself of claims, leave and come! Men who are ‘smaller’ than you carry ‘sacks’, and men who are ‘smaller’ than me have invested 10 minas of gold! Come here and take over a ‘sack’, and then leave! Also, if anyone there wants to give you anything then receive it (and) come here, for there is nowhere here where one may receive anything.¹⁵

12. Cf. MAH 16373, 19, Cont. 27, 38, and KTS 15, 28 and 32 for some instructive examples.

13. See for instance CCT 2:33, 30, 3:14, 24, and 5:2a, 19.

14. Veenhof, *Aspects*, 185, n. 297.

Veenhof has also drawn my attention to the examples of the forms *sa-ah-ru-ti* and *sa-ha-ru-ti* in identical contexts in the early liver models from Mari (no. 28 and no. 18, I; cf. M. Rutten, “Trente-deux modèles de foies en argile inscrits provenants de Tell-Hariri (Mari)”, *RA* 35, 1938, 46 and 49); these could perhaps indicate that the OA form could be *sahurūtum*, i.e. not based on the D-stem after all.

15. CCT 4:2a: (13) *a-ta za-ki-a-ma* (14) *ra-ma-kà ti-ib-a-ma* (15) *a-tal-kam ša i-sé-ri-kà* (16) *sa-hu-ru-ni na-ru-qd-tim* (17) *na-áš-ú ù ša i-sé-ri-a* (18) *sa-hu-ru-ni*

Aššur-idi here refers to the partnership contract known as the “sack-society”, *naruqqum*, and it will be remembered that these were always set up in the capital where a group of investors, or persons acting on behalf of investors who were themselves in Anatolia, placed large sums of money (reckoned in gold currency) at the disposal of a trader, the one who “carried the sack”.¹⁶ Apparently Aššur-nādā had not yet acquired such a capital, and his father had not yet had the opportunity to make as many investments as he thought fitting in view of his wealth and status. When he says that men who are “smaller” than Aššur-nādā have already been entrusted with a “sack”, he could possibly be thinking of their age; in the case of himself this is rather more difficult to accept, however, and it seems to me that we have to understand his reference to “smallness” as concerning the general social status of the persons concerned. Aššur-idi must be talking of “lesser men” rather than “younger men”.

As a matter of fact, the concepts “small” and “big” are known to have had a social significance at least in some contexts. In Codex Hammurapi we have some paragraphs which deal with assault and they stipulate different punishments in accordance with the relative rank of the persons involved; the terms used are *mehrum*, “equal”, *ša elišu rabū*, “who is greater than himself”, and *ša kīma šu'āti*, “who is like himself”.¹⁷ Again, it is impossible to disprove that these words and phrases refer to differences in age but it does not seem very probable. One may also note that a letter from Mari, ARM 4:22, mentions some “big men” who are being expected, apparently to serve as hostages; *CAD* calls them “influential men”¹⁸ whereas *AHw* says that they are “zahlreich”, and there can hardly be any doubt that *CAD* is substantially correct.

10 MA.NA (19) GUŠKIN *iš-ta-ápu-ku* (20) *al-kā-ma na-ru-qá-am* (21) *na-an-šé-ma ù ši-i* (22) *ù šu-ma a-ma-kam ma-ma-an* (23) *i-da-na-kum le-qé* (24) *al-kā-ma ù a-na-kam* (25) *a-šar lá-qd-im lá-šu*.

A near-duplicate is the letter L 29-563.

16. Cf. above, 96.

17. Paragraphs 200, 202, and 203. Evans, *JAOS* 78, 1958, 7-9, gives a good review of the available evidence; the tendency seems to be to translate the term *ra-bi'um* in the Old Babylonian texts as “official” (cf. *CAD* K, 27); it occurs in some texts together with *ekallum*, the palace, and *kabtum*, “an influential man” (cf. S. D. Walters, *JCS* 23, 1970, 35-36). Evans reached conclusions which I find reasonable: “The *šihrū* were probably the “little men” of the colony in more senses than one. If we look again at the expression *sahir rabi* in the light of this evidence, it may seem more natural to translate it as ‘small and great’ than ‘young and old.’”

18. *CAD* H, 33.

"Big men" are attested in the Middle Assyrian laws in a number of paragraphs which are concerned with questions of landownership in provincial towns. Tablet A, § 45, deals with the fate of a woman whose husband has disappeared during a military campaign and it is said that she may turn to some judges for help; these will inquire of the mayor and the "big men" of the town where the husband had a fief, whether this is indeed correct. Also in Tablet B, § 6, are the "big men" called upon to verify a claim, this time in connection with the sale of a piece of land. It is stated that a herald will make a public proclamation concerning the sale three times so that others who may have a claim on the land can come forward:

When the herald makes the proclamation within the City of Assur one of the royal officials, the city clerk, the herald, and the royal registrars shall convene; in the case of another town where a man is about to acquire a field and house the mayor and 3 "big men" of the town shall convene. They shall have the herald make a proclamation, write and deliver their tablets.¹⁹

Finally, in Tablet B, § 18, the mayor and a group of 5 "big men" shall convene in the event of trouble over the irrigation rights of a group of farmers.

Together with the mayors of the provincial townships the "big men" thus function as a kind of advisory panel of specialists for the judges, or they may decide some matters on their own authority. This system of provincial self-government reminds of the Old Babylonian material from Sippar where the "mayor" functioned together with the elders;²⁰ it is

19. Cf. Driver and Miles, *The Assyrian Laws*, 430–431; G. Cardascia, *Les Lois assyriennes*, Paris 1969, 269–275.

20. Driver and Miles in fact gives the translation: "elders of the city" for the phrase in question, and Cardascia gives both "notables" and "anciens". In the Middle Assyrian laws the term *šibūtu* always denotes witnesses. Cf. also I. Diakonov, "Agrarian Conditions in Middle Assyria", in idem (ed.), *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 204–205: "There existed in the environs of Aššur in the Middle Assyrian period a number of small towns, villages or groups of farms also called *ālu*. Similar to Aššur itself in the Old Assyrian period, they had their councils of the 'great' presided by a headman (*hazi'ānu*), presumably with administrative functions". (It is to be noted however, that the Old Assyrian material never refers to a distinction between "small" and "big" in Assur itself, only in the colonies.) Further, Diakonov writes on page 229: "There is hardly any doubt that the difference between the various groups of the free population was originally not

also interesting to note that in the capital the same functions were executed by royal officials, and there are no "big men" attested for Assur itself. And to round off the picture it may be pertinent to mention the Neo Assyrian LÚ.GAL.MEŠ, *rabānu* or *rabūtu*, the "big men" who appear to have constituted a special powerful class, a military aristocracy within the structure of the Assyrian state. The recent investigation by Kinnier-Wilson compares them with the *emirs* of the Arabic courts.²¹

The numerous references to *kārum* GN *saher rabi* are of no assistance for the elucidation of the definition of these concepts; one may note simply that there is no discernible pattern in the use of the phrases with or without *saher rabi*. It is not clear whether the same designation was used during the level 2 period for the *wabartum*-settlements, but it seems that the text Gelb 40 from the later period does refer to *wabarātum saher rabi*, "the primary assemblies of all trading stations".²²

It is clear that the Old Assyrian evidence outside of the Statute texts cannot provide us with a definitive interpretation of the difference between "small" and "big" men. We should most certainly be careful not to apply too simple models, however, and it seems relatively clear that age was not the only valid criterion – just as it seems absurd to speculate about a truly aristocratic system where descent was the only basic element. On the other hand, for the distinction to be manageable in the situations which are envisaged by the Statute texts it must have been quite unambiguous: you either were or were not a "big man" and this could not be a matter for discussion. Obviously, age constitutes a very simple criterion for a clear distinction and it cannot be excluded that it was made use of, but there must have been other, equally unambiguous criteria; I refer to the suggestion made earlier that the status as a "*dātum-payer*" could be of relevance in this connection.²³

a difference in estate. It is not easy to say who were the 'great ones' (*rabi'ūtum, rabūtu*), the members of the Council in Aššur and in the communities, – whether they were the richer citizens, the more well-born, or the heads of the families; but be this as it may, the important thing is that membership in the community was connected with possession of land in the community and, consequently, with the fulfilment of the duties and services of a community member, which means that the 'great ones' did not differ in their legal status from the rest of the members of the community." Whether this picture is true for the Old Assyrian period can hardly be decided on the basis of the available evidence.

21. J. V. Kinnier-Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists*, CTN 1, London 1972, 38–43.

22. Cf. above, 273 with n. 63.

23. Cf. above, 281.

It is text 1 which provides us with the clearest information concerning the relationship between the two groups, and my reconstruction of the procedure of the first part of the text is as follows:

A lawsuit involving at least two parties is brought to the attention of the council of the "big men" who will investigate it. They may apparently either dismiss it or pass it on to the assembly, ordering the secretary of the colony to convene that body. The decision to pass the matter on and have the primary assembly convened must be taken by a majority of the "big men".

Then follows a rule concerning the behaviour of the secretary which does not bear directly upon the question of the two groups, but the next rule clearly defines a limitation in the rights of the "small men", i.e. only they are prohibited from acting in the way described. Unfortunately, I cannot offer a really satisfactory interpretation of this rule.²⁴

24. Cf. below, 318. It is possible that there is no change of subject in the passage, so that it is also against the "small" men that the rule against "walking around" in the gate of the colony in the way described with the word *masukam* was directed. The word which I have very tentatively translated "maltreated", without thereby laying claim to a real understanding of the sequence, is presumably derived from the root *masākum*; in *AHw* I cannot find any reference to these passages, but in Hecker *GKT*, § 125k, we find the translation "unrein", i.e. an Assyrian variant of the word *musukku* (or *usukku*), a Sumerian loan-word with the meaning "unclean in a cultic sense"; the Old Assyrian form seems impossible, however, for it implies a misunderstanding of the Babylonian form as a verbal derivative, and it is built on the analogy of the normal Assyrian D-stem. The verb *masākum* does not appear in Old Assyrian texts (ATHE 44, 22 is to be taken as a form of *māṣā'um*, with Veenhof, *Aspects*, 110), but it is claimed by some, for instance Hecker, *GKT* § 29b, that the verb *masāhūm* constitutes a "Nebenform" of *masākum*, a not quite unreasonable suggestion since both verbs appear to have very nearly the same meaning in the G-stem; the latter verb is also known from the derivation *massuhum* which means something like "spoiled" when used about metal, and directly related to this word should be *musukkā'um* which likewise denotes an inferior quality of metal. However, there is no attested overlapping between forms with either -h- or -k-, and I think it is best for the moment to keep the roots distinct. The meaning "to maltreat" is attested for the D-stem of *masākum*, for instance in the Middle Assyrian text KAJ 2 where an adopted girl is being guaranteed that her parents will not treat her badly: *lā ulammanši lā umassakši*. If the "man of accounting" is the debtor, one could perhaps suggest that he was the subject of the second sentence, so that he would be the one who should not be forced to walk around continuously in the gate of the colony where he would be summoned by others and generally pestered by his creditors.

I make use of the words "council" and "assembly" to denote the bodies consisting respectively of "big men" alone and of "big and small", and it is to be admitted that it is unclear whether the "council" of the big men did have a special name, *puhrum*, for the phrase *ina puhrišunu* which is found in our text could also be rendered "jointly", rather than "in their council". In fact, the common meaning of *puhrum* in for instance Old Babylonian texts is "assembly" and it seems to denote the full citizen assembly of the towns, being synonymous with *ālum*, "the city". However, in the Statute texts a distinction does seem to recommend itself and I can also point to the last part of the text where *puhrum* must denote a special body of men.

My restoration of the beginning lines of the text leads to the conclusion that the council does not have the right to decide in a lawsuit, i.e. pass a verdict, but others have suggested restorations which led to the conclusion that the matter in fact could be cleared up by the council of big men.²⁵ However, as far as I can see such an interpretation must rest on an emendation and thus is not satisfactory. The restoration proposed here is based on the idiom *awatam amārum*, "investigate a lawsuit", which is so common in Old Babylonian texts;²⁶ as far as I am aware it does not occur in the Old Assyrian documents but that may be purely due to chance.

My interpretation leads to the conclusion that the colonial administration was based on a bicameral system, and the relationship between the two "chambers" corresponds closely to what may be found in other similar systems, for instance in the Greek city-states. All scholars who have discussed the Old Assyrian texts have agreed, explicitly or implicitly in their translations, that the big men possessed the right to decide if and when the primary assembly should be convened. We must assume that this is true of all situations even though we cannot know this with certainty because of the fragmentary nature of the text which may deal with a special type of procedure. The council of big men must accordingly have been a kind of standing committee which had to consider all questions before they were placed before the assembly; as stated above, it is

25. Th. Jacobsen, *JNES* 2, 1943, 16, n. 13: (2) *a-wa-sú-nu [ú-lá i-pá]-šu-ru(!?)*; according to the photograph there is room for four or five signs in the break.

26. Cf. J. G. Lautner, *Die richterliche Entscheidung und die Streitbeendigung im altbabylonischen Prozessrechte*, Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien 3, Leipzig 1922, 31–32; according to Lautner this expression denotes "das meritorische Verfahren", i.e. the actual evaluation of the evidence put forward in the case, an activity which takes place before the case is accepted.

most likely that the big men in each case had the choice between two possibilities: either reject the case entirely, or have it placed before the assembly or perhaps a special committee.

This must immediately remind us of the system of *probouleuma* known for instance from Athens where we have a similar bicameral structure with a Council, *boulē*, which was aristocratic in nature, and a primary assembly, *ekklesia*. The *boulē* had to consider all questions before they were put before the *ekklesia*, so that a kind of preliminary decision, *probouleuma*, was necessary for the assembly to be called together. A completely similar system may be found for instance in Sparta where the council of elders, *gerousia*, had sole right to introduce issues for decision to the assembly. The political significance of such a rule has been summarized by J. A. O. Larsen in the following words:

The *boule* could consider any number of things, and only when it wished to take positive action on a subject on which the people had the final say was it necessary to bring a bill before the people.

... Thus, even when the *boule* officially possessed only the right to consider in advance the questions to be acted upon by the *ekklesia*, it may have made many important negative decisions by the simple expedient of deciding not to submit a question to the people.²⁷

Whatever the precise criteria may have been for membership in the group of big men, it is obvious that our text points to a rather sharp division between the two major groups in the colonial society. The power held by the council of big men may well be compared with that of the "elders", as described earlier on the basis of a few texts, and it is not at all unlikely that the two designations were synonyms. As already mentioned, age was not the only, perhaps not even the most important, criterion for being a member of the group of "elders". In the colonies we may have had a slightly different set of criteria compared with the capital, for the heads of the various important kinship groups must be assumed to have stayed in Assur where they naturally formed the group of elders; nevertheless, as shown for instance by the formalistic use of the introductory formulae in the private letters, each person obviously had a quite clearly defined position in the social hierarchy, and our lack of precise infor-

27. J. A. O. Larsen, *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History*. Berkeley 1966, 16–17; cf. also V. Ehrenberg, *The Greek State*, New York 1964, 56–57.

mation concerning the basis for the distinction between "big" and "small", "elders" and ordinary citizens, should not lure us into the belief that clear criteria did not exist.

The Greek material throws some light on the Old Assyrian texts, but it is obvious that we are not aided in our search for clues concerning the composition of the various bodies, and it is an unfortunate fact that the material which exists concerning conditions in other periods from Mesopotamia offers equally scant assistance. Jacobsen and Evans have pointed to the Sumerian traditions which are known mainly, if not exclusively, from literary sources, and especially Evans has attempted to draw up some evolutionary lines which could connect the Old Assyrian texts with the much earlier Sumerian institutions. This is in itself a highly dangerous procedure, for it is questionable whether the clear structural resemblances must be explained as evidence of a coherent tradition. The Sumerian evidence indicates the existence of a bicameral system which certainly is similar to the Old Assyrian one in some respects, although the terminology is different: we have a kind of council of elders which presumably was aristocratic in nature, and an assembly of "men" (*guruš*).²⁸ Since the Sumerian texts in which these institutions are mentioned are mainly of epic type and thus concerned with political matters and the question of war, Evans was led to the conclusion that there was a marked difference in the degree of competence held by these bodies and the ones found in the Old Assyrian colonies:

A comparison of the assemblies of Uruk with those of Kaneš shows clearly how far the sector of public affairs under popular control had shrunk in the interval: what had once been sovereign bodies had shrunk into law courts, while the full assembly had lost ground to that of the elders.²⁹

28. Cf. Evans, loc. cit., 9–11, for a discussion of Jacobsen's and his own ideas; he suggests that this body was a true popular assembly in which all free men could participate. The continuing debate concerning the exact nature of the group called *guruš* is illustrated by the various contributions in Edzard (ed.), *Gesellschaftsklassen im Alten Zweistromland*; Diakonov on page 49 (in Early Dynastic: "citizen", in Ur III: "a general designation of a labourer in the state sector", in literary texts: "an able-bodied man"); Gelb on pages 87–92 ("semi-free serfs"); Sollberger on page 189 (the word means simply "man" – but "whether these workmen were free, slaves, or, as has been recently suggested, semi-free, does not however clearly emerge from the texts").

29. Evans, loc. cit., 4.

The search for internal evolutionary patterns and sequences in the Mesopotamian culture is most definitely an important task, as is the attempt to define the impact which this culture had on the world around it. But it seems to me that in this matter we would be better served with the recognition that the political patterns found in Mesopotamia are far from being unique; "primitive democracy" as defined by Jacobsen represents a political system which is known from societies all over the world, and it is not reasonable to assume that there must have been a clear line of unbroken tradition which linked the Sumerian institutions with the Old Assyrian ones. It would surely be more fruitful to attempt to place the Sumerian traditions in a wider perspective by making use of the relevant comparative material in the anthropological literature.

Even so, it is quite uncertain whether Evans is correct in his evaluation of the competence of the Old Assyrian assemblies, and I refer to the discussion of the city assembly of Assur where I tried to show that this body most certainly played a role in the decisions which must be described as of a "political" nature. According to Jacobsen, the Sumerian assemblies of the literary texts executed their power precisely in the very early periods when the political system of the city-states was not yet based on the institution of a powerful, centralized, permanent kingship. Obviously, the rise of such a new power must have robbed the popular assemblies of their influence in most fields, and it is certainly possible that the Old Assyrian kingship was already beginning to exert a greater influence than earlier.

Recently, C. Wilcke has pointed to the existence in the early Ur III period of a very powerful assembly which even had authority to elect and depose the king of Sumer. This assembly may have been composed of local rulers and representatives of the various city-states, but it must be admitted that we know little about it and the conflict between the kings of Ur and this body, which Wilcke attempts to delineate, is known from literary texts so there is reason for caution.³⁰

The gods in the Sumerian pantheon were also organized in a kind of assembly and Jacobsen has pointed to the interesting fact that the gods had a social division between "big" and "small" gods which resembles the Old Assyrian system:

30. C. Wilcke, "Politische Opposition nach Sumerischen Quellen: Der Konflikt zwischen Königtum und Ratsversammlung. Literaturwerke als politische Tendenzschriften", in A. Finet (ed.), *La voix de l'opposition en Mésopotamie*, Bruxelles 1973, 37–65.

In the political pattern depicted in the myths ultimate authority, sovereignty, resides in a general assembly of the citizens (*unkin*). Proceedings in this assembly are directed by a leader – in the myths usually the god of heaven, An – and its verdicts, approved by the assenting votes (*heam* “let it be!”) of the individual members, were made law (*nam-tar-a*) through being formally announced by a small group of seven known as “the seven law-making gods” (*dingir-nam-tar-a(k) imin-anene*). Particular weight in the discussions carried, as might be expected, the opinions of the older, experienced members, the “seniors”. In the divine assembly they numbered fifty.^{30a}

In a note to this passage Jacobsen pointed out that the word *gal* which he rendered “senior” (lit. “big”), could also be thought to connote “head of a large household”³¹ There are very clear differences between the procedures of the Old Assyrian Statute texts and the Sumerian ones, and in particular I must warn against the idea that the seven “law-making gods” should have their counterparts in the colonies, a theory that is based on the observation made by Eisser that some of the texts which are said to have been sealed by the colony actually carry seven seals of private individuals.³² EL 274, a verdict issued by the Kanesh colony, is said to be sealed by that body and the tablet shows the imprints of seven seals; the same is true of EL 277, a verdict issued by the Wahšušana colony, and 278, a verdict of the Durhumit colony; by contrast, 282 is a verdict of the trading station at Ulama and it only carries one seal, and Lewy explained this as probably due to the different status of the settlements. However, we now have a verdict issued by the Purušhaddum colony, ICK 1:26a,

30a. Th. Jacobsen, “Early Political Development in Mesopotamia”, *ZANF* 18, 1957, 100–102.

31. Loc. cit., 102, n. 14: “The *dingir-gal-e-ne* of the divine assembly correspond probably to the *rabiūtu* ‘seniors’ of the Old Assyrian assembly where they contrast with the *sehrītu* ‘the juniors’ and may also correspond roughly to the group known as *ab-ba* ‘elders’, which seems to have handled the normal run of affairs when the calling of a larger general assembly was not deemed necessary. Besides the translation “seniors” for *gal* here suggested a connotation ‘head of a large household’ might also be considered.”

32. G. Eisser, “Beiträge zum Urkundenlehre der altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe”, *Festschrift Paul Koschaker* 3, Weimar 1939, 99; cf. also EL 1, 218.

which carries the imprints of only three seals, and the unpublished text Adana 237A, a verdict of the station at Šalatiwar, shows six sealings.³³ The instances of seven seals could perhaps be compared with the passage in text 2 of the Statutes in which we find that the primary assembly is divided in seven groups, but this is uncertain.

The Statute texts indicate that the daily business of the colony was in the hands of the group of men which formed the “council”, and that the primary assembly was called only when special matters were to be considered. This is perhaps a little surprising in view of the fact that so many of our texts refer to action taken by the primary assembly, but it may be that some of these references at least should be understood as evidence of a certain delegation of powers to a smaller group which acted on behalf of the colony’s primary assembly. For instance, the numerous records of proceedings in court, protocols which record questioning before witnesses, quite often say that the witnesses had been “given” by the primary assembly of the colony, and it seems unreasonable to believe that a formal meeting of the assembly had been necessary in each individual case. It may be that there was a list from which the plaintiff could choose,³⁴ or it may be that a standing committee, for instance the council of big men, had the power to authorize witnesses in the name of the entire colony.

The Groups in Text 2

Various readings based on emendations and restorations have been presented by previous students of these texts for the words found in lines 2 and 6, but none of these can really convince. In EL J. Lewy suggested an emendation in line 2 to *kà-r [a^l-tám]*, and in line 6 he read *kà-ra-tu[m]* so in this way he ended up with two forms of the same word. He read it *karratum* and derived it from *karāru*, “to place”, so that its meaning

33. One seal on EL 274 carries a legend: it belongs to Ili-ālum, son of Aššur-idi, i.e. the person who has been referred to above in connection with my survey of the firm of Aššur-idi, page 97; it is a verdict issued by the Kanesh colony. EL 277, a verdict of the Wahšušana colony, has a sealing which mentions a certain Puzur-Aššur, son of Šumī-ilī, a man who is not otherwise known to me. And on EL 278, a verdict of the Durhumit colony, we find seals belonging to Kutaja, son of Šuli, and Aššur-šamši, son of Ennānum; none of these is known to me from other texts.

34. See for some reflections on this question Kienast in *ATHE*, 22.

became: "die bereitgestellte Schar". Such a word does not appear anywhere else. Already in the Nachträge to EL he pointed out that his own collation failed to support his readings.

Diakonov instead emended line 6 where he reads *kā-ru^l-tum*, so he ends up with two forms of a word *kārūtum* which he understands as a derivation from *kārum*, "colony", and his translation is "the people of the colony".³⁵ However, if Diakonov wants this to be a nisbah-form it ought to be *kārijūtum*, and an abstract formation seems out of the question. Jankowska has accepted Lewy's readings but Diakonov's suggested derivation from *kārum*, so she sees the term *kārātum* as meaning roughly: "the whole council".³⁶

Only Driver and Miles accept that we have two different words, but their interpretation is based on some curious misunderstandings; in line 2 they read *kārūtim* which they translate "burghers", a translation which is based on a mistaken interpretation of the term *bēruttum*, "the chosen men".³⁷ In line 6 they accordingly read *kārātum* a word which they render as "the board(?)".

In general, emendations which lead to words or forms which are otherwise totally unattested must be very convincing in order to be seriously considered. True enough, if we do not emend the text we have two, rather than one, otherwise unknown words: *g/k/qar(r)utum* and *g/k/qar(r)ātum*, but I do not subscribe to the view that an emendation which reduces the number of unknowns to one represents progress. Nor do I think that it is likely to provide us with much insight to build a theory on such an emendation and a practically arbitrary interpretation of the resulting, unknown word.

Our dictionaries appear to avoid these passages entirely, but they do refer to a term *kar(r)ātum* which is derived from *kārum*, a word which is found in very special contexts in a few Old Babylonian and Middle Babylonian texts. In Old Babylonian we have the phrase: (*ana*) *kārat ibbaššū*, which is translated "at the current price" in CAD, and which most probably is to be explained as the price established by a *kārum* for each unit

35. Diakonov, *VDI* 1952–1954, 207, n. 3.

36. *ArOr* 35, 1967, 525; she explains her alteration of Diakonov's translation with reference to the appearance of some new material, but I do not know what is being referred to.

37. Driver and Miles, op. cit., 455, they refer to Lewy's remarks in *KTH*, 33, where *bi-ru-tum* tentatively was translated "Burgleute"; the connection with *birtum*, "fortress", has been given up long ago, however.

of merchandise. The Middle Babylonian references mention a special *sūtu*-measure of the *karrāti*, and *AHw* refuses to accept this as evidence of the same word,³⁸ but most probably *CAD* is right in doing so. If we also accept a connection with the Old Assyrian word we are still quite unable to establish any helpful relation in meaning between the references.

The Statute text itself does supply some information about the meaning of at least the first of the doubtful words, for it is clear that the term in line 2, GA-*ru-t[im]*, must be an accusative plural of a noun which denotes a group of persons, one which is so large that it may be divided in three sub-groups, and one which may serve as a judicial body and pass verdicts. As a very tentative suggestion I propose the reading *qá-ru-^u[-tim]*, “those called up (by the secretary)”, a derivation from the verb *qarā'um*;³⁹ if this should be correct it would constitute a beautiful parallel to Greek *ekklesia*, derived from *ekkletoi*, those who have been called up by the herald.

The grammatical construction of the following lines is not at all clear to me, but it seems very likely that the words GA-*ra-at* [...], *hamuštum*, and *awilum GAL* stand as parallels so that one may translate either:

Either the *karrat* [...], the *hamuštum*, or a big man ..., or
Whether (it is) *karrat* [...] or *hamuštum*, a big man must “sit” ...⁴⁰

Whichever solution one may prefer, it seems to me that the difficult term in line 6 is unlikely to be identical with the one in line 2. Perhaps the passage is to be understood as in some way reflecting the fact that the body in line 2 is to be divided in three groups.

The term *hamuštum* may in this context denote either a five-man committee, usually written *hamištum*, or it may be the week-eponym who takes part in the administration of justice in an official capacity. There

38. In *AHw* it is given as an independent word *karratu* with the meaning “ein Gebäude”.
39. Both Veenhof and Westenholz have made this suggestion to me. Veenhof has also suggested an emendation to *<tám->kā-ru-t[im]*, “the (assembled) merchants”.
40. This solution was preferred by both Lewy, Diakonov, and Jankowska; the logical conclusion from such a construction is that the body which was first mentioned could constitute one or the other of the two more specifically defined bodies, and that alone indicates that the first term was a general one whereas the two following expressions were specific names for various bodies. Thus, the word in line 2 should not be expected to be identical with the one in line 6.

are difficulties attached to either of these explanations, and I shall return to the problem in a later chapter.⁴¹

The mention of a “big man” in this text seems reasonable. As already pointed out, the old proposal to read *awilum rabi ālim*, which should denote either an official representative from the administration in Assur (Diakonov) or a man from the local Kaneshite administration (Jankowska), must be rejected. Admittedly, we could here have a title of the usual type with *rabi*, but I cannot offer any suggestions concerning the reading. If the big man is the subject for the verb *uššab*, “will sit”, one might think that the word which is partly missing could denote where or in which way he was to “sit”.⁴²

We cannot ascertain the identity of the group of people which is mentioned in the first part of this text, and it is not clear either which group we find in the beginning of the second part, but it is notable that the text has changed terminology: in the first part it was the purpose to “pass a verdict”, *dīnam dī'ānum*, whereas in the second part we hear of “solving the case”, *awatam pašārum*. What precisely this implies remains uncertain,⁴³ and it is likewise not entirely certain whether it is really the failure of this group to reach an agreement which leads to the convening of the primary assembly.⁴⁴

41. Diakonov suggested a still different solution, taking *hamuštum* to denote the “one-fifth” of the entire assembly, i.e. a smaller body which usually served for a period of one-fifth of a year; this interpretation goes back to the obsolete theory of J. Lewy that the *hamuštum*-eponyms were “Fünfteljahrseponymen”.
42. Veenhof has suggested the reading *a-n[a dī-a]-ni[m]* (cf. also n. 3 to this chapter); the translation would then be: “a big man must sit (preside?) when a verdict is to be given”.
43. Cf. further below, 331.
44. At the end of 1. 4' the restoration *a-š[ar]*, “where”, “in case”, was suggested in EL, but already in the Nachträge to EL Lewy pointed out that his collation showed that one should read either *a-be-[...]* or *a-n[a]*; still, Driver and Miles have retained the old reading. The solution suggested here, *ana ša*, is not entirely satisfactory since that phrase has the meaning: “because of the fact that”, i.e. it refers to a possibility which should have been introduced in the preceding sentence. The alternative reading *a-pīl-[iš]* is no better since this conjunction is used in precisely the same way as *ana ša* and has the same meaning. The word *anāma* does not represent a very good solution either since its meaning is given as: “as soon as” in CAD; Hecker, GKT, 251, n. 2, expresses some doubt even about the existence of the word. I have retained *ana ša* therefore, and I refer to the fact that it may in some cases take a verbal form in the present (cf. Hecker, GKT, § 147).

Are we here once again faced with the two groups which appeared in text 1, the big men and the primary assembly? The situation is clearly not the same, for in text 1 the big men took a decision by majority whether or not to have the assembly convened and there was no question of not being able to solve a matter; but in text 2 it seems as if the failure of one group to reach a decision more or less automatically leads to the convening of the assembly. It is obviously impossible to provide a clear answer to this, and our ignorance of the background for these rules is very dramatically illustrated hereby.

The Secretary

Text 1 shows that the secretary was responsible for the correct procedure when the primary assembly was to be convened, and although we are not told expressly what he was supposed to do or how he received his instructions, it is surely likely that he was the one who counted the votes and thus ascertained that a majority decision had been taken. Text 2 supports this view by describing him as responsible for the correct procedure during the course of a meeting. And even text 3 provides some support since the pitiful remains appear to show that the secretary guided the procedure of a certain, undefined, body of men; apparently he had divided it in sub-groups which for some reason he had to gather together again. The Statute texts accordingly indicate that the secretary was a truly "bureaucratic" official in Weber's sense, the neutral, salaried man who was responsible for the technical aspects of the judicial procedure.⁴⁵

The names of several scribes are known from the private documents, all of them of course Assyrians, but it is only very rarely possible to say with certainty whether they appear as officials or as private scribes who were in the employ of one of the important merchants.⁴⁶ As far as I am aware it is not possible to prove the existence of the latter category on the

45. Cf. for instance M. Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, New York 1964, 333–336.

46. Adada (ICK 2:128, y + 67; TC 2:59, 6; 3:209, 20; 1:70, 25; Cont. 9, 17; VAT 9222, 40; CCT 2:25, 11; 5:42a, 19; BIN 6:218, 13; c/k 1548, 14–15); Adad-rabi (CCT 1:8a, 3); Aššur-bāni (ATHE 14, 6–7; BIN 6:190, 7; Neşr. Bogh. 2, 16–17; TC 3:126, 3); Aššur-malik (CCT 1:20b, 8); Aššur-šamši (BIN 6:6, 13); Hanunu (L 29–623, 16; TC 1:81, 33; VAT 13505, 11'; 13539, 4'); Ikuppija (CCT 3:50b, 12; Thierry, 52 [RA 60, 1966, 133]); Kura (CCT 5:7b, 4; 32a, 11); Puzur-Aššur (BIN 6:157, 5'; ICK 2:131, 2; KTBl 9, 1); Su-Suen (TC 3:78, 15; 113, 5); Wēr-rēši (EL 321, 46; 322, 4); [...]zia (BIN 6:264, 2). For a privately employed scribe see perhaps ICK 2:310, 8'.

basis of the presently available evidence, and it should certainly be kept in mind that there are indications that a great many Assyrians knew how to read and write so the need for privately employed scribes may not have been so great. The system of writing was highly simplified with only a limited number of syllabic signs and quite few logograms, and many of the outrageously hideous private documents constitute clear proof of the amateurishness of their writers. We know for certain that some of the sons of important merchants were taught the scribal art (*tupšarruttum*) in Assur, as shown by the case of Pūšu-kēn's son Suejja;⁴⁷ it is furthermore likely that there was a scribal school in Kanesh. In spite of these observations it must be assumed that the big firms did have their own scribes.

The letter ATHE 34 deals explicitly with the secretary of the colony; a certain Aššur-iddin writes to Aššur-nādā that one Amurrum-bāni owes him some money which Aššur-nādā should have made him pay already a long time ago:

I have heard repeatedly that Amurrum-bāni has entered Kanesh, and also that he has acquired at least a couple of minas of silver. My dear brother, seize him and make him pay the money! If he is not seen in the marketplace, then make the secretary of the colony search the house of Šāt-Ea, daughter of Suen-dada!⁴⁸

47. CCT 4:6e: (1) *a-na Pu-šu-ki-in* (2) *qī-bī-ma um-ma* (3) *Sū-e-a-ma* (4) DUB.SAR-tám *wa-dí* (5) *lá-am-da-ni* (6) *e-pá-da-am* (7) *a-na um-me-a-ni-a* (8) *šu-bi-lam ú ma-tí-ma* (9) *lá ta-aq-bi* (10) *um-ma a-ta-ma* (11) 1 GÍN KUG.BABBAR *a-na* (12) *me-er-i-a lu-šé-bia-il₅* (13) *šu-ma a-lá-ak* (14) *a-hu-ra-tí* (15) *ti-ir-ta-kà li-li-kam-ma* (16) *lá-li-kam*, “To Pūšu-kēn from Suejja: As you know, we are learning the scribal art. Send me an *épattum*-garment for my teacher! Also, you have never said; ‘I shall send my son a shekel of silver.’ If you are delayed in coming, then let a message reach me and I shall come.”

There are two unusual things in this text: 1) Suejja makes use of the sign *Bī* in the introductory phrase, and 2) he uses the Babylonian form *šūbilam* instead of the normal Old Assyrian *šēbilam*.

48. (13) *dă-ta-na-me-ma* (14) ⁴MAR.TU-ba-ni (15) *a-na Kā-ni-iš* (16) *e-ta-ar-ba-am* ú KUG.BABBAR (17) 1 MA.NA ú 2 MA.NA (18) *a-qá-tí-šu ma-qí-it* (19) *a-hi a-ta ša-ba-sú-ma* (20) KUG.BABBAR *ša-áš-qí-il₅-šu* (21) *šu-ma i-ma-hi-ri-im* (22) *lá i-na-mar* (23) DUB.SAR *ša kā-ri-im* (24) É *Ša-té-a* DUMU.MÍ *Sū-e-dá-dá* (25) *na-dí-id*.

Line 18: *maqit* to be preferred rather than *pagid* as read by Kienast; cf. examples in Balkan, *Anum-Hirbi*, 13–14. Line 25: Kienast emended the clear text to *na-hi-id*, but there is in fact a verb *nadādum* in Old Assyrian which must mean “to search”; cf. TC 3:117, 12–14: *am-tám ú-na-di-du-ma i-sú-ni-ša-ma ša-hi-re-en uš-té-li-ú*, “they had the slave-girl searched and they produced the two *šahhiru* from her very lap.”

As pointed out by Kienast, it is interesting to note that a man may be "seized", i.e. summoned to answer questions before witnesses, only in a public place. If it is necessary to enter a private house and force him out one must secure the aid of the authorities of the colony. It seems most probable that the expression found in this text telescopes several stages in the legal procedure into one, i.e. presumably Aššur-nādā would have first to turn to the proper authorities in the colony who would consider the matter and supposedly agree to the proposal that the secretary be sent to search for the man in the house where he is thought to be hiding. Since Aššur-nādā is said to be in possession of a certified tablet which concerns the claim in question the situation could presumably be arranged on the basis of the principle of private "responsibility" which was described above in connection with the translation of the verb *maṣa'um*.

According to the letter CCT 5:7b the secretaries of the various colonies were in charge of the levying of the *šaddu'utum*-tax which accrued to the office of the colony.⁴⁹ The partly published official letter Neşr. Bogh. 2, which has been discussed above, refers to a scribe by the name of Aššur-bāni who seems to have acted as the official representative of the trading station of Mamma, and there is obviously some connection with the payment of the *šaddu'utum*-tax here as well.⁵⁰ Less clear is BİN 6:157 in which the scribe Puzur-Aššur seems to be connected with the tax.⁵¹

Not surprisingly, scribes often appear as witnesses but only in a few instances do they seem to stand in at least a semi-official capacity. In the unpublished text c/k 1548 the scribe Adada is a witness to what must be described as an official document containing the agreement that a cer-

49. Cf. my *OACP*, 160 with n. 78, and Veenhof, *Aspects*, 282 with n. 408.

50. Cf. above, 267; (4) *a-ma-lá* (5) *na-dš-pè-er-tí-ku-nu* (6) *ša* ^d*IM-ba-ni* *i-ni-iš-a-ni* (7) 10 TÚG.HI *ku-ta-ni* *ša* ^d*IM-ba-ni* (8) *ša* *Bur-A-šùn* *ú* *Šu-Sú-in* (9) *šl-ip-ru* *ša* *Té-ga-ra-ma* (10) *a-na* [*pá-]**ni* DUB.SAR (11) *iš-bu-tù-ni* *a-na-kam* (12) *a-šar* [...] DUB.SAR ... (16) 3 TÚG.HI *A-šùr-ba-ni* (17) DUB.SAR *il₅-qé-e*, "In accordance with your letter which Adad-bāni brought, the 10 *kutānum*-textiles belonging to Adad-bāni which Bur-Aššur and Šu-Suen, the envoys from Tegarama, took in the presence of the secretary, here where ... the secretary ... 3 textiles Aššur-bāni, the secretary, received."

51. (3') $\frac{1}{3}$ MA.NA KUG.BABBAR (4') \dot{u} 15 GÍN AN.NA (5') KI *Puzur-A-šur* DUB.SAR (6') 16 GÍN KUG.BABBAR *i-ša-du-i-tim* (7') *a-hu-ur* *i-ša ba-ri-ni* (8') *a-lá-qé*, " $\frac{1}{3}$ mina of silver and 15 shekels of tin is 'with' Puzur-Aššur, the scribe; 16 shekels of silver remain (to be paid) of the *šaddu'tum*-tax; I shall take it out of our common fund."

tain person has been released from an oath.⁵² And in a testament we find that the scribe Ikuppija together with two other men functions as *bēl šimātim*, presumably "executors".⁵³

The texts thus clearly indicate that the secretaries played very important roles in the colonies and apparently took care of the daily administration. Their role in the Statute texts is vital, for it seems that they are responsible for the division of the council and assembly in groups which are to pass verdicts, and it is obvious that it must have been essential to have a truly neutral official to bear that responsibility. We know from the Greek and Roman assemblies that the secretaries were very important officials, in fact, in Greece the office was occasionally eponymous.⁵⁴ We know nothing about the background of the Old Assyrian secretaries, and it is not clear how many there were or for how long they functioned.

c) The Procedures of the Statute Texts

It is extremely difficult to establish the *Sitz im Leben* of these fragmentary texts for they do not clearly refer to the nature of the matters which are to be investigated and decided. All three texts contain the Phrase *ša nikkassi*, "of accounting", and text 1 moreover makes it clear that it deals with a kind of lawsuit which involves two parties, so it might be assumed both that all three texts deal with the same kind of procedure, namely accounting, and that there could be a possibility for establishing links with the numerous texts which record the settling of accounts. This hope cannot be realized on the basis of the texts which are available at the moment, however, and it may be that the key term *nikkassu* is used here with a very broad meaning.

The word presents a host of problems which merit an independent investigation; Veenhof has announced his intention to provide such a study⁵⁵ and I shall not – indeed, cannot – in this context attempt to anticipate his work, so the following brief notes are necessarily preliminary in nature. The word is a loanword from Sumerian which appears

52. Cf. K. Balkan, "Contributions to the Understanding of the Idiom of the Old Assyrian Merchants of Kanish", *OrNS* 36, 1967, 410.

53. Thierry, published by Garelli, *RA* 60, 1966, 133.

54. Cf. E. Meyer, *Einführung in die antike Staatskunde*, Darmstadt 1968, 94–95.

55. Cf. Veenhof, *Aspects*, 435, n. 549.

to have the meaning "something counted",⁵⁶ and in the Old Assyrian texts it is used with the three basic meanings: 1) accounting, presentation of accounts, 2) an account, and 3) an account tablet.

Settling Accounts.

The phrase *nikkassi šasā'um*, "to cry (i.e. read aloud) the account", is extremely common in texts of all types and it seems to cover all kinds of situations which involve the settlement of accounts. A typical situation concerns the account after a caravan transaction which involved many different expenses, and as an example I point to the note TC 2:52 which deals with a shipment of textiles transported by one Uzua:

Of the 85 textiles transported by Uzua:

4 $\frac{1}{4}$ textiles: *nishātum-tax*,

11 textiles they pre-empted (in the palace),

4 $\frac{3}{4}$ textiles he charged to me as losses:

67 $\frac{1}{2}$ textiles were cleared.

And we settled accounts with him and paid back to Uzua, son of Libbaja, the balance of 15 $\frac{1}{3}$ minas of tin.⁵⁷

Settling the account is thus what happens after the textiles have been cleared in the palace, it is a matter of checking the expenses incurred *en route* and paying the balance; the transporter in this case had obviously been forced to pay some expenses out of his own pocket because the tin for expenses which he had been given in Assur had proven insufficient.⁵⁸ It seems quite clear that such a simple matter did not involve any of the colonial authorities, and although a document was written in this case it was not witnessed and consequently it is only a private note, meant for internal use in the book-keeping of the trader. In many cases no document would be set up at all and the settling of the accounts was taken care of informally. The expression *nikkassi šasā'um* was clearly

56. Cf. for the reading H. Hirsch, "Zum Altassyrischen", *OrNS* 43, 1974, 426, n. 262.

57. (14) *i-na* 85 (15) [TÚ]G.[H]I.A *"ša"* šé-ep Ú-zu-a (16) 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ TÚG *ni-is-ha-tum* (17) 11 TÚG *a-na* ší-mi-im (18) *il₅-qé-ú* 5 LÁ ¼ TÚG.HI.A (19) *hu-lu-qd-e* ú-lá-mi-da-ni (20) 67 $\frac{1}{2}$ TÚG *iz-ku-ú-nim* (21) *ù ni-kà-sl* (22) *iš-ti-šu ni-sl-ma* (23) 15 $\frac{1}{3}$ MA.NA AN.NA-ak (24) *ni-ip-lá-tim a-na* (25) Ú-zu-a DUMU *Li-ba-a* (26) *ni-pu-ul-šu-um*.

58. See for a discussion of such situations Veenhof, *Aspects*, 257-261.

used about the most insignificant transactions which could not possibly result in formal legal action. Also, it is obvious that many informal texts which do not make use of the phrase in question could in fact have contained mention of it. I refer for instance to the two notes CCT 1:24a and 27b, texts without witnesses which refer to the result of the squaring of accounts without using the phrase, for they should be compared with the letter CCT 3:10 which deals with the same business and which contains the passage: "Aššur-bēl-malkim settled accounts with Aššur-rē'i here."⁵⁹

On the other hand, it is readily understandable that precisely this type of procedure very easily could lead to court action, and we do have several texts which refer to such situations. There are two main types of texts which should be mentioned: one group consists of simple private texts with witnesses which begin with a variant of the phrase: "PN₁ settled accounts with PN₂",⁶⁰ the other group consists of proper certified tablets of the type which Eisser and Lewy referred to as "Gerichtsprotokolle". In the present context the latter type is obviously the most interesting although it is uncertain whether there is any direct connection with the Statute texts. These legal protocols begin and end with special formulae which are not specifically connected with the procedure of settling accounts; the textual type as such is the normal vehicle for all kinds of procedures which take place before witnesses appointed by the colony. Typically they begin with the formula: "PN₁ and PN₂ seized us (as witnesses, arbiters) and settled accounts"; and they end with the common formula: "The GN colony gave us (as witnesses, arbiters) in this matter and we delivered our testimony before the dagger of Aššur."⁶¹

59. CCT 3:10 is a letter from Aššur-bēl-awātim, Šu-Aššur, and Aššur-nādā to Idī-Suen, Amria, Šarra-Šin, Aššur-rē'i, Puzur-Suen, and Puzur-Anna; it begins as follows: (7) *iš-ti A-šur-SIPA a-na-kam* (8) *A-šur-be-el-ma-al-ki-im* (9) *ni-ká-sí i-sí-ma* (10) 45 MA.NA AN.NA (11) *ku-nu-ki ša ⁴IM-ILLAT-at* (12) *ù A-šur-ba-ni* (13) *i-na ša-ni-tim* (14) *šu-uq-lim ku-nu-ki* (15) *ša A-lim^{k1} li-di-a-ku-nu-tí-ma*, "Aššur-bēl-malkim settled accounts with Aššur-rē'i here, and he should deposit for you 45 minas of tin under the seals of Adad-ellat and Aššur-bāni from the second container with the seal of the City . . ." This passage may be compared with the following lines from the note CCT 1:24a: (23) 45 MA.NA (24) AN.NA *ku-nu-ki* (25) *ša A-di-la-at* (26) *ù A-šur-ba-ni* (27) *A-šur-be-el-ma-al-ki-im* (28) *ù-ša-za-az-ma i-zu-zu*. Note that these texts are directly connected with several others, as pointed out in EL 1, 127, n. a, where there is a very long discussion of the textual complex and the affairs of Aššur-bēl-malkim.

60. As examples I refer to EL 168, 169, or 173.

61. Note that for instance EL 260 and 270 contain only the end-formula; examples of the full formulary are for instance EL 261 and 269.

Although the judicial procedures of the Old Assyrian texts still are somewhat obscure, it does seem quite clear that these legal protocols do not refer to proper legal proceedings of the same nature as those referred to in the preserved parts of the Statute texts, where there is mention of deliberation by the various bodies and an eventual verdict. Even if we accept that the witnesses in these legal protocols at least in some cases functioned as arbitrators who could propose a special settlement to the parties involved,⁶² and in spite of the fact that some atypical texts even refer to such arbitrators as "judges" who gave a verdict,⁶³ it seems clear that the verdicts mentioned in the Statute texts are those which are recorded as "verdict of the GN colony" etc., a textual group to which I shall return later. If there is a connection with the Statute texts, the best possibility appears to be the hypothesis that text 1 in the lines which came just before the preserved part dealt with the appointment of such arbitrators; that would mean that it was only in cases where the council of big men judged that the matter was of such a nature (too complex?) that it could not be properly handled by arbitrators, that they ordered the secretary to convene the primary assembly.

However, as already mentioned, the legal protocols dealt with all kinds of procedures, not just the ones which were referred to as "settling accounts"; it is not entirely convincing that the term *nikkassu* in the Statute texts should have a very wide range of meaning which would include all kinds of disputes to be settled which involved money. The term to be expected would be *awatum*, which has the very general meaning "case", "lawsuit", which would make sense in the context.

Accounts in the Office of the Colony

Veenhof has discussed a number of texts which contain the expression *ina nikkassi šakānum*⁶⁴ and it is clear that some of these deal with shares in

62. In EL the persons who are here mostly referred to as "witnesses" are called "Schiedsrichter", and it should be mentioned that such texts as EL 269 and 270 are classed as: "Urteile in Form von Gerichtsprotokollen"; such a text as EL 268 is clearly an example of arbitration since it begins with the phrase: PN₁ and PN₂ seized us and we concluded their case (*awātišunu nugammer*). The significance of the fact that several such texts mention not only "witnesses" or "arbitrators" appointed by the colony, but also a man who is referred to as *tappā'ini*, "Our partner", is obscure to me.

63. Cf. ICK 1:114 mentioned above, 169, n. 32, and see also 174 with n. 44.

64. Veenhof, *Aspects*, 434–438.

collective commercial enterprises which were organized by this office. It is a highly complex problem which deserves a monographic investigation, and the various technical expressions which are connected with it cannot at the moment be adequately translated. I shall deal with some aspects in the following chapter and for the moment I refer to Veenhof's comments. The procedure was one which permitted merchants to deposit certain amounts of goods at a fixed rate of exchange, and it seems quite possible that there was some connection with the concept *dātum* which has been mentioned above.

There are a few indications that the colony had a fixed time for the general settling of accounts; in the letter KTB1 3 we hear that "accounting will take place shortly",⁶⁵ and the damaged letter BIN 6:91 could show that the official settling of accounts took place once a year:

Concerning the [settling] of accounts – in the year when our father died I personally stood up for the accounting in the place of our father.⁶⁶

In many instances it is impossible to decide whether the squaring of private accounts are referred to or whether we are faced with examples of the special procedures involving the office of the colony. Thus, the letter KTS 6 says:

Why do you complain there to every colleague and friend, saying: "If Ili-wēdāku has sent the money, then I shall stand up for the account, but if he has not sent it, then I shall not enter the office of the colony?"⁶⁷

"To stand for the account" is one of the many difficult technical expressions which rather effectively blocks our precise understanding. It is found in a number of texts and in some instances at least it is very obvious

- 65. KTB1 3, 26: *nikkassu qurbu*.
- 66. (2) *a-šu-mi* (3) [*ša n]i-kà-si i-ša-tim* (4) [*ša a]-bu-ni i-mu-tù* (5) [*a-na n]i-kà-si a-na-ku* (6) [*i-pu-lùh a-bi₄-ni a-zi-iz*. It is not at all certain that this refers to an accounting with the office of the colony, but the text does refer to "favours" to be asked of the colony in the following: (19) [*e-na-n]a-tim KI kà-ri-im* (20) [*er-ša-ma*].
- 67. (3) *mì-šu ša a-ma-kam a-na a-hi-im* (4) *ù eb-ri-im ta-na-zu-mu* (5) *um-ma a-ta-ma šu-ma Ili₅-we-da-ku* (6) *KUG.BABBAR uš-té-bi₄-lam a-na ni-ka-si* (7) *a-za-az šu-ma la* (8) *uš-té-bi₄-lam a-na É kà-ri-im* (9) *la e-ra-áb*.

that it reflects some aspect of the deposit-transactions in the office in the colony.⁶⁸

It is *a priori* quite possible that either of these two main uses of the term *nikkassu* could provide the background for the procedures referred to in the Statute text, although it should be kept in mind that text 1 does refer to "their case", i.e. two opponents are obviously engaged in a lawsuit, and on that basis it may not be easy to establish any connection with the procedures involving the accounts in the office of the colony.

wēdum awīlum ša nikkassi

The translation offered above for this phrase, "one single man of accounting", reflects in its vagueness the difficulties that are connected with an adequate interpretation. Obviously, it is a key-term and if we can understand it properly we would be able to interpret the entire text with much greater assurance, but the fact that we have several different proposals between which it is in some cases impossible to choose, shows that we are unlikely to gain that understanding until some decisive new material will become available.

The word *wēdum* obviously means, "individual", "a single person", but some have suggested that it is really a title, which I presume should be translated "leader", and which denoted the "official in charge of the *kārum*", according to *CAD*.⁶⁹ The passages in text 1 are accordingly translated as follows:

without (the consent of) the important persons of the assembly, the *wēdum* (as) accountant will not give orders to the scribe (of the *kārum*) to call a meeting of the full assembly;

68. A clear example is KTS 11 which tells that certain persons have made an appeal to the colony, claiming that Aššur-nādā will not "stand for the accounting", whereupon the writers, Aššur-nādā's representatives, have made inquiries and: (18) *a-na ni-kā-si a-na* (19) *gam-ra-tim-ma nu-uš-ta-zí-iz-kā* (20) 6 TÚG *ku-ta-ni* 6 TÚG *šu-ru-tim* (21) *a-na É kā-ri-im ni-di-in'* (22) $\frac{1}{2}$ MA.NA TA *a-na* TÚG *ku-ta-ni* (23) 18 GÍN TA *a-na* (24) *šu-ru-tim a-na* (25) *ni-kā-si ta-ša-ká[n]*, "We made you stand for the accounting in its entirety. We gave (or: deposited?) 6 *kutānum*-textiles and 6 *šurum*-textiles to the office of the colony; at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ mina each for the *kutānum*-textiles and 18 shekels each for the *šurum*-textiles you will put it down on the account." (cf. Veenhof, *Aspects*, 433, for lines 20-25).

69. The idea goes back to a suggestion offered by Landsberger, *apud EL* 1, 338, n. d.

and the second passage in which the word occurs is rendered:

if he called a meeting upon the (sole) order of the *wēdum*.

Interestingly enough, *CAD* finds it necessary to add within brackets the translation which is here offered for the word itself! But the difficulty with this interpretation is not only that the word is otherwise unattested with this meaning, or that the etymology seems rather strained,⁷⁰ but as pointed out by Lewy it is not very logical for the secretary to be fined because he followed an order from the man who was the leader of the colony – and that is what follows from this translation. At least, one would expect the text to refer to sanctions against both of these officials. It is also worth pointing out that *CAD*'s suggestion leads to a rather obscure construction where first we have “the *wēdum* as accountant”, then simply the *wēdum*, and finally the “accountant”; the terminology does not become less opaque in such an interpretation.

CAD pointed to one further Old Assyrian example of the term, the legal protocol BIN 4:112 (EL 320), in which we find the passage:

Buzāzu questioned Ili-wēdāku, saying: “In Wahšušana, in the office of the colony, 45 talents of šikku-copper were issued from the stocks, either to the colony or to *wēdum*. Puzur-Aššur was pledged to take it; moreover, I personally possess a tablet with a verdict of the Kanesh colony, and I further possess a tablet with Puzur-Aššur's seal, stating that the copper is mine!”⁷¹

It seems that Puzur-Aššur, the boss of both of the men who are involved in the lawsuit, had won a case before the Kanesh colony which resulted in a verdict which gave him the right to the copper in question. The letter CCT 2:31a, from Buzāzu to Puzur-Aššur, was sent at an earlier time when this case had been concluded, for Buzāzu asks Puzur-Aššur to place

70. There is no connection with the word (*w*)*edūm*, “a famous man”, “a notable”, which is found repeatedly in Old Babylonian texts.

71. (1) *Bu-za-zu Ili₅-we-da-ku iš-a-al-ma* (2) *um-ma Bu-za-zu-ma* 45! GÚ URUDU
 (3) *ši-kam i-na Wa-ah-šu-ša-na* (4) É kā-ri-im i-na sú-hu-pi-im (5) *lu a-na kā-ri-im lu a-na we-dim* (6) ú-ši-a-am *Puzur₄-A-šūr lā-qá-a-am* (7) qá-bi₄ ú DUB-pá-am *ša dí-in* (8) *kā-ri-im Kā-né-eš a-na-ku ú-kā-al* (9) ú DUB-pá-am *ša ku-nu-uk* (10) [P]uzur₄-A-šūr *ša URUDU-um URUDU-i-ni* (11) [ú-k]ā-al.

the tablet in his own magazine.⁷² So what does it mean that the copper was issued from the stocks "either to the colony or to *wēdum*"? *CAD's* translation was: "(the copper was sent) either to the *kārum* (of Kaniš) or to the *wēdum* (of the *kārum*)", but that hardly makes sense; in fact, there is no indication that the copper was actually sent anywhere. Instead, one may suggest, with Lewy and Garelli, that the copper was issued either to the colony as such or to a private individual, and Garelli has connected this passage with other evidence which indicates that the colonies as corporate bodies directed the bulk trade in copper.⁷³ Nevertheless, the passage is not exactly crystal-clear on the basis of that interpretation either, and one would like to know what it means that Puzur-Aššur was pledged to take over the copper which was issued in this fashion. However, it surely makes more sense to have the opposition between the colony as such and a private individual, than between the colony and the head of the colony; one would think that what was issued to the head of the colony was *ipso facto* issued to the colony.⁷⁴

The term also occurs in an unpublished text from Leiden, but the context once again is rather obscure; after a break we read:

We led Susaja and Ennum-Aššur to the primary assembly of the colony, and the colony gave a verdict: Susaja's tablet is invalid; *wēdum* may not take it.⁷⁵

The text is related to the group of documents which includes a series of letters exchanged between Sabasija and Puzur-Aššur; it should be mentioned that these refer to the rare word *suhuppum* and a debt to the god Adad, so there may be a connection with the text recording copper issued from the *suhuppum*.⁷⁶ It is somewhat delicate evidence on which one

72. See EL 2, 49, n. a.

73. Garelli, *AC*, 176–177.

74. It may be that the ventive *uši'am* should be rendered: "was issued to me", but it is still difficult to see what is meant by the phrase beginning with *ana*. I should also like to point out that the term *suhuppum*, here translated "stocks" following J. Lewy, *JAO* 78, 1958, 93 with n. 19, is still liable to a reinterpretation.

75. LB 1237; (2') *a-na kā-ri-im x x* (3') *sa-he-er GAL Sú-sà-a ù En-um-A-šur* (4') *ni-ir-di-ma kā-r[u-um] ḫsa-he-er GAL* (5') *di-nam i-di-in[-ma DUB-pū]-um* (6') *ša Sú-sà-a i-mu-a-at* (7') *we-du-um ú-lá i-lá-q[é].*

76. The Leiden text says that "as much as Zuba owes to divine Adad the god will take from the stocks", and this is directly related to BIN 4:42, 40–46, and AnOr 6:16, 7–17 (cf. Hirsch, *UAR*, 49–50).

should not build any far-reaching theories, and in my view it is not sufficiently convincing to support the idea of an official with the title *wēdum*. This conclusion is supported by the observation that the title apparently presupposes a governmental structure where one man alone held considerable powers in the colony, and such a hypothesis does not tally with the other evidence which we have.

CAD's translation also operated with the idea of an "accountant", i.e. presumably an official who was in charge of the procedures which involved the settling of accounts, as the rendering of the phrase *awīlum ša nikkassi*. If *wēdum* is taken to mean "one single", it is not so easy to fit an official accountant into the procedure of the Statute text, for why does the text emphasize that it is only *one* such man? The opposition seems to be one between on the one hand a majority of the big men, and on the other hand one single "man of accounting", so if the latter phrase refers to an official the logical conclusion must be that all the big men were in fact "accountants". To be sure, this is in itself not impossible, and perhaps this argument demands too much strict logic from our text.

The expression does not to my knowledge appear in any other Old Assyrian text so we have to rely entirely on an analysis of the Statutes for our understanding of it. It should be kept in mind that in texts 2 and 3 we have only the words "of accounting" preserved, and it is not at all certain that it was the word *awīlum*, "man", which originally occurred in these other phrases. Text 1 tells us in one rule something which such a person cannot do, and in another rule we are told what members of the group of "small" men cannot do to him. It is reasonably clear what is meant by the phrase "no one among the small men may approach" him, for the verb used here, *tahā'um*, is found in many texts in parallel passages where the meaning must be "to raise claims against".⁷⁷ Of special interest are two verdicts, ICK 1:26 and Gelb 12, for both contain passages which stipulate that until a man has paid a certain debt, no other claimants (*tamkārum*) may raise claims:

The colony has given a verdict:

Concerning the expense which the colony has incurred on behalf of Amur-Šamaš and Kuzari, Suén-nādā will pay $\frac{1}{3}$ mina of silver.
Thereof Amur-Šamaš will pay 10 shekels of silver and Kuzari 10

77. Cf. the discussion in EL 2, 192, n. 2.

shekels to Suen-nādā. Until Suen-nādā has been paid in full no other claimant may approach them.⁷⁸

A similar example of a privileged claim is found in the level 1b text Gelb 12, a verdict which starts by saying that an Assyrian by the name Anina has been redeemed from debt slavery in the house of a native Anatolian by another Assyrian called Idi-Kūbum, and the text continues:

Until Idi-Kūbum, son of Uṣur-ša-Aššur, has been paid the 23 shekels of silver in full, no other claimant of Anina or of his father may seize him.⁷⁹

It is surely significant that where one text uses a form of the verb *tahā'um*, “to approach”, the other has a form of *sabātum*, “to seize”, i.e. to summon before court. And we may illustrate the procedure further with a passage from the letter CCT 4:37b:

My dear brother, take care to send me the tablet of the colony which states that until you have been paid your money in full, you have a claim (lit. “your hand is placed”) on houses, slave-girl, and slave, and no one may approach (it).⁸⁰

On the assumption that these texts provide precise parallels to the rule in the Statute text we may conclude that the “man of accounting”, who could not be approached by the “small men”, was the debtor; he could not settle his various claims piecemeal as long as he had his case pending before the authorities of the colony. On the other hand, it makes no sense to find an official accountant in such a role – unless the small men

78. (1) *kā-ru-um dī-nam* (2) *i-dī-ma a-na ga-am-ri-im* (3) *ša a-šu-mi* (4) *A-mur-^dUTU* (5) *ū Ku-za-ri* (6) *kā-ru-um ig-mu-ru* (7) $\frac{1}{3}$ MA.NA KUG.BABBAR (8) *Sū-na-da i-ša-qal* (9) *i-na ŠA.BA* 10 GÍN (10) KUG.BABBAR *A-mur-^dUTU* (11) 10 GÍN *Ku-za-ri* (12) *a-na* (13) *Sū-na-da i-ša-qú-lu* (14) *a-dī Sū-na-da* (15) *uš-ta-bu-ú* (16) DAM.GĀR-*ru-um* (17) *ma-ma-an* (18) *ú-lá i-tá-hi-šu-nu-tí*.

According to line 1 on the envelope the colony in question was Purušhaddum.

79. (14) *a-dī-i* $\frac{1}{3}$ MA.NA 3 GÍN (15) KUG.BABBAR *I-dī-Ku-bu-um* (16) DUMU *U-ṣur-ša-A-ṣur* (17) *uš-ta-bu-ú A-ni-na* (18) DAM.GĀR-*šu* *ú* DAM.GĀR (19) *a-bi-šu ú-lá i-ṣa-ba-sú*.

80. (16) *a-hi a-ta i-hi-id-ma* (17) DUB-pá-am *ša kā-ri-i[m]* (18) *ša i-na bi-té-e am-tim* (19) *wa-ar-dim a-dī* KUG.BABBAR-*ap-kā-ma* (20) *tū-uš-ta-bu-ú* (21) *qāt-at-kā ša-ak-na-at-ni* (22) *ma-ma-an* (23) *lá i-ṣá-hi-ú*.

would approach him with claims against the colony, but that seems rather far-fetched.⁸¹

The original explanation given by Eisser and Lewy in EL was in fact that the phrase *awilum ša nikkassi* denoted the debtor, and in the introductory note to text 1 it was pointed out that the Old Assyrian process documents do show cases where it was a debtor who started the legal proceedings, probably because the debtor was being “held” by a person who had a claim against him.⁸² Thus, it is not necessarily so strange that the previous rule indicates it was the debtor who tried to get the secretary to call a meeting of the primary assembly. However, the translation given by Lewy points to another interpretation:

Ohne die grossen Herren, die Mehrheit, wird ein Einziger den Herrn der Kasse dem Schreiber nicht (an)sagen.

This is not a viable translation, however, for it assumes that the verb *qabā'um*, “to speak”, may take a person as direct object, a construction which to my knowledge is not attested; one would instead expect a form of the verb *idā'um* in the D-stem, “to inform”.⁸³ As a matter of fact, Lewy abandoned this interpretation already in the Nachträge to EL and instead adopted the following translation:

Ohne die grossen Herren, die Vielheit, wird ein einziger Herr die (Dinge) der Kasse dem Schreiber nicht (an)sagen.

81. It is true that there are some instances where the phrase *ana PN tāhā'um* appears to be used in a less precise way so that it comes to mean “address oneself to someone”, but the word does not occur as a synonym of such phrases as *mahārum* or *panā'um*, both denoting the act of making an appeal to a higher authority; *tāhā'um* seems in all contexts to have retained the aspect of raising a claim against the person who is being “approached”. The least clear example known to me is probably KTBI 3, a letter to Aššur-nādā from Aššur-taklāku where we find the passage: (18) *a-di ša a-na kā-ri-im* (19) *ma-ha-ri-im ta-áš-ta-na-pá-ra-ni* (20) *a-di iš-ri-šu* (21) *a-na A-lá-hi-im ù Kur-ub-Ištar* (22) *aṭ-hi-má lá na-ṭù-ma* (23) *lá i-ma-hu-ru-ni-ku-um*, “Concerning the question of appealing to the colony about which you have written to me repeatedly – ten times I have approached Alähum and Kurub-Ištar but it is not convenient and they will not appeal to the colony for you.” It cannot be excluded that the verb in this case does function as a virtual synonym of *mahārum*, and as such it would of course make sense in the Statute text if the “man of accounting” was an official.

82. EL 1, 337.

83. For a clear example I refer to TC 3:76, quoted below, 320.

In other words, *wēdum awīlum* belong together with the meaning: "one single man", and the phrase *ša nikkassi* becomes the meaning "matters of the accounting". Also Jacobsen accepted this interpretation and translated:

One single man may not without (the consent of) a majority of the seniors give orders to the clerk concerning settling of accounts.⁸⁴

This is quite acceptable for the first rule, but unfortunately it cannot be upheld in the case of the second rule which mentions the term; Lewy's translation here was:

Irgend einer von den Anwesenden wird die (Dinge) der Kasse (betroffend) eines Herrn Rücken sich nicht nähern.

Diakonov has given substantially the same translation in his treatment of the text. However, the construction presupposes that the verb *tahā'um*, "to be near", "to approach", may take two objects: the person approached as indirect object introduced with *ana šēr*, and the matter as direct object in the accusative, and Lewy himself pointed out that the proper construction was different. The translation given by Lewy demands a form in the D-stem.⁸⁵

All these observations lead to the depressing conclusion that the Statute text as it stands does not contain precise information which could lead to a clear view of the role played by the person called "man of accounting."

84. Jacobsen, *JNES* 2, 1943, 161, n. 13.

85. EL 2, 192, n. 2; for the construction with the G-stem see also TC 2:21, quoted above, 181–182. A very interesting case is the letter CCT 5:1 where Innaja writes to his representatives in some trading station concerning a slave called Šalimbēli who should be summoned and forced to pay some money; Innaja reproaches his representatives that they have failed to conclude the matter even though the slave has offered to pay $\frac{1}{2}$ mina and declare himself to be Innaja's slave; instead they scared him and he went into hiding: (16) *a-ma-kam* DUB-pá-am *ša kà-ri-im* (17) *a-na wa-bar-tim* *A-šur-na-da* (18) *na-ši i-na ša-ha-at* (19) *A-šur-na-da i-zi-za-ma* (20) *ki-ma* IR *lá i-ša-lu-ú* (21) *šé-ri-a-ni-šu* *ù-ul* *šu-ma* *ll-bi-ku-nu* (22) *ki-ma i-na pá-ni-tim* $\frac{1}{2}$ MA.NA (23) KUG.BABBAR *ú-kà-i-lu* *ll-dí-na-ku-nu-ti-ma* (24) *ù* IR *a-šu-mi-a-ma lu-šiib* (25) *ù i-na* IGI *wa-bar-tim* *ša-zi-za-ma* (26) *ma-ma-an lá i-ʃá-hi-šu-um*, "Aššur-nādā brings a tablet of the colony to the trading station there; assist Aššur-nādā and have the slave sent here so that he does not do any harm. Or – if you prefer, you may let him give you the $\frac{1}{2}$ mina of silver which he offered earlier, and then the slave may stay on my behalf. Then, make him appear(?) before the trading station and no

However, the most likely interpretation is surely that the entire phrase *wēdum awīlum ša nikkassi* refers to a private individual rather than to an official; in fact, the word *wēdum* could well have the meaning "a private individual". In view of the fact that one text mentions "their case" it must be assumed that the procedure involves a lawsuit between two or more persons, and it is of course clear that it is concerned with the settling of accounts, and further that it would lead to a verdict of the colony. At the moment it is hardly possible to draw any more conclusions or to establish connections with procedures known from other texts.

d) The Decision-Making Process

Perhaps the most interesting aspects of the Statute texts as preserved today are concerned with the technical questions connected with the making of decisions by the various bodies involved. Both the group of "big men" and the primary assembly appear to have been able to reach majority decisions, which is in itself most unusual when we compare with other similar assemblies; and the procedure of dividing these bodies in sub-groups which will deliberate individually is likewise an indication of a very high degree of development. I shall therefore examine the various terms found in the texts in some detail.

We have two words in these texts which have both been translated "majority", and that fact alone may of course give rise to some skepticism, but both words are derivations from the verb *ma'ādum*, "to be much, many". In text 1 we find the word *nam'udum* which hardly can have any other meaning than "plurality" (in EL: "Vielheit", "Menge", "Mehrheit"); Lewy pointed out that the word occurs in other contexts as well and suggested that it might have another meaning there: "vielleicht 'Vielheit' im Sinne von 'Gesellschaft von Kaufleuten'." Driver and Miles go on from there to suggest the translation "corporation (of free merchants)", which should simply be an apposition to the phrase *awīlu*

one should 'approach' him with claims." It is important to note that the one reference which was adduced by Lewy as evidence for the independent expression *ša nikkassi*, CCT 4:34b, as noted by himself shows a different construction with *tahā'um*: (14) *ta-ah-si-is-tám* (15) *am-ra-ma a-na ša ni-ka-st-a* (17) *ti-ih-a*; I suggest the translation: "check my books and raise claim (for this) in excess of that of my account!" This one passage does seem rather slender evidence for an idiomatic expression.

rabi'ūtum, so there would not be any question of a majority decision if this was correct.⁸⁶ Orlin takes this idea even one step further by saying that the “big men” of text 1 “meeting as a body, may have composed the *namedum* [sic!], or ‘executive committee’.”⁸⁷

The clearest case for the meaning “majority” is probably the letter TC 3:76 in which we hear that three men have witnessed a transfer of money from a dying man to a relative; this transfer was not strictly legal since it was money which his shareholders should have been told about, so the writer says:

Now, lead Kulumaja, Agua, and Aššur-malik to the Gate of the God, certify a tablet with their statement that he gave the 30 minas of silver under the nose of his shareholders to Ennum-Aššur. If one of the witnesses is not present in Kanesh, then lead the *nam'udum* (to the Gate of the God), and then have them indicate to you (the name of) their (missing) partner on the tablet!⁸⁸

The word *nam'udum* in this text most probably refers to the two remaining witnesses who are supposed to be present in Kanesh, and it is not very likely to denote any kind of authority or corporation of merchants. The other cases are less clear, and the letter CCT 3:18a contains a passage which is syntactically not very transparent:

My dear brothers and lords, as to the money of the losses – on top of 30 minas of silver and 1⁵/₆ mina of gold, which they entrusted to Abi-Anum in Wahšana and which (or: who) was noted on the tablet together with the *nam'udum* – (which tablet) messengers are

86. Driver and Miles, op. cit., 379, give the translation: “the great men, (namely) the corporation (of free merchants)”.
87. Orlin, *ACC*, 65–66; the unfortunate reading goes back to Evans, loc. cit., 5. It may be mentioned in passing that there is no connection with Hebrew *mō‘ed*, a word which has the meaning “Assembly”, presumably of elders, for that is derived from another root; cf. H. Reviv, “On Urban Representative Institutions and Self-Government in Syria-Palestine in the Second Half of the Second Millennium B.C.”, *JESHO* 12, 1969, 287–288.
88. (15) *Ku-lu-ma-a A-gu-a* (16) ȗ [A-šur]ma-lik a-na (17) *ba-áb* [DINGIR] šé-ri-da-šu-nu (18) DUB-pá-dš-nu hi-ir-ma-nim (19) ša ki-ma 30 MA.NA KUG. BABBAR (20) i-na pá-ni um-me-a-ni-šu (21) a-na *En-um-A-šùr i-di-nu* (22) šu-ma i-na ši-bi-e (23) iš-ti-in i-na ba-ri-šu-nu (24) i-na Kà-ni-iš lá-šu (25) *nam-a-dam* šé-ri-da-ma (26) ȗ *tap-pá-dš-nu i-na* (27) DUB-pí-im l[u-wa-d]l-ú-ni-ku-nu-tí.

bringing – (on top of that) the merchant gave him 15 minas of silver and $\frac{2}{3}$ mina of good-quality gold, and his tablet has been certified.⁸⁹

In this place the translation “rest”, “remainder”, or perhaps “the others” seems to yield an acceptable meaning, rather than either “majority” or “corporation”. It is impossible to see whether it is a name which has been written down on the tablet together with the *nam'udum* or whether it is an amount of money, but the latter possibility is perhaps to be preferred. If so, the term cannot denote a group of persons.

The last two examples refer to something which is “of the *nam'udum*”, and they both deal with affairs with the local palaces. KTS 18 is a letter to Imdi-ilum from Amur-Ištar and Uzua in which we read:

The goods entered the palace and the palace pre-empted 17 *makuhu*-textiles belonging to Puzur-Aššur and 3 of your textiles at the price of 20 minas (of copper) a piece. In a second pre-emption the palace bought (worth) 420 minas of washed copper and we shall receive the copper in the office of the colony; so, the palace has paid us in full the copper which is the price of the textiles and the copper of good quality, and it has not given us anything for that of the *nam'udum*. Don't worry. Those of the textiles which could be sold have been so.⁹⁰

There does not seem to be any obviously satisfactory translation of the term in this context. Again we could perhaps get by with the rendering: “the rest”, i.e. the bulk of the shipment which was not bought by the palace and which accordingly had to be sold on the market. But it cannot be excluded that *nam'udum* refers to a group of persons, perhaps some-

89. (9) *a-hu-ú-a be-lu-á a-tù-nu* (10) *‘a-á-dí* KUG.BABBAR *ša hu-lu-qá-e* (11) *[a-]sé-er* 30 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR (12) *‘u* 1 $\frac{5}{6}$ MA.NA KUG.KI (13) *[š]a i-Wa-ah-šu-ša-na* (14) *a-na A-bi₄-A-nim* (15) *ip-qt-du-ni-ma* (16) *i-DUB-pi₄-im iš-tí* (17) *na-am-e-dim lá-áp-tú* (18) *ši-ip-ru na-dá-ú-ni* (19) 15 MA.NA KUG. BABBAR *ú $\frac{2}{3}$* MA.NA (20) GUSKIN SIG₅ *tám-ka-ru-um* (21) *a-ši-a-ma-tim i-dí-šu-ma* (22) DUB-*pu-šu ha-ri-im*.
90. (3) *ú-nu-tum* (4) *a-na É.GAL-lim e-ru-ub-ma* (5) 17 TÚG *ma-ku-hi ša Puzur-A-šur* (6) 3 TÚG *ku-a-ú-tim É.GAL-lím* (7) 20 MA.NA TA *a-na ši-mi-im* (8) *il₅-qé* 4 *me-at* 20 MA.NA URUDU (9) *ma-as-am É.GAL-lím a-na* (10) *ši-mi-im ša-na-um il₅-qé-ma* (11) URUDU *i-na É kà-ri-im ni-lá-qé-a-ma* (12) URUDU *ši-im* TÚG.HI.A *ú* URUDU SIG₅ (13) *É.GAL-lím ú-ša-bi-ni-a-ti-ma* (14) *mì-ma a-na ša na-am-e-dim* (15) *lá i-di-ni-a-tí li-ba-kà* (16) *lá i-ma-ra-aş i-na* (17) TÚG.HI.A *ša ta-da-nim ta-ad-nu*.

thing like “the company”; if the word should have such a meaning – difficult to explain on the basis of the derivation from *ma'ādum* – one would, however, expect it to occur more often in our texts.

Finally, the letter CCT 2:31b + 32b is perhaps the most difficult to interpret; it is a letter to Puzur-Aššur from Buzāzu in which we find the following passage:

My dear father, as to Šu-Ištar's money from the office of the colony, take care that they do not continually “breathe” in this direction! Here the palace owes nothing and they refuse to give anything of the *nam'udum*. My dear father, take care to receive the money for the colony there and send it.⁹¹

Buzāzu seems to be informing Puzur-Aššur that it is a mistake that some people in Kanesh continue to make complaints (“breathe”) to make the local palace in the city where he is pay some money, perhaps via the office of the colony. If the situation is parallel to the one in the preceding text, we could suggest the same translation for *nam'udum*, “the rest, bulk (of the shipment)”, but that is of course a quite uncertain interpretation. While the precise interpretation of each of these texts thus must remain uncertain, it does seem probable that the term *nam'udum* in them all may be understood as denoting roughly “the greater part”, specifically what remains (of a group of people or of a quantity of goods) after a smaller part has been removed. It is accordingly not a simple synonym of the term *šittum*, “rest”, and it could perhaps denote the concept “majority”. In fact, that seems to me to be a distinctly better rendering than either “corporation” or “collegium”, or even “executive committee”.

In text 2 we instead have the form *mādūtim*, a plural masculine of the adjective *mādum*, “much, many”; it is possible that we have to restore the phrase as follows: *ina pīm ša mādūtim*, “by a decision (order) of the many”, but even without such a restoration it is difficult to see what could be the meaning of the term except “majority” as here suggested. It is surely not likely to be an idiom for such concepts as “unanimity” or

91. (12) *a-bi a-ta a-dī* KUG.BABBAR (13) *ša Šu-Ištar [š]a É kā-ri-im* (14) *i-hi-id-ma*
mi-ma (15) *a-ni-ša-am lá i-ta-na-pu-šu-nim* (16) *a-na-kam mi-ma* (17) *É.GAL-*
lúm lá ha-bu-ul (18) *ú ša na-am-e-dim* (19) *ta-da-nam ú-lá* (20) *i-mu-ú a-bi a-ta*
(21) a-ma-kam a-kā-ri-im (22) *i-hi-id-ma* KUG.BABBAR (23) *le-qé-ma šé-bi4*
il₅.

“consensus” or even “acclamation”, for all such words would have to be rendered with a form of *migrātum*, “agreement”, or *gimirtum*, *sihirtum*, “totality”.⁹²

Text 1 simply refers to a majority without giving any hint about how it was established; in text 2 we are told that various bodies are divided in sub-groups, obviously prior to the reaching of a final decision. It is not at all certain that the first rule in text 2 concerns the same group of big men which we have in text 1, as suggested by Evans, but it is of course correct that it was a body which convened before the primary assembly. One notes that certain people are said to “sit” whereas others “stand”, and it seems clear that these terms have a technical meaning.⁹³ As far as I can see we cannot establish any good meaning on the basis of the hypothesis that sitting and standing was part of the voting procedure – a system which is of course well-known from similar bodies, for instance the present-day Folketing in Denmark.⁹⁴ The verb *wašābum* is often used in Old Assyrian texts with the special meaning: “to arrange a meeting”, “to have a conference”; this happens in private contexts where a dispute is discussed in a meeting where a couple of men from each side “sit down” in order to negotiate.⁹⁵ It may also be used about persons who were present without taking direct part in the negotiations; this reminds of the Neo Babylonian phrase *ina ašabi ša PN*, “in the presence of PN”, which commonly is found used about women who cannot participate in the legal proceedings or act as witnesses, even when the matter directly concerns them.⁹⁶ In an Old Assyrian text we find an example where a man

92. A couple of later references seem to provide substantial support for the interpretation suggested here: in MDP 23:321–322, 22 and 35, we find mention of “the judge and a sufficient number of citizens of Susa” (*māru Šušim ma-a-du-ti*), and a similar reference to a *quorum* is contained in 85-4-30, 100, 7, in the phrase: “the majority of the assembly of Babylon” (*ina puhi LÚ.TIN.TIR.MEŠ ma-du-ti*). Evans, loc. cit., 5, does declare that the idiom *ša mādutim* may not refer to voting by acclamation, but later on in his discussion he seems to take it for granted that it does since he claims that there are indications “of the use of a more advanced form of procedure [i.e. voting] within the assembly of the ‘great’ than in the popular assembly.”
93. Cf. F. Thureau, *RA* 21, 1924, 33, n. 2; A. Leo Oppenheim, “Zur keilschriftlichen Omenliteratur”, *OrNS* 5, 1936, 226; and Jacobsen, *JNES* 2, 1943, 164, n. 24.
94. A similar system was used in many Italian cities of the Middle Ages, cf. Waley, *Les Républiques médiévales italiennes*, 1965, 65.
95. Several examples in *CAD* s.v. *ašābu* 1d and 4b; see also Hecker, *KUG*, 73.
96. Cf. P. Koschaker, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Bürgschaftsrecht*, Leipzig 1911, 201–208, and G. Cardascia, *Les archives des Murashū*, Paris 1951, 23.

"sits" in a similar fashion while his wife conducts a case, and it is possible that his presence indicated agreement with the wife's statements.⁹⁷

The first part of text 2 is so damaged that it is impossible to see precisely who was "sitting", much less why. Neither is it possible to see the significance of the term in the last rule on the text; perhaps we should understand this last part as an addition to the previous rule which appears to state that the primary assembly after being divided into seven groups will decide by majority, so that the text adds: this same rule is valid also when it is a . . . which holds a conference.

The group which "stands" in text 2 is likewise undefined, but once again it must be a body which was convened before the primary assembly. It is obviously impossible to discern the difference in meaning between "sitting" and "standing", and it may be that those who sat were neither more prominent nor more directly involved in the procedure than those who stood. It is tempting, though, to think of a difference between the passive "bystanders", the uninvolved members of the assembly, and on the other hand the judges and witnesses who were sitting.⁹⁸ In a Middle Babylonian text containing "counsels of wisdom" we find that men are advised not to "set out to stand in the assembly or loiter where there is a dispute", since thereby one runs the risk of becoming involved as a witness or being brought "to a lawsuit not your own to affirm."⁹⁹ The

97. CCT 5:17a (EL 292, duplicated by TC 3:266): (1) *A-šur-na-da ù Zu-uš-kà-na*
(2) *a-na Zu-uš-kà DAM Ú-zu-a* (3) DUMU *Li-ba-a is-bu-tù-ni-a-tí-ma* (4) *Ú-zu-a*
wa-ša-áb, "Aššur-nādā and Zuškana seized us (as witnesses) in the dispute
with Zuška, wife of Uzua, the son of Libbaja, and Uzua 'sat'."
98. There is an interesting example where a kind of distinction is made in a private text, the letter BIN 6:201: (6) *i-nu-mì P[u-šu]-ki-in* (7) *uš-bu I-li-a ḫù A-š[ur-i-
m]i-ti* (8) *i-zi-zu-ma*, "When Pūšu-kēn sat down (to negotiate) Ilija and Aššur-
imitti stood by." However, "standing by" is not just being a passive spectator
as is indicated by many passages in Old Assyrian texts; in VAT 6209, 8'-10',
we hear that "we stood and we set witnesses for them", in KUG 33, 20-25,
persons are to stand by when a house is being opened and examined and they
must secure a special tablet; cf. also the text Bruxelles which has been quoted
above, 183. See also such a text as ATHE 22, a legal protocol which states
that 2 named men have "stood in aid of and on behalf of" the heirs of a de-
ceased merchant (*ina šahāt PN etc. kīma šunūti izzizu*) in a lawsuit.
99. Cf. W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, Oxford 1960, 100, lines
31-44. Similar admonitions are found already in the archaic version of the
Instructions of Šuruppak, cf. B. Alster, *The Instructions of Suruppak*, Copen-
hagen 1974, 15, lines 1-2 in col. III; for the later versions cf. page 35, lines
21ff., and page 121, lines 15ff.

famous rule in Codex Hammurapi about the judge who is thrown out of the assembly because of fraudulent behaviour makes it clear that judges had their seats in the assembly,¹⁰⁰ but we may compare some passages from Old Babylonian letters which show that sometimes judges “stood”; in the Šamaš-hāzir letters we hear for instance that “Šamaš-hāzir, the town, and the elders stood”,¹⁰¹ or that Hammurapi writes that certain men “are present (*ušbu*) in Sippar, and you too ‘stood’ and they have confirmed . . .”¹⁰²

Evans, who believes that the first rule in text 2 concerns the council of big men, has suggested that the division of this body in three groups may have one of three reasons: 1) the three groups could represent those who agreed to a proposal, those who said no, and those who had no opinion; 2) the groups were purely *ad hoc* bodies whose purpose was to facilitate the discussion and the decision-making; 3) the groups could possibly reflect the existence of “some bodies in the community outside”. The first idea seems discredited by the interpretation proposed here which entails that the primary assembly was divided in seven groups, and probably that would exclude the third solution as well. The second suggestion is surely the most likely one, and it also makes sense that the larger body should be divided in more groups if the purpose was to make discussion easier. The text does not appear to give any guidelines for the secretary to follow when dividing these bodies, and he may have been solely responsible; it is logical that this considerable power should be in the hands of a bureaucratic official who was not allied to any specific group in the society.

Text 2 shows that the primary assembly was to be convened when a certain body – perhaps the council of big men – could not “solve the case”, i.e. presumably reach a unanimous decision where all three subgroups could agree on the same proposal. It should be noted that if the body in question was really the council of big men, then this rule must refer to a different situation from the one mentioned in text 1. As the evidence stands at present it seems that only the primary assembly could decide on the basis of a proper majority vote, and that is not difficult to understand. What is surprising is that majority decisions in fact could be reached in a society which was of what must be called “segmentary” type, i.e.

100. CH § 5: ‘In the assembly (*puhrum*) they shall make him get up from the judge’s seat and he shall not again sit in judgement with the other judges.’

101. Thureau-Dangin, loc. cit., text no. 40, line 9; *AbB* 4:40.

102. Thureau-Dangin, loc. cit., text no. 11, line 10; *AbB* 4:11.

based on strong kinship groups. Assemblies would be expected to reflect the interests of these groups, and the absence of a powerful central administration which was raised above the kinship groups would indicate the necessity for compromise decisions and unanimity. It may be, however, that the special circumstances under which the colonists were living, surrounded by an alien society with social and political traditions which in some respects seem to have been very different from the Old Assyrian ones, tended to create a stronger sense of unity within the Assyrian society, a need for some truly communal institutions. And it should further be kept in mind that the big men most probably did represent precisely the main kinship groups, and that all decisions taken by the colony could be appealed to the capital and brought before the city-assembly.¹

e) Conclusions

It is necessary to stress the extremely fragmentary nature of our documentation and avoid falling into the trap of assuming that the pieces which have been preserved of some of the original texts necessarily must describe the most fundamental aspects of the judicial institutions and procedures of the colony. We cannot at all be sure that all the authorities which were normally involved in such activities are even mentioned in our texts, and at the same time we cannot expect that the documents from the private archives, which refer to the same questions from a quite different point of view, will make use of the same terminology or be concerned with the same details of the procedures; the purely technical processes behind the decisions taken by the colonies are unlikely to be referred to in private documents – or for that matter even in such public texts as records of verdicts issued by the colony. We cannot, therefore, conclude that the Statute texts are concerned with questions which had no real significance for the daily life of the colony, nor can we conclude that such institutions which are known only from the Statute texts, e.g. the group of “big men”, had no or little importance in the social or political structure of the society.

The result of the meetings which are described in the Statute texts were of course the passing of verdicts, the issuing of “tablets of the colony”, and the writing of letters. In the preceding I have already referred to quite a number of texts which reflect these procedures, and in the following section I shall provide a very brief examination of the texts which record

actual decisions taken by the colony in the form of a verdict, *dīnum*. We have a number of such documents and most of them have already been treated in EL.¹⁰³

Eisser and Lewy divided the verdicts into two main groups: 1) those which give rules for the conduct of a lawsuit, and 2) final decisions which refer to the dispute itself ("Sachentscheidungen"); this distinction is certainly a valid one, even though in some cases a verdict may refer to both aspects. One text is somewhat isolated since it deals with the relations between the Assyrian community and the crownprince of the palace in Kanesh, and it could be said that it records a "political" decision taken by the colony:

The colony has given a verdict:

No one may give any textile to the *rabi simmiltim*. He who gives any must pay as much money as the *rabi simmiltim* owes to Ikūnum.¹⁰⁴

Obviously, the local crownprince cannot be brought before the colonial court, but Ikūnum, to whom he owed some money, has directed an appeal to the colony and it has been decided to bring pressure to bear on the Anatolian by freezing all economic relations between the Assyrian community and him. Apparently, if a member of the colony decided to break this rule he would also have to take over the debt of the crownprince; here was thus an opportunity for an enterprising merchant to ingratiate himself with the prince, but his popularity in the colony would presumably suffer. Another possible interpretation is that the payment was a fine which was paid to the colony so that the prince would not be freed from his obligation anyway.

This text records a decision which is paralleled in the many letters which refer to diplomatic contacts with the local palaces, and it is a clear indication of the coherence of the colonial community as well as the real authority enjoyed by the judicial institutions.

Two of the verdicts, KTP 17 and TMH 1:21e,¹⁰⁵ settle questions which belong under family law; the first gives a man the right to sell his own

103. Cf. EL 1, 306–323; comments on the typology on page 306 and 310–311.

104. TMH 1:21c (EL 273): (1) *kā-ru-um dī-nam* (2) *i-di-in-ma* (3) 1 TÚG *šu-um-šu ma-ma-an* (4) *a-na GAL sī-mī-il₅-tim* (5) *la i-da-an* (6) *ša i-du-nu* (7) *ma-la KUG.BABBAR GAL* (8) *sī-mī-il₅-tim* (9) *a-na I-ku-nim* (10) *ha-bu-lu* (11) *i-ša-qal*.

105. EL 275 and 276.

daughter, and he presumably won the case over the girl and her mother; the second text settles the conditions for a divorce between an Assyrian man and an Anatolian woman. Mixed marriages may accordingly be presumed to have fallen under the jurisdiction of the Assyrian court of the colony, not the Anatolian palace.

No less than seven verdicts are of the type which Eisser and Lewy called "prozessleitende", i.e. they stipulate more or less extensively in which manner a case is to be conducted. Two texts, EL 319 and 339, give a man the right to ask questions of another man, i.e. they overrule the normal right to refuse to answer questions in court; in one case this may be specifically due to the fact that an attorney from the City is involved. In the second case it may be that the verdict was issued by another colony, perhaps Wahšušana, and that the case itself was to be conducted in Kanesh. EL 282 is a verdict of the trading station at Ulama and it says that the final negotiations in a matter are to take place in Kanesh within two months; the terminology used in the last passage is typical:

If Panaka cannot come to Kanesh, he must write so that his representative can "give him a lawsuit".¹⁰⁶

The phrase *awatam tadānum* denotes the willingness to appear in court¹⁰⁷ and some of our verdicts clearly overrule such an unwillingness. This is probably also the background for the text Adana 237G which states that a certain person may "sue" for an amount of money; the term used here is the verb *še'a'um* which appears also in the verdict Dergi 4:2 (duplicate of TC 2:77), but it is interesting to note that the latter text certainly contains some final decisions and the right to "sue" for some money is a detail in a larger complex of decisions.¹⁰⁸ We may in this see an indication of the artificiality of the classification of EL. Another example may

- 106. (13) *šu-ma Pá-na-kà* (14) *a-na Kà-né-eš* (15) *lá i-lá-ak* (16) *i-ša-pár-ma ša ki-ma* (17) *šu-a-tí a-wa-tám* (18) *i-da-šum*.
- 107. Cf. also KTS 25b; (15) *a-na a-wa-tim a-mì-ša-am* (16) *na-dá-ni kà-ru-um* (17) *u₄-me-e iš-ku-ni-a-tí-ma* (18) *u₄-mu-ni ITI.KAM a-hu-ru*, "the colony set a term for us to (go) there (and) 'give' a lawsuit, but our term still runs for a month"; or TC 3:79; (28) *a-ma-lá dí-in* (29) *A-lím^{k1} ù DUB-pí-im ša ku-nu-uk* (30) *a-bi-kà a-wa-tám dí-nam*, "'Give' me a lawsuit in accordance with the verdict of the City and the tablet which carries your father's seal!"
- 108. Dergi 4:2: (27) *i-na* (28) 50 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR *ša Ku-zí-a* (29) *ú Sú-e-a a-na En-nam-A-śur* (30) *ha-bu-lu-ni-ma i-na* (31) *qá-qá-ad šál-mí-šu-nu* (32) *ra-ak-sú DUB-pd-šu-nu* (33) *En-nam-A-śur a-na Sú-e-a* (34) *i-da-an-ma i-du-ak-ma*

be found in the damaged text ICK 2:148 + 149 which records that a certain person is to go to Kanesh and conclude a matter, pay some debts etc.

Much more simple are the texts CCT 5:18d and EL 274 which give direct instructions which are to be followed by the parties involved. CCT 5:18d starts with the remark that certain documents have been mislaid but that when they reappear the witnesses mentioned must be taken to the Gate of the God; and EL 274 which has already been dealt with in another context,¹⁰⁹ mentions that certain persons are entitled to enter a house and remove or inspect the tablets which are kept in the sealed magazine. Also this text may belong to a case which involved an attorney from Assur.

The group of verdicts which record final decisions incorporate a few texts which both stipulate a verdict and give rules for certain actions in connection with the implementation of the decision; I have already pointed to the text Dergi 4:2, and one must mention EL 278 and 281 both of which refer to oaths which must be given; furthermore to Adana 237A where a man is ordered to pay some money but also to go to Kanesh within two months in order to conduct the final negotiations; the text is a verdict issued by the trading station at Šalatiwar.

In the group we also have some cases which are much simpler, though, and one may refer to EL 277 which states that a man has to pay a fine because he was unable to "confirm" another man, i.e. prove his case against him. A connection with text 2 of the Statutes where we also seem to find a remark about "confirming" something is of course possible, but the broken passage cannot be understood on the basis of our text. Another relatively simple text is TC 3:275:

The primary assembly of the Wahušana colony gave a verdict before Aššur's dagger:

1 tablet concerning 1 mina of silver which he was pledged to pay in the City; 1 tablet concerning $\frac{1}{2}$ mina of silver; 1 tablet concerning $\frac{1}{3}$ mina 5 shekels of silver – in all: 3 tablets which recorded debts of Alahum to Ennam-Anum and Mannum-balum-Aššur; the tablets

(35) *En-nam-A-šur Ku-zि-a* (36) *i-šé-e*, "Of the 50 minas of silver which Kuzia and Suejja owe to Ennam-Aššur and for which there is joint liability, Ennam-Aššur will give their tablet to Suejja and it will be invalidated, and Ennam-Aššur will sue Kuzia."

109. Cf. above, 160, n. 3.

are invalid ("dead"). Puzur-Aššur, son of Šu-Bēlum, and Šalim-Aššur, son of Šu-Kūbum, testified as witnesses that they had been deducted.¹¹⁰

In fact, this is not really a verdict of the usual type at all, for as far as we can see there was no proper lawsuit involving two parties. The debtor simply went to the colony with his witnesses in order to have certain tablets annulled on the strength of the testimony of the witnesses.

I have already referred to the two texts ICK 1:26 and Gelb 12 which said that certain claims were of a privileged nature,¹¹¹ and of the remaining four texts two are nearly entirely broken,¹¹² and one simply records an order that a man is to pay some money;¹¹³ the last text is a verdict issued by the *hamuštum*, i.e. either the five-man board – in Assur or in Kanesh – or the week-eponym.¹¹⁴ The most probable interpretation is that it was a matter dealt with by an authority in Kanesh for it is not very likely that the five-man board of the city-assembly in Assur should have been involved in this very minor matter; the verdict is said to have been given "before *bēlum*", i.e. most probably in a session before the god Bēlum, but since the text may deal with a slave it is also possible that the term *bēlum* here stands for "the lord", i.e. the owner of the slave. It is not possible to decide with certainty whether *hamuštum* in this text stands for the five-man board in Kanesh or for the week-eponym; the same word is of course to be found in text 2 in the unintelligible first part, and we may with the aid of this document conclude that the bodies called *karrat* [...] and *hamuštum* indeed did appear there as proper judicial groups. However, if either the five-man board or the week-eponyms of Kanesh could give verdicts one wonders whether this happened very often for

110) (1) *kà-ru-um Wa-ah-šu-ša-na* (2) TUR GAL IGI GÍR ša *A-šur* (3) *dí-nam i-dí-ma* (4) 1 DUB-*pu-um* (5) ša 1 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR (6) ša *i-na A-lím^{k1}* (7) ša-*gá-lam qá-bi-ú* (8) 1 DUB-*pu-um* ša $\frac{1}{2}$ MA.NA (9) KUG.BABBAR 1 DUB-*pu-um* <<*ú*>> (10) ša $\frac{1}{3}$ MA.NA 5 GÍN (11) KUG.BABBAR ŠU.NIGIN 3 DUB-*pu* (12) ša *A-lá-hu-um* (13) *a-na E-na-ma-ním* (14) *ú Ma-nu-ba-lu-um-A-šur* (15) *ha-bu-lu* DUB-*pu* (16) *i-mu-tù Puzur4-A-šur* (17) DUMU Šu-Be-lim Šál-ma-A-šur (18) DUMU Šu-Ku-bi4-im (19) *št-bu-ú e-li-ú* (20) *ki-ma ša-aş-hu-ru-ni*

111. Cf. above, 315–316.

112. EL 279 and 280.

113. TC 1:77 (EL 334), a text which belongs together with Dergi 4:2 and TC 2:77.

114. BIN 4:179 (EL 283); cf. the comment above, 169, and below, 355.

there is no other reference to such a situation. One could perhaps suggest that precisely the fact that the text in question deals with such small amounts of money explains why it was decided on such a very low level.

Of the 22 verdicts which are presently available 7 are simply issued by "the colony", in most cases most probably the Kanesh colony; 4 state this provenience clearly, 3 are from the Purušaddum colony, 2 from the Wahušana colony, and the remainder come from the Hahhum colony, the Durhumit colony, the trading stations at Šalatiwar and Ulama, and from the *hamuštum*, i.e. presumably in Kanesh. Two of these texts – both of them in the group of "Sachentscheidungen" – mention the name of one person who is the *pāser awātim*, "the one who solved the case";¹¹⁵ the same expression was found in one of the official *waklum*-letters and it must denote a person who has been charged with the duty to work out a solution to the dispute, perhaps a man whose arbitration or decision the two parties declared themselves prepared to accept.¹¹⁶ It is relatively clear from the use of the phrase *awatam pašārum* in the Statute texts that it covers a deliberation and a decision; if the end of text 2 is restored correctly, we can conclude that such a decision could be reached by a majority vote, so it is quite difficult to see in which way the phrase is different in meaning from the more common words *dīnam di'ānum*. According to the three verdicts one individual was charged with "solving the case", but the Statute texts clearly envisage several persons doing this.¹¹⁷

The tantalizing glimpses which the Statute texts provide of the political and social structure of the colony hint at the existence of a highly formalized system, and the fact alone that such rules as we have were written down and systematized is a clear indication of the complexity and of the orderliness of the administration of the colony. As far as I know we do not possess any other texts of this nature from any Mesopotamian

115. Cf. already above, 191; EL 275 (KTP 17) is a verdict of the Hahhum colony which mentions no other witnesses; EL 278 is a verdict of the Durhumit colony which on the envelope has the remark that it was "sealed by the Durhumit colony", and which shows seven different sealings; none of these can be connected with the name of the man who is said to have been the *pāser awātim*.

116. Note that the word *pāširum* which occurs a few times in private letters is to be understood as denoting a special kind of merchant, one who specialized in retail transactions; cf. Veenhof, *Aspects*, 138.

117. 8 of the verdicts are said expressly to have been issued by the primary assembly of the colony: Dergi 4:2, TC 2:77, EL 334, TC 3:275, EL 280, 319, 277, and 339; these texts fall in both of the groups defined in EL.

city. It is of course tempting to speculate about why such rules were committed to writing, and one always thinks of the idea of reforms as providing the background. We can hardly hope to reach any conclusions, however. It may well be that the economic, political, and social factors which shaped the Assyrian colonies resulted in a society which had completely new needs in terms of political and judicial institutions, so that the structure which was brought with the traders to Anatolia had to be adapted to such a degree that entirely new elements had to be created. I should think that the colonies in Anatolia in many respects represent a high degree of development of the normal structures of the Mesopotamian cities, in the economic and commercial as well as in the political sphere.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Colony as a Legal Person: The Concept *limmum*

The preceding chapters have contained many examples of the colonies and trading posts in action as corporate bodies: functioning as courts of law, writing and receiving letters, sealing tablets, etc. Obviously many decisions of various kinds were taken in meetings of the members of the colony, and the Statute texts have at least provided some insight into the mechanics of the machinery of the colonies. The uniquely important position of the secretary has been described, and it is uncertain whether there were other officials who had a lasting connection with the colonial administration; once, in an unrevealing context in BIN 4:160, we hear of a certain Nûr-ki-ili who is said to be a "slave of the colony",¹ but what that precisely entails is of course quite uncertain. The week-eponyms perhaps held important and powerful positions in the colony at Kanesh as will be shown in the following chapter. However, none of these authorities and officials appear in the quite numerous texts which show how the colony entered as a party to a contractual relationship, a group of references which I shall presently examine. I shall begin with those texts which show the colony as a debtor in relation to a private person.

Many of the references of this kind involve a certain Enlil-bâni, and in the memorandum CCT 1:4 we find no less than three contracts recorded in which the colony is directly involved; these texts make use of various types of terminology so I shall examine them in some detail. The first contract recorded in the memorandum has the following text:

Sealed by Ištar-pâlil, son of Šu-Kûbum; by Šumi-abija, son of Aššur-nîšu; by Ahu-waqar, son of Šu-Ištar; by Lipit-Anum, son of Lâlum. Enlil-bâni has a claim against the colony of 8 minas 18 $\frac{2}{3}$ shekels of refined silver, the price of the textiles from Ikuppîja's caravan. They will pay within six weeks from the week of Šu-Ištar, month

1. (13) $\frac{1}{3}$ MA.NA $\frac{1}{2}$ GÎN KUG.BABBAR *iš-tî* (14) *Nu-ur-ki-li* īR *ša kâ-ri-im*.

Qarrātum, year-eponymy Enna-Suen, son of Šu-Ištar. If they do not pay they will add a monthly interest of 75 grains per mina.
*li-mu-ú Ahu-waqar and Lipit-Anum.*²

This is basically an ordinary deed of loan, but there are two unusual features: 1) the background for a loan is not normally mentioned; the reason may be that the text records a kind of deposit rather than a proper loan; and 2) at the end of the text we find two of the witnesses mentioned and described as *limmu*, i.e. the word is used as a title. Since the contract is dated to a year which is named after another person it is immediately obvious that the term *limmum* must have some other significance here. One notes that the two men have sealed the tablet, and their names are mentioned last, i.e. in the position where in a normal deed of loan we would expect to find the debtor.

The second text recorded on the memorandum is less interesting since it simply refers to the colony in the phrase: "sealed by the Kanesh colony". The text itself is a quittance which records that a certain Aššur-malik has paid part of a debt to the colony, and it is dated to the week of Innaja, son of Amuraja, in the month *Allanātum*, year-eponymy Aššur-malik.

The third contract on the memorandum has the following text:

Sealed by Innaja, son of Elāli; by Ennum-Aššur, son of Šalmah; by Aššur-taklāku, son of Alāhum; by Kulumaja, son of Aššur-imitti; by Aššur-nimrī, son of Idi-Suen.

Enlil-bānī has a claim against the colony of 2 minas 13 shekels of refined silver. They will pay within three months from the week of Mannum-balum-Aššur, month *Ša sarrātim*, year-eponymy after Id-din-ahum. If they do not pay they will add a monthly interest of 75 grains per mina.

2. The text is treated in EL as no. 225; (1) KIŠIB *Ištar-pá-li-il*₅ DUMU *Šu-Ku-bi4-im* (2) KIŠIB *Šu-mi-a-bi-a* DUMU *A-šur-ni-šu* (3) KIŠIB *A-hu-wa-qar* DUMU *Šu-Ištar* KIŠIB *Li-ip-ta-nim* (4) DUMU *La-li-im* 8 MA.NA 18 $\frac{2}{3}$ GÍN (5) *sa-ru-pá-am ši-im* TÚG-tí *ša* ILLAT-at (6) *I-ku-pi-a i-sé-er ká-ri-im* (7) ^aEN. LÍL-ba-ni *i-šu iš-tù* (8) *ha-muš-tim ša Šu-Ištar* ITI 1.KAM *qá-ra-a-tim* (9) *li-mu-um En-na-Sú-in* DUMU *Šu-Ištar* (10) *a-na* 6 *ha-am-ša-tim i-ša-qú-lu* (11) *šu-má-lá iš-qú-lu* $\frac{2}{3}$ GÍN 15 ^aŠE.TA (12) *a-na* 1 MA.NA-im *ši-ib-tám i-ITI.KAM* (13) *ú-šú-bu li-mu-ú A-hu-wa-qar* (14) *ù Li-ip-ta-num*.

Innaja, Ennum-Aššur, and Aššur-taklāku received the money on behalf of the colony.³

The only unusual feature of this text is the note added at the end, and it is of course very tempting to combine it with the passage found in the first text so that the persons who receive the money on behalf of the colony could also be referred to with the term *limmum*. That this is in fact so is proven by the unpublished text e/k 56, a memorandum which has the following lines:

Idi-abum, Ušur-ša-Ištar, and Ilī-nādā *li-mu-ú* received the money on behalf of the colony.⁴

Enlil-bāni is involved as creditor in one more such transaction where the colony acknowledges a debt to him, again a text found in a memorandum, TC 3:213; there are six witnesses and the three last ones recur at the end of the text in the phrase:

On behalf of the colony Mannu-kī-Aššur, Šu-Ištar, and Ilī-nādā received the money.⁵

Also this text has a full date: the week of Šumi-abija in the month *Mah-hur ili*, year-eponymy after Ennam-Anum.

Obviously, the key term is the word *limmum* which ordinarily denotes

3. (23) KIŠIB *I-na-a* DUMU *E-lá-lí* (24) KIŠIB *En-um-A-šur* DUMU *Šál-mah*
 (25) KIŠIB *A-šur-ták-lá-ku* DUMU *A-lá-hi-im* (26) KIŠIB *Ku-lu-ma-a* DUMU
A-šur-i-mi-ti (27) KIŠIB *A-šur-ni-im-ri* DUMU *I-dí-Sú-in* (28) 2 MA.NA 13
 GÍN KUG.BABBAR *ša-ru-pá-am* (29) *i-šé-er ká-ri-im* ⁴EN.LÍL-*ba-ni* (30) *i-šú*
iš-tú ha-muš-tim (31) *ša Ma-nu-ba-lúm-A-šur* ITI.KAM *ša sá-ra-tim* (32) *li-mu-*
um <*ša*> *qá-tí I-dí-a-hi-im* (33) *a-na* ITI 3.KAM *i-ša-qú-lu šu-ma* (34) *lá iš-qú-lu*
 $\frac{2}{3}$ GÍN 15 ŠE.TA *i-na* (35) ITI.KAM *a-na* 1 MA.NA-*im si-ib-tám* (36) *ú-sú-bu*
ki-ma ká-ri-im (37) *I-na-a En-um-A-šur ú A-šur-ták-lá-ku* (38) KUG.BABBAR
il₅-qé-ú.
4. (6) *ki-ma ká-ri-im I-dí-a-bu-um* (7) *Ú-šur-ša-Ištar ú DINGIR-na-da* (8) *li-mu-ú*
 KUG.BABBAR *il₅-qé-ú*; these lines were communicated in Balkan, *Observations*, 99. Balkan has kindly informed me that the text itself is a memorandum which contains the text of three contracts; the three persons mentioned here are among the witnesses to the deed and their patronymics are given in the text.
5. (42) *ki-ma ká-ri-im* (43) *Ma-nu-ki-A-šur Šu-Ištar ú DINGIR-na-da* (44) KUG.
 BABBAR *il₅-qé-ú*.

the year-eponymy or its holder; in these contexts it must of course have some other significance, and it would seem likely on the basis of these few texts to assume that the word denoted individuals who had been empowered to act on behalf of the colony, represent the community when it was involved in a contractual relationship. Such a hypothesis makes excellent sense when tested against the further evidence available. Thus, the colony may appear as the party which entrusts some merchandise for transportation as in the unpublished text a/k 849 where we find the passage:

Aššur-taklāku *li-mu-um* entrusted the tin to Adad-ṣulūli on behalf of the colony.⁶

According to information kindly provided by Professor Balkan, this particular affair took place in the Wahšušana colony, but we have evidence of the same nature from Kanesh as well. Of special interest is the legal protocol BIN 4:103:

li-mu-um Aššur-imittī, Kulumaja, and Hunnija seized us (as witnesses) to their dealings with the attorney Aššur-nišu, and they entrusted to him the tablet-containers which had been sealed by the primary assembly of the Kanesh colony. *li-mu-ú* said as follows: “In the tablet-containers (has been placed):

4 messages which the primary assembly of the Kanesh colony has written;

4 messages from Imdi-ilum which the primary assembly of the Kanesh colony has sealed;

1 certified tablet concerning 44 minas of silver which Šu-Ištar, son of Iliš-tikal, owes as a debt to Aššur-ṭāb – which silver Buzāzu has already paid, but which tablet is being held with reference to 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ minas 5 shekels of silver which constitutes the interest on the money; 1 tablet concerning 20 minas of silver which Amur-ili owes to Aššur-ṭāb, and for which Amur-Aššur, Itūr-ili, and Puzur-Aššur are guarantors.

In all: 10 sealed tablets which the primary assembly has sealed in tablet-containers.”

They entrusted all these tablets to Aššur-nišu, Itūr-ili’s attorney,

6. (5) *A-šur-ták-lá-ku* (6) *li-mu-um ki-ma kà-ri-im* (7) AN.NA *a-na* ^dIM-ṣú-lu-l
(8) *ip-qi-id*; these lines were communicated in Balkan, op. cit., 98.

and they will be deposited (as evidence) before the City and our Lord.

Witnessed by Ennum-Aššur, son of Anninum; by Ṭāb-ṣill-Aššur, son of Aššur-idī; by Ili-ašranni, son of Šu-Bēlum; by Puta, Aššur-malik's packer.⁷

According to this document the primary assembly of the Kanesh colony may seal documents and tablet-containers and write messages, i.e. as a direct result of decisions taken by this body specific administrative and judicial acts are carried out by persons who have somehow been empowered to execute the orders of the assembly. Such persons are once again being referred to with the term *limmum*, and once again it is obvious that it does not denote the year-eponymy – in spite of the absence of a proper dating. It is clear that the case in question represents another example of the highly complicated inheritance suits which concerned a man who had many business deals in progress, involving a great deal of different persons. The primary assembly at Kanesh had conducted a preliminary scrutiny of the case, aided by the attorney sent out from Assur, and the available evidence plus the decisions taken by the Kanesh colony itself is sent on to the city-assembly in the capital where the final decision will be taken.

The term *limmum* is also found in another legal protocol, the unfortunately not very clear Gelb 57 which deals with the highly involved manoeuvres which followed upon the death of the merchant Puzur-Aššur;

7. (1) *li-mu-um A-šūr-i-mì-tí* (2) *Ku-lu-ma-a ù Hu-ni-a* (3) *a-na A-šūr-ni-šu MAŠKIM*
 (4) *iš-bu-tù-ni-a-tí-ma* (5) *ta-ma-lá-ki ku-nu-ke-e* (6) *ša kà-ri-im Kà-né-eš* (7) *sa-he-er GAL ip-qí-du* (8) *um-ma li-mu-ú-ma* (9) *i-na li-bi4 ta-ma-lá-ki* (10) 4 *na-dš-pé-ra-tum* (11) *ša kà-ru-um Kà-ni-iš* (12) *sa-he-er GAL ú-lá-pí-tù* (13) 4 *na-dš-pé-ra-tim ša* (14) *Im-dí-DINGIR ša kà-ru-um* (15) *Kà-ni-iš sa-he-er GAL*
 (16) *ik-nu-ku-š[fl]-na-ni* (17) 1 *DUB-pu-um ha-ar-mu-um* (18) *ša 44 MA.NA*
KUG.BABBAR (19) *ša hu-bu-ul Šu-Ištar DUMU DINGIR-iš-tí-kál* (20) *a-na A-šūr-DU₁₀ ha-bu-lu-ma* (21) *KUG.BABBAR Bu-za-zu iš-qú-lu-ma* (22) *a-na 2/3 MA.NA 5 GÍN KUG.BABBAR* (23) *ši-ba-at KUG.BABBAR DUB-pu-um*
 (24) *uk-ta-lu DUB-pu-um* (25) *ša 20 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR ša a-na* (26) *A-šūr-DU₁₀ A-mur-DINGIR ha-bu-lu-ma* (27) *A-mur-A-šūr I-tur₄-DINGIR* (28) *ù Puzur₄-A-šūr* (29) *qá-ta-tù-ni ŠU.NIGIN 10 DUB-pé-e* (30) *ku-nu-ke-e ša sa-he-er GAL* (31) *i-na ta-ma-lá-ki ik-nu-ku-ni* (32) *mi-ma DUB-pé-e a-ni-ú-tim*
 (33) *a-na A-šūr-ni-šu MAŠKIM* (34) *ša I-tur₄-DINGIR ip-qí-du-ma* (35) *IGI A-lim^{k1} ù be-li-ni* (36) *i-ša-ku-nu* (37) *IGI En-um-A-šūr DUMU A-ni-nim* (38) *IGI DU₁₀-si-lá-A-šūr DUMU A-šūr-i-dí* (39) *IGI l-lí-áš-ra-ni DUMU Šu-Be-lim*
 (40) *IGI Pu-ta kà-ša-ar A-šūr-ma-lik*. The text is treated in EL as no. 298.

his partner Buzāzu played a prominent role and eventually became enmeshed in a suit brought by the heirs, a matter which is dealt with in several texts which have been discussed by Matouš.⁸ A new text, published by Garelli in CCT 6 as no. 15, provides us with the part which is missing in Gelb 57, so the entire section, containing a speech given by Buzāzu to the court, runs as follows:

It was because Puzur-Aššur's sons and daughters hired an attorney to oppose me that I sent my representatives to Zupana, and they entrusted the goods to Kulumaja. The goods came down from the palace and the Envoys of the City and the *li-mu* entrusted the tin for Puzur-Aššur's debt, which he owed to the god Aššur, to the office of the colony.⁹

It is clear that the intervention of the Envoys of the City together with some persons called *limmu* entailed a confiscation of the merchandise which belonged to the dead merchant. The fact that the Envoys of the City are directly involved may be due to a communication from the authorities in the capital, and it is of course the interests of the temple of the god Aššur which are taken care of by the Envoys; this debt is clearly regarded as a privileged claim.¹⁰ It is surely significant that the Envoys of the City act together with persons who represent the colony. The confiscation presumably led to the writing of some document which was issued to Kulumaja who had the merchandise in his possession.

Some of the loans or debts in which the colony was involved are likely to be connected with deposit transactions of some kind. In fact, we have a whole group of references which describe such situations, and we are here once again faced with the difficult "kārum-transactions" which have already been mentioned several times in the preceding chapters; provisionally I have described them as deposits of goods or money in the office of

8. L. Matouš, "Der Streit um den Nachlass des Puzur-Aššur", *ArOr* 37, 1969, 156–180.

9. (31) *ki-ma me-er-ú Puzur₄-A-šūr* (32) *ù DUMU.MÍ Puzur₄-A-šūr* (33) *MAŠKIM e-hu-zu-ni-ni-ma* (34) *a-na ší-a-tí ša ki-ma i-a-tí* (35) *a-Zu-pá-na áš-pu-ur-ma* (36) *lu-qú-tám a-na Ku-lu-ma-a* (37) *ip-qí-du lu-qú-tum iš-tú É.GAL-lim* (38) *ur-da-ma ší-ip-ru ša A-lim^{k1} ú li-mu* (39) *AN.NA a-na hu-bu-ul Puzur₄-A-šūr* (40) *ša a-na ^{a1}A-šūr ha-bu-lu a-na É kà-ri-im [ip-qí-du].*

10. In line 40 of Gelb 57 the strange sign which most of all looks like MAN should presumably be read DINGIR with Matouš, loc. cit., 172.

the colony with a view to participation in collective commercial enterprises which were organized through that office. In the present context I shall concentrate my attention on one aspect, the fact that deposits in the office of the colony were very often acknowledged by persons who were designated *limmum*.

Such transactions are referred to in some texts which can hardly be understood at the present time; an example is the note CCT 1:22a which refers to transactions concerning the trade in copper which took place in the Purušaddum colony:

Out of 143 minas of copper which had been booked in the name of Kuzallum and Idi-Ištar in Purušaddum in the office of the colony they deducted 62 minas, their *šaddu'utum*-tax.

Aššur-nādā will receive 205 minas "to secure".

I deposited on my share one *kutānum*-textile *ina li-mi-im* Lulu and Aššur-ṭāb.

83 minas are not available.

Out of this Aššur-ṭāb will receive 190 minas of my *dātum*.¹¹

It seems obvious that the *limmum*-formula in this place is not a dating; it is also very probable that the person Aššur-ṭāb who appears in that phrase is the same man who will receive some copper from the writer's *dātum*, i.e. he must have been present in Purušaddum. Some of the same persons reappear in the note CCT 5:42b, another text which I admit that I do not understand fully:

Out of 80 minas, our father's share, and 80 minas, Aššur-nādā's share at the rate 15 shekels each for silver and *kutānum*-textiles, 12 minas of Aššur-nādā's and 6 minas of Aššur-taklāku's remain according to our weight.

11. (1) *i-na* 1. *me-at* 43 MA.NA URUDU (2) *ša šu-mi Ku-zal-lim* (3) ḫ *I-di-Ištar* *i-na* (4) *Pu-ru-uš-ha-dim* (5) É *kā-ri-im lá-áp-tù* (6) 1 GÚ 2 MA.NA (7) [ša-d]u-a-sú-nu (8) [iš]-*hi-ru-nim* (9) [3?] GÚ 25 MA.NA (10) *ša kā-ú-ni-im* (11) *A-šür-na-da i-lá-qé* (12) 1 TÚG *ku-ta-nam i-na* (13) *li-mi-im Lu-lu* (14) ḫ *A-šür-DU₁₀* *a-na qd-ti-a* (15) *a-di* 1 GÚ 23 MA.NA (16) *lá ša-li-i!* (17) ŠĀ.BA 3 GÚ 10 MA.NA (18) *ša da-ti-a A-šür-DU₁₀* (19) *i-lá-qé*.

Line 10: the precise meaning of the D-stem of *ku'ānum* in such contexts remains to be determined; cf. for some speculations Garelli, *AC*, 177. Cf. also Veenhof, *Aspects*, 286, n. 416, for some comment on the text.

When they "stored" 20 *kutānum*-textiles Aššur-nādā "deposited" 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ šurum-textile. *li-mu-um* Aššur-nādā and Lulu.

When (it was) 15 *kutānum*-textiles Aššur-nādā "deposited" 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *kutānum*-textile. *li-mu-um* Amur-Ištar and Ilabrat-bānī.

1 *kutānum*-textile, our father's share, and 1 *kutānum*-textile, Aššur-nādā's share, Aššur-taklāku "deposited" when they "stored".

3 shekels of silver of the 5 percent tax on textiles in Purušaddum, 4 shekels of silver of the tithe in Kanesh has been booked with Aššur-taklāku in Kanesh.

The company ... I shall take for the depot of the company.¹²

The extreme brevity of this account makes it impossible to reach a clear understanding of the background for the figures, but it is relatively certain that we have to do with a commercial enterprise which involved the men of one firm, the one to which I have referred repeatedly above, in which Aššur-idi in Assur was the leading figure while his sons (among them Aššur-nādā and Aššur-taklāku) took care of the business in Anatolia.¹³ Both Kuzallum and Idi-Ištar who appear in CCT 1:22a are closely related to the firm, Idi-Ištar perhaps being a son of Aššur-nādā;¹⁴ but also some of the men who appear as *limmūtum* seem to have a close connection:

12. (1) *i-na* 80 MA.NA *qá-tí* (2) *a-bi₄-ni* ȳ 80 MA.NA URUDU (3) *qá-tí A-šúr-na-da* (4) *ša* 15 GÍN TA KUG ȳ TÚG *ku-ta-ni* <ku-ta-ni> (5) 12 MA.NA *ša A-šúr-na-da* <da> (6) 6 MA.NA *ša A-šúr-ta-ak-lá-ku* (7) *i-na áb-ni-ni a-hu-ur* (8) *i-nu-mi* 20 TÚG *ku-ta-ni* (9) *iš-tap-ku-ni* 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ TÚG *šu-ri-im* (10) *A-šúr-na-da i-dí* (11) *li-mu-um A-šúr-na-da* (12) ȳ *Lu-lu i-nu-mi* (13) 15 TÚG *ku-ta-ni* 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ TÚG *ku-ta-nim* (14) *A-šúr-na-da i-dí* (15) *li-mu-um A-mur-Ištar* (16) ȳ ⁴NIN. ŠUBUR-*ba-ni* (17) 1 TÚG *ku-ta-nam qá-tám* (18) *ša a-bi₄-ni* 1 TÚG *ku-ta-nam* (19) *qá-tám ša A-šúr-na-da* (20) *i-nu-mi iš-tap-ku-ni* (21) *A-šúr-ta-ak-lá-ku i-dí* (22) 3 GÍN KUG.BABBAR *i-na me-tum* (23) 5 TÚG *ša Pu-ru-u-ša-ha-dim* (24) 4 GÍN KUG.BABBAR *ša 10-tum* (25) *iš-té-en i-na Ká-né-eš* (26) *iš-tí A-šúr-ta-ak-lá-ku* (27) *i-Ká-né-eš lá-ápt-tù* (28) ILLAT-at [x x] *a a-me-ši-it* (29) <a> ILLAT-*tim a-lá-qé*.

13. Cf. above, 97-99.

14. For Kuzallum I refer to the letter CCT 5:7b which he sent to Aššur-nādā and Ištar-pilah or to BIN 4:119 where he occurs together with Amur-Ištar. Idi-Ištar is better known: he has sent 5 letters to Aššur-nādā in Kanesh (BIN 4:64, CCT 3:16b, 4:3a and 6f, and KTH 1), and these show how he travelled in Anatolia for Aššur-nādā and was involved especially in the trade in copper; especially CCT 4:3a and the letter BIN 4:54 from Hinaja to Aššur-nādā are of interest here since they directly refer to deposit-transactions with the office of the Purušaddum colony where Idi-Ištar acted for Aššur-nādā. The patronymic is attested in CCT 5:3a, 25, a text which also concerns Hinaja.

Amur-Ištar is a prominent man who corresponded with Aššur-idī in Assur and who is mentioned in other texts which deal with the affairs of this firm;¹⁵ and Aššur-tāb likewise occurs in a number of letters.¹⁶ A group of letters exchanged between Aššur-nādā, Aššur-taklāku, and Uṣur-ša-Aššur are concerned with affairs which are obviously closely related to the transactions referred to in the two texts presented here; in KUG 29 Uṣur-ša-Aššur writes to Aššur-nādā:

Concerning the “storing” of textiles which you wrote me about – if there is a possibility for “storing” then I shall “deposit” your father’s share.¹⁷

In KUG 30 Aššur-taklāku asks Aššur-nādā and Uṣur-ša-Aššur:

If there is a possibility for “storing” textiles in the office of the colony, then “deposit” the textiles which I left on our father’s share. If there is a possibility for “storing” silver then let a message reach me so I can send some silver.¹⁸

And in TC 3:90 Aššur-taklāku reproaches Uṣur-ša-Aššur for having cheated him in connection with such transactions; one of the tricks he is accused of was that although there was a possibility to “store” 9 textiles each (i.e. obviously for each man who was entitled to a share), Uṣur-ša-Aššur said to Aššur-taklāku that only seven textiles could be “stored”; for the last two ones he wrote his own name.¹⁹ It seems that Aššur-idī and Aššur-nādā, the two leading figures in the correspondence, were entitled to “shares”, and that the other members of the firm could “deposit” goods and money on these men’s shares whenever there was a

15. He has received the letter L 29-558 from Aššur-idī together with Alāhum, Ili-ālum, and Aššur-taklāku, a text which also refers to a deposit of textiles; see also L 29-561, 9, TC 1:27, 7, ATHE 35, 32, and L 29-620, 13.

16. ATHE 37, 50, BIN 4:71, 9, 17, KUG 27, 41.

17. (16) *a-šu-mi* TŪG.HI.A (17) *ši-ta-áp-ki-im* (18) *ša ta-dá-pu-ra-ni* (19) *šu-ma ši-ta-áp-ku-um* (20) *i-ba-ši* (21) *qá-tám ša a-bi-a-ká* (22) *a-na-dí*.

18. (16) *šu-ma* TŪG.HI.A (17) *a-na É kà-ri-im ši-ta-áp-ku-um* (18) *i-ba-ši* TŪG.HI.A *ša e-zí-bu* (19) *a-qá-tí a-bi-ni i-dú* (20) *šu-ma* KUG.BABBAR *ši-ta-áp-ku-um* (21) *i-ba-ši tí-ir-ta-ká* (22) *li-li-kam-ma* (23) KUG.BABBAR *lu-šé-biá-lam*.

19. (28) 9 TŪG.TA *iš-ta-pu-ku* 7 TŪG.TA (29) *ta-aq-ta-bi-a-am* 2 TŪG (30) *ša iš-tí-a ta-ah-bu-lu ta-am-li-a-at* (31) *qá-tim ša a-bi-ni ta-di-ma šu-um-ká* (32) *ta-al-ta-pá-at*.

possibility for doing so. Obviously it must have been a very advantageous kind of commercial activity for the merchants, and it seems very clear that we must understand it as some kind of collective operation which was organized via the office of the colony.

As far as the *limmum*-formulae in these texts are concerned, it seems beyond doubt that there is no connection with the year-eponymy but that the title serves to designate the men who were somehow responsible for the receipt of the deposits made in the office of the colony; possibly they could be the men who were chosen to handle the communal commercial operation. This view is corroborated by the remaining evidence, and as a matter of fact we do have some more references to similar situations. The unpublished text a/k 114 gives first a list of personal names which each is connected with a number of textiles, and the text ends with the remark:

This we deposited in the office of the colony. *li-mu-um Aššur-bēl-awātim*. Witnessed by Tamrija.²⁰

This has been taken as a dating but there is no other reference to a year-eponym of this name and when placed in the right context it becomes clear that the text is not dated. Here we also have to place another unpublished text, c/k 1338, a note which records a payment to the office of the colony and ends with the words:

*li-mu-um Aššur-imitti, Šu-Suen, and Aššur-tāb.*²¹

I shall not discuss each individual example but simply present the available evidence in the following:

BIN 4:158:

When they cleared the account I was booked for 1 *kutānum*-textile of those he will receive; I have invested one extra and when they "stored" one each I invested 1 *kutānum*-textile. I "deposited" 2 *kutānum*-textiles when it was two each. *li-mu-um Šu-Bēlum.*²²

20. (12) É *kā-ri-im* (13) *ni-dī-t li-mu-um* (14) *A-šur-be-el-a-wa-tim* (15) IGI *Ta-am-ri-a*; these lines communicated by Balkan, op. cit., 82.
21. (13) *li-mu-um* (14) *A-šūr-l-mi-ti* (15) *Šu-Sū-in* (16) ӯ *A-šūr-DU₁₀*; these lines communicated in Balkan, op. cit., 98.
22. (1) [i-n]u-mi *iz-me-ru-ni* (2) [1 TŪG] *ku-ta-nam* (3) *i-na ša i-lá-qé-<ú>* (4) *lá-ápt-a-ku DIRI* (5) *a-dī-ma i-nu-mi iš-ti-na* (6) *iš-ta-áp-ku-ni* (7) 1 TŪG *ku-ta-nam a-dī-im* (8) 2 TŪG *ku-ta-ni* (9) *i-na ša-na-ni-im* (10) *a-dī li-mu-um* (11) *Šu-Be-lum.*

ICK 1:144:

1 textile: 30 shekels. 1 textile: 26 shekels. *li-mu-um* Šal[im-...].²³

CCT 1:28b:

I “deposited” 12¹/₃ *kutānum*-textiles and one thin textile in the office of the colony. *ina li-mi-ni*.²⁴

CCT 1:32b

They deducted [amounts]; the rest of my silver, 27 shekels, is “with” the colony. *li-mu-um* Aššur-imitti.²⁵

KTS 50c:

When the queen of Wahšusana entered (for an audience) I gave her one *kutānum*-textile and one *šurum*-textile as a gift. I shall submit 45 shekels for the accounting. *li-mu-um* Pappālum’s son and his partners.²⁶

Two more texts, ICK 2:131²⁷ and 319,²⁸ seem to belong in this context as well but they are too damaged to make a translation feasible. It is

Line 1: the precise meaning of *zamārum* may not be known as yet, although the interpretation given in CAD s.v.: “to account for (?), to count (?)”, must be basically correct; cf. also the equation: ŠID: *ta-za-am-m[i-i]* in CT 44:24, rev. 18. – Line 9: the contrast *ištēnā*: *ina šanānim* is as far as I know unique.

23. (1) 1 TÚG ½ MA.NA (2) 1 TÚG ⅓ MA.NA 6 GÍN (3) *li-mu-um* (4) Šál-[ma-]“*A*? “[*šur*]”; this reading was suggested by Balkan who identifies this man with the eponym Šalim-Aššur, son of Kukkusija (no. 54 in the list in *Observations*). However, as I shall show below, 351–352, it is not certain the latter man was really a year-eponym; the reading seems so uncertain that I have refrained from using the passage in my table below.

24. (1) 12⅓ *ku-ta-nu* (2) 1 TÚG *ra-qá-tám* (3) *a-na* É *ká-ri-i[m]* (4) *a-dí i-na li-mi-ni*.

25. (8) *ú-sa-he-ru-nim* (9) *ši-tí* KUG.BABBAR-*pí-a* (10) ⅓ MA.NA 7 GÍN (11) KI *ká-ri-im* (12) *li-mu-um* (13) *A-šur-i-mi-tí*.

26. (1) *i-nu-mí ru-ba-tum* (2) *Wa-ah-šu-ša-na-i-rú* (3) *té-ru-ba-ni* (4) 1 *ku-ta-na-am* (5) 1 TÚG *šu-ru-am* (6) *a-na ni-iš-e-em* (7) *a-dí-in* (8) ⅔ MA.NA 5 GÍN (9) *i-ni-ká-sí* (10) *a-ša-kán* (11) *li-mu-um* (12) DUMU *Pá-pá-lim* (13) ù TAB.BA-ú-šu.

The text was treated in EL as no. 150, but my own collation has shown that the last line – which is very clear – was forgotten on the original copy.

27. (33) 3 MA.NA KUG.BABBAR [(...)] (34) É *ká-ri-im a-na ni-ká-sí[...]* (35) *na-ad-a-ku li-mu-um* [(...)] (36) *Bu-zu-ta-a* ù [x x (x)-in [(...)]].

28. (1) 2 TÚG ⅔ [MA.NA] [...] (3) *ša ba-r[i...]* (4) 1 TÚG ⅓ MA.[NA] (5) *bi-...* (6) *li-mu-um* (7) *Da-da[(-num)]* (8) ù “*A-lá*”-*h[u-um]*.

certain that the unpublished material will provide us with more examples of this nature; it may also be assumed that there are more cases in the already published texts for the word which has constituted the "Leitmotif" in the references presented above, *limmum*, does not necessarily have to be used. The following table contains the evidence which is presently available to me and it includes all the references given above, also those where *limmum* was not expressly used.²⁹ In order to provide a basis for further discussion I have indicated which names are attested as the names of week- and year-eponyms.

		w.-e.	y.-e.
1) Ahu-waqar, son of Šu-Ištar	CCT 1:4, 13	÷	÷
2) Alāhum	ICK 2:319, 8	+	+
3) Amur-Ištar	CCT 5:42b, 15	+	÷
4) Aššur-bēl-awātim	a/k 114, 14	+	÷
5) Aššur-imitti	BIN 4:103, 1; CCT 1:32b, 13; c/k 1338, 14	+	+
6) Aššur-nādā	CCT 5:42b, 11	+	+
7) Aššur-taklāku	a/k 849, 5	+	÷
8) idem, son of Alāhum	CCT 1:4, 37*	+	÷
9) Aššur-tāb	CCT 1:22a, 14; c/k 1338, 16	+	÷
10) Buzutaja	ICK 2:131, 36	+	+
11) Dadā[num]	ICK 2:319, 7	+	÷
12) Ennum-Aššur, son of Šalmah	CCT 1:4, 37*	+	÷
13) Hunnija	BIN 4:103, 2	÷	÷
14) Idi-abum, son of Aššur-rabi	e/k 56, 6	+	÷
15) Ilabrat-bāni	CCT 5:42b, 16	÷	÷
16) Ili-nādā, son of Aššur-nādā	TC 3:213, 43*; e/k 56, 7	? ³⁰	÷
17) Innaja, son of Elāli	CCT 1:4, 37*	÷	÷
18) Kulumaja	BIN 4:103, 2	+	÷ ³¹

29. These are marked with an asterisk.

30. An Ili-nādā whose father's name is not known appears as week-eponym in ICK 1:8 and in the list of week-eponyms TMH 1:24d.

31. Known as week-eponym only in unpublished texts.

		w.-e.	y.-e.
19) Lipit-Anum, son of Lālum	CCT 1:4, 14	? ³²	÷
20) Lulu	CCT 1:22a, 13; 5:42b, 12	÷	÷
21) Mannu-ki-Aššur, son of Puzur-Ištar	TC 3:213, 43*	? ³³	÷
22) Šu-Bēlum	BIN 4:158, 11	+	÷
23) Šu-Ištar, son of Aššur-bānī	TC 3:213, 43*	? ³⁴	÷
24) Šu-Suen	c/k 1338, 15	+	+
25) Ušur-ša-Ištar, son of Aššur-imitti	e/k 56, 7	? ³⁵	÷
26) Pappālum's son	KTS 50c, 12	? ³⁶	?

This material gives rise to three basic questions: 1) if these men acted on behalf of the colony, then what kind of responsibility did they have? 2) Who were these men, and did they act on an *ad hoc* basis or were they officials with a tenure? 3) What is the meaning of the term *limmum*?

The first question cannot be answered, but we are of course free to speculate and compare with what little that can be said about the year-eponyms in Assur. I would believe that the power to act on behalf of the community must have entailed some responsibility for these acts.

As for the second question, it may be seen that 15, and perhaps as many as 21, of the names are known as the names of week-eponyms in Kanesh,

32. A Lipit-Anum whose father's name is not known appears as week-eponym in VAT 13513 (EL 226), Gelb 56 and 59; the first and last of these texts are concerned with the affairs of Enlil-bānī just like CCT 1:4.
33. A Mannu-ki-Aššur whose father's name is not known appears as week-eponym in BIN 6:238; as pointed out already by Veenhof, Aspects, 62, also this text records affairs of Enlil-bānī just like TC 3:213.
34. A Šu-Ištar whose father's name is not known appears as week-eponym in CCT 1:4 (cf. note 2 on page 334), and in Berytus 3.
35. An Ušur-ša-Ištar whose father's name is not known appears as week-eponym in TC 3:249.
36. There is a year-eponym called Šu-Suen, son of Pappālum, and a week-eponym called Idi-Aššur, son of Pappālum; Balkan wanted to connect our reference with the year-eponym, of course, but that is made doubly unlikely after the collation has shown that there was a line missing at the end of the text; there are no cases otherwise of year-eponyms being referred to simply with their patronymic, but that is not too unusual for week-eponyms; in fact, precisely Idi-Aššur is often referred to simply as *mera Pappālum* (cf. K. Balkan, "The Old Assyrian Week", AS 16, 166-167).

whereas no more than 5, perhaps 6, of the names recur as the names of year-eponyms; moreover, 3 of the week-eponyms, or perhaps as many as 9, have patronymics to prove that we are in fact faced with identity of person, but none of the names which are found as year-eponyms have patronymics. Since we have about 160 names of week-eponyms and ca. 70 names of year-eponyms, it is clear that we can exclude the possibility that the list has any connection with the year-eponymy, and it is not at all unreasonable to postulate some relation with the week-eponymy. However, we must not be lured into the assumption that the texts discussed here really illustrate week-eponyms in action as executive officials. Three very strong arguments combine to make such a theory quite untenable: 1) some of the texts contain full dates which mention the current week-eponym(s) and in no instance is there agreement between the date and the names of the persons who represent the colony; these could thus not be the current week-eponyms. 2) Some of the texts show that as many as three men could represent the colony, but the datings indicate that no more than two persons could hold the week-eponymy at the same time. 3) Some of the transactions recorded took place in colonies other than Kanesh, and it is unlikely that week-eponyms would be present in such places.

What does appear from these considerations is that the men who occasionally are mentioned as representing the colony were persons who belonged in the Anatolian milieu, they were members of the local colonial society. This is an important observation for the use of the word *limmum* in our texts has led to a good deal of confusion. As far as I can see, all scholars have agreed that the word refers to the year-eponymy and the men who are mentioned in the texts presented here have accordingly been placed in the list of holders of the year-eponymy. Our texts also constitute the basis for Jankowska's theory about a kind of committee of year-eponyms consisting of three men who served together for a period of one thousand days – hence the etymological explanation of the term as *limum* which indeed means “one-thousand”.³⁷ One should note that some of our texts show that three men could appear together representing the colony: the three persons who are called *limmu* in BIN 4:103 must have been present in Kanesh – so there would not be any year-eponym in Assur at all, and in CCT 1:4 and TC 3:213 we find three men representing the colony (although not referred to as *limmum*) in a year which was named after a

37. Jankowska, *ArOr* 35, 1967, 534.

fourth man; but, as Professor Balkan has kindly informed me, the decisive proof that Jankowska's theory is incorrect comes from e/k 56 in which we have 3 men referred to as *li-mu-ú*, representing the colony in a year which was named after Buzutaja.³⁸

J. Lewy has offered a different, but equally untenable, theory which has been adopted by Garelli, and which therefore should be examined once again. It is to a large extent based on the memorandum CCT 1:4, the text which contained three contracts in which the Kanesh colony was mentioned; we do not know for certain what purpose such memoranda served but they contain copies of the text of a number of contracts in which a certain firm has an interest, i.e. usually appears as creditor. Perhaps the original deeds had to be sent to Assur at certain intervals so that the memoranda were used in the bookkeeping of the branch-offices in the colonies. In CCT 1:4 we have the following contracts:

debtor	creditor	date	note
1) the colony	Enlil-bānī	w. Šu-Ištar, y. Enna-Suen, s. Šu-Ištar	<i>limmu</i> Ahu-waqar and Lipit-Anum
2) Aššur-malik	the colony	w. Innaja, s. Amuraja, y. Aššur-malik	seal of the colony
3) the colony	Enlil-bānī	w. Mannum-balum-Aššur, y. Iddin-ahum + 1	Innaja, Ennum-Aššur, and Aššur-taklāku for <i>kārum</i>
4) Aššur-ṭāb	Aššur-malik	w. Puzur-šadue and Itūr-ili, y. Adad-bānī	

38. One single strange text, ICK 2:47, remains unexplained: (1) 3 MA.NA KUG. BABBAR (2) *sa-ru-pá-am i-ṣé-er* (3) *Šu-A-nim Im-di-lúm* (4) *i-šu iš-tú* (5) [(x)] *‘x’ hu-a-NAM* (6) [a-na] 2 *ša-na-at* (7) [i-š]a-qal (8) [su-ma] *‘i’-na ma-lá* (9) [*u4-me-š]u lá eš-qul* (10) [1 MA.N]A-um (11) [x MA.]NA *si-ib-tám* (12) [I]-mu-um (13) [*Ša-l]im-A-šur DUMU Ha-lá-ni-a* (14) *‘ù’ A-mur-A-šùr* (15) DUMU DINGIR-*ra-bi4* (16) IGI *A-šur-ma-lik* (17) IGI *A-zu-zu*, "Imdi-ilum has a claim against Šu-Anum of 3 minas of refined silver. [Within] 2 years from ... he will pay. [If] he does not pay within [the agreed term] (he must pay) an interest of [x] mina per mina. *limmum*: Šalim-Aššur, son of Halanija, and Amur-Ašur, son of Ili-rabi. Witnessed by Aššur-malik and by Azuzu."

None of the persons who appear to be referred to as *limmu* is attested as year-eponym; there is a certain Amur-Aššur who was year-eponym but his father was Karrija. The date (?) in line 5 is without parallel; in line 11 or 12 one looks in vain for the verb *uṣab*. I cannot offer any explanation of this document but I am of the opinion that it is unlikely to refer to a case of a double year-eponymy.

According to Lewy's comment in EL³⁹ this text as a whole recorded affairs of the colony, and he claimed that Aššur-malik, the debtor in text 2, the year-eponym of the same text, and the creditor of text 4 were identical. The last text should thus be a loan extended to the private individual Aššur-tāb by the colony represented by Aššur-malik. The year-eponym must accordingly have been present in Kanesh during the year which was named after him, and Lewy stated that Aššur-malik was acting as a member of a group of "Beamte" who were *limmum*-officials and who represented the colony in such situations.⁴⁰

This is not a viable interpretation, however. First of all one must admit that the four texts are combined in one memorandum because they recorded business deals which involved the firm in which Aššur-malik and his son Enlil-bāni played leading roles;⁴¹ text 2 was included because it is a quittance which of course would have been kept by the debtor as proof of his payment. And Aššur-malik, son of Luzina, is not identical with the year-eponym who is known from several texts to have been the son of Alāhum. In other words, it is pure coincidence that this particular text records three contracts which involved the Kanesh colony.

The basic mistake committed by Lewy is that he failed to distinguish clearly between conditions in Assur and in the colonies; at least the current year-eponyms were most definitely present in the capital so the men who are designated *limmum* in the colonies must have some other background. He also commented upon the text BIN 4:103 in which we find the three men Aššur-imitti, Kulumaja, and Hunnija as *limmu*, and Lewy noted that the two last ones are known as the names of sons of Aššur-imitti. From this he went on to conclude that they:

als solche [i.e. sons] gleichfalls den Eponymentitel führten bzw. auch selbst als Eponymen fungierten. Auf Erblichkeit des Eponymats weist denn auch, dass ganz entsprechend sowohl ein Aššur-taklāku, Sohn des Al(i)-ahum, als ein Al(i)-ahum als Fünfteljahresponymen [i.e. "week-eponyms"] begegnen.⁴²

In other words, Lewy wanted to extend the use of the term *limmum* to denote not only all holders of an eponymous office, year- and week-

39. Cf. EL 1, 317-225.

40. Cf. also Garelli, AC, 201 with n. 4.

41. Cf. above, 83.

42. EL 2, 13, n. b.

eponymy alike, but even the sons of a person who had been eponym. It is accordingly a kind of honorary title. However, *limmum* is not a title which occurs outside of dates except for the examples which have been presented here.

Garelli in the same way fails to distinguish between Assur and the colonies and says that the *limmu* – “ces personnages, dont les noms servent à dater les années” – assumed the representation of the colonies in Anatolia, acting on behalf of the state machinery in the capital. The following statement is typical:

Le *kârum* de Kanish n'était pas un organisme indépendant. Il était subordonné aux autorités de la ville d'Assur, qui siégeaient dans le *bît alim*, “la maison de la Ville”. Cet Hôtel de Ville était parfois désigné comme “la maison des éponymes”. Or, nous connaissons les noms des dirigeants du *kârum* de Kanish: ils étaient aussi les éponymes.⁴⁸

If we should accept these explanations, we would have to assume either that several persons were appointed as *limmum* each year, only one of them being the eponymous *limmum*, and some of the others being sent to the colonies where they would govern the colonies on behalf of the authorities in Assur; or that the title *limmum* was retained for life by those who had once served as eonyms, and that such men came to take up powerful posts in the administrative apparatus of the colonies. Both of these hypotheses are at best incapable of proof and it is in fact difficult to find any arguments in favour of any of them. I am in basic agreement with Garelli in his view of the relations between the capital and the colonies which were ideally extensions of the government of the capital, but I do believe that he overstates his position and fails to acknowledge the very real element of self-government – or at least self-administration – which was present in the colonial system. It seems clear to me that the men who are referred to as *limmum* in the colonies were local persons who

43. P. Garelli, *Le Proche-Orient Asiatique*, Nouvelle Clio 2, Paris 1969, 119. Garelli goes on to say: “Ce qui ressort avec le plus de netteté c'est la part active prise par les éponymes au commerce de la Cappadoce. On les voit avancer des capitaux, réglementer les prix, fixer le taux de l'intérêt, contrôler les exportations et la marche des caravanes, sans qu'on puisse toujours bien distinguer leurs activités officielles de leurs activités personnelles.” The same ideas are expressed in *AC*, 201–202.

had been empowered to represent the colony of which they were members, not officials sent out from the central government in Assur. And the term *limmum* is used in a rather precise way, not as a honorary title; accordingly, we cannot on the basis of these references assume the existence of a kind of Areopagus in the capital, an institution which has no basis in our material.

A direct connection between the use of the term *limmum* and either of the two eponymic institutions cannot be established, and that raises some knotty problems concerning the etymology and meaning of the word itself. It should perhaps be said that my transcription is not based on a clear analysis of the word since I do not know of any convincing explanation which could establish once and for all whether the correct form is *limum* or *limmum*; one suspects that both were possible and our dictionaries accept them as such. Of the two etymological explanations on record I have already referred to one, the one offered by Jankowska, and it has been rejected; the other one has most recently been revived by Kienast who connects the word with the root *lwi*, "to surround".⁴⁴ He writes that the derivation is to be understood as being according to the pattern *pirs*, "also aus **lim'um*", but this is hardly convincing without some further explanation which accounts for the evolution from **liw'um* to the forms attested in our material. On the basis of this etymology Kienast concludes that the "original" meaning of the word was "period", specifically connected with the concepts "tenure" and "eponymy", and the use of the word as a title should be secondary. The Old Assyrian material does not represent that original stage, for in our texts we find the word used to denote both the eponymy and the eponym. In the standard formula found in the datings, where we invariably have: *limmum PN*, it is of course difficult to see which concept is referred to; according to *AHw* we should understand the phrase as: "eponym: PN", i.e. as a title, but *CAD* wants to translate: "eponymy: PN". I favour the latter interpretation in view of such passages as:

VAT 9225, 8–11:

ina kuzalle anni'ūtim ša limmim PN, "in this (month of) *kuzallu* of the eponymy PN",

44. *ATHE*, 4; Kienast refers to the old dictionaries of F. Delitzsch and A. Muus-Arnolt in explanation of the form, but that will not do.

KUG 35, 21–23:

ištu limmim PN warah hubur ana šamat, “from the eponymy PN, month *Hubur*, and for one year”,

BIN 6:38, 6–7:

illimmim PN addinakkum, “I gave it to you in the eponymy PN.”

The examples from Anatolia contained some clear references to the word used as a title but there was one text which had the phrase *ina limmini*, “in our *limmum*”.⁴⁵ If this is to be understood in the obvious way, i.e. as a reference to a tenure of some kind, “while we hold the eponymy”, we should obviously think of the week-eponymy, but I have already pointed out why such a direct connection is unlikely. The phrase in question constitutes a complete parallel to the mandatory phrase: *hamuštum ša PN* “the week of PN”, and thus contrasts with the formula used for the year-dates where we have *limmum PN*. There are in all five examples of such a genitival construction used with *limmum* and I propose to examine them in some detail; one will note that none of them is found in a proper date-formula:

CCT 1:10a, 18–21:

ištu limmim ša Iduwa 10 GÍN-um 1 GÍN.TA ina warhim illakšum, “from the *limmum* of Iduwa a monthly interest at the rate of 1 shekel per 10 shekels will accrue for him”;

TC 3:243, 13–17:

inūmi limmum ša Amur-Aššur Ahu-waqar e-ri-šu kaspam Puzur-Ištar išaqqal, “when (it is) the *limmum* of Amur-Aššur Ahu-waqar will ask him(?) and Puzur-Ištar will pay the money”;

VAT 9218, 18–19:

4²/₃ mana 3 šiqil <ana> limmim ša Aššur-dān, “4²/₃ minas 3 shekels (for) the *limmum* of Aššur-dān”;

KTS 49b, 5–8:

[x silver] *ana hubullija allimmim ša Šalim-Aššur mera Kukkusija*, “[x silver] for my debt to the *limmum* of Šalim-Aššur, son of Kukkusija”;

45. CCT 1:28b, cf. above, 343.

TC 1:30, 33:

[x silver] *ana limmim ša Ibni-Adad illak*, “[x silver] will accrue to the *limmum* of Ibni-Adad”.

Of the men found in these formulae only 2, Amur-Aššur and Ibni-Adad, are attested as year-eponyms in datings, an observation which immediately gives rise to a deep suspicion whether the references refer to the year-eponymy at all. Particularly striking is the case of VAT 9218 where we have Aššur-dān, for in the same text we hear of payments for the eponyms Šu-Hubur and Aššur-damiq,⁴⁶ in both cases in the formula without *ša*, and these men are known as year-eponyms from a great number of texts; in fact, as shown by the chart of eponyms in the Appendix, these two eponymies can be placed chronologically close together. So, why do we not have one single ordinary text dated to the eponymy of Aššur-dān?

As to Amur-Aššur, it cannot be excluded that he does appear as year-eponym in our text as well, but the context is rather obscure. If we accept that *inūmi*, “when”, in this case refers to his tenure as year-eponym, we have three possible interpretations: 1) it could be a kind of gambling contract where the loan was to be repaid when – and if – a certain event took place, i.e. the appointment of Amur-Aššur as year-eponym; 2) it could be known on beforehand that Amur-Aššur was going to serve as year-eponym in one of the immediately following years; 3) we could suggest a rather clumsy grammatical construction which should be rendered: “when – within the eponymy of Amur-Aššur – Ahu-waqar will ask for the money,⁴⁷ Puzur-Ištar will pay.” This could then refer to the current year.

Gambling contracts are otherwise unknown and the explanation is unsatisfactory. And all other evidence seems to make it clear that it was *not* known on beforehand who was going to take over the year-eponymy; accordingly, I believe that the third solution is the only possible one.

The other examples must in the main stand unexplained and it remains doubtful whether they refer to the year-eponymy at all. CCT 1:10a could be understood as a date, of course, and KTS 49b and TC 1:30 could be connected with the texts which refer to debts due to the eponyms or their office in Assur. It is accordingly very little help that they can provide for our understanding of the examples from the colonies, but we can at least

46. Cf. above, 195 with n. 16.

47. The verbal form *e-ri-šu* could of course be either a subjunctive or the indicative with an accusative suffix.

say that the notion of a tenure of some kind, an office held by the persons who acted on behalf of the colonies, cannot be excluded. The strange phrase "in our *limmum*" could also be understood in a different way, however, for it could denote the authority inherent in the position which these persons held.

The word may denote various aspects of the basic concept: one can be a *limmum*, i.e. the word may be a title; one can have a *limmum*, i.e. it may perhaps denote an office; and one can name a *limmum*. One of the more remarkable features of the references from Anatolia is that the singular form in some cases is used even when two or more personal names follow, a fact which indicates an abstract meaning for the word. It is readily obvious that the available evidence does not allow a definitive analysis to be made, but I venture to propose that the word refers to the following closely connected concepts: 1) the power to represent the community, 2) the tenure of office of the person(s) thus empowered, and 3) those persons themselves. The references from Anatolia may have to be explained in terms of meanings 1) and 3), i.e. the situations involved an *ad hoc* delegation of certain representative powers to individuals chosen by the colony. I shall return to these questions in the following chapter where it is suggested that there may be some connection with the week-eponymy after all.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Week-Eponymy

An eponymous system which names specific periods of time after individuals must reflect some underlying structure of an administrative or political nature, for one can hardly believe that the persons who gave their names to the weeks and years did not also function in some capacity during those periods. This can certainly be demonstrated in the case of the year-eponymy, even though in the course of time the office appears to have lost its meaning so that only the calendrical aspects retained a real significance, and it is *a priori* most likely that the week-eponymy in Kanesh had a direct connection with the administration of the colonial system. Unfortunately, it is hardly possible to go beyond plausible guess-work since the available evidence is not very helpful. The word *hamuštum* which is closely associated with the week-eponymy is difficult and creates problems which affect both the question of the length of the "week" and the nature of the week-eponymy.¹ Moreover, most authorities seem to accept that the word *hamištum*, which has been discussed above in connection with the description of the "five-man board" in the city-assembly in Assur, is also represented in the Old Assyrian material in the by-form *hamuštum*, i.e. indistinguishable from the word which denotes a "week". And those who reject this identification nevertheless claim that a five-man board (or shall we say: a *hamištum*) did exist in Kanesh and was closely connected with the week-eponymy.

In this situation we are not helped by the normal date-formulae. The constant use of the phrase *hamuštum ša PN*, i.e. the genitival construction which is so rare with the term *limmum*, shows that in such contexts at least we must not think of the word as a title. One single atypical date is known, saying: "Šarra-Suen and Kurub-Ištar hold the *hamuštum*".² The term may here refer to the office or function rather than a period of time, but in the datings it is probable that *hamuštum* does denote the latter con-

1. For literature and the most recent discussion I refer to K. Balkan, "The Old Assyrian Week", *AS* 16, 1965, 159–174, as well as Jankowska, *ArOr* 35, 1967, 524–548. Balkan deliberately abstained from a discussion of the week-eponymy as an administrative institution.

2. c/k 471, 10–12, cf. Balkan, op. cit., 168.

cept, which could for convenience be called "a week". Outside of real datings this meaning does appear to be the basic one; I refer to such passages as: *ina šanīm ūmim ša hamuštim*, "on the second day of the week", or: *ina hamuštim ša illakanni*, "in the coming week".³ The question of the length of such a "week" is of no relevance in this context, and it can hardly be resolved at the present time, but the basic problem is of course the precise meaning of the word itself: whether it means "one-fifth" (and then: one-fifth of what?), or whether it means "a group of five" (i.e. days).

It should be stressed that in all references known to me in which we have the word in such a context that it cannot be confused with any other term it denotes a period of time;⁴ in two texts, text 2 of the Statutes and the verdict BIN 4:179, it appears in such a context that it could be a title, i.e. "the week-eponym", but our dictionaries explain both references as showing by-forms of *hamištum*⁵. Such an interchange of the two forms is in fact attested in Old Babylonian texts.⁶ The two Old Assyrian texts do not provide us with any clear basis for a decision, but we may at least spell out the consequences of each of the two possibilities. If we accept the theory that the texts show us the week-eponyms in action, it follows that these men played a role in the judicial system of the Kanesh colony, and furthermore that there is no reference to a five-man board in Kanesh. So the relationship between week-eponymy and *hamištum*-committee which has been postulated e.g. by Jankowska cannot be upheld.⁷ On the other hand, if the two texts refer to the five-man board in Kanesh, we have no evidence whatsoever to indicate what the week-eponyms did or what position they held in the administrative hierarchy.

That week-eponymy and five-man board should be in any way con-

3. Cf. Balkan, op. cit., 160.

4. For a discussion of the references which may be called "atypical" I refer to the Appendix, 383–385; they have no relevance for this chapter.

5. BIN 4:179 is treated in EL as no. 283 under the heading: "Rechtsspruch des Fünftels", and on page 141, n. b, he explained that this was a designation for the group of persons who were to take care of the running business of the community; although he thus did not accept *hamištum* and *hamuštum* as designations of a five-man council, he did take these unusual references as examples of the *hamištum*, not the functioning week-eponym.

6. Cf. A. Goetze, "Number Idioms in Old Babylonian", *JNES* 5, 1946, 192.

7. She explains the term *hamuštum* as "always the term of office of a certain person or persons", and *hamištum* (and the plural *hamšātum*) denotes "the committee itself" (*KTK*, 254).

nected seems also to be disproven by the evidence concerning the week-system from the capital itself. We have only two references to the dates used in Assur, one found in a letter which says that certain men will leave the capital "in less than ten days, (in) the 'week of the figs,'"⁸ and one found on a large votive vase where it is said that it was made "in the week of Tašmētum-of-the-open-window."⁹ The latter reference clearly shows that the week was named after a religious festival, honouring the goddess Tašmētum as a hierodule; and the first reference shows that the week was named after a month, *Tē'inātum*, perhaps once again indirectly referring to a festival. The important conclusion here is of course that the week-system in the capital was not eponymous; so, there were no week-eponyms in Assur where we have clear references to the five-man board.

It is not surprising that the capital did not use the same system of named weeks as the colonies for it would obviously have been quite complicated, and politically rather absurd, to name the weeks in Assur after men who served in some capacity in Kanesh. A question which may be asked is whether this week-system was made use of in the other colonies and trading stations; if this can be demonstrated – and I do not know of any decisive evidence – it follows that the week-eponymy must have been based on a relatively firm schedule, for it is obviously absurd to imagine that a messenger should have been sent from Kanesh to all the other colonies each week with the name of the new week-eponym. It is certain that the week-eponyms did function in Kanesh; the contract ICK 1:21a shows how the current week-eponym was involved in a transaction which took place there,¹⁰ and also the most simple prosopographic observations

8. TC 1:3: (20) *a-na lá 10 u₄-me ha-mu-uš-tum* (21) *ša té-i-na-tim* (22) *ra-bi₄-šú-um* *ù l̄-li-ba-ni* (23) *ú-sú-nim*.
9. Assur Photo no. 4062, cf. H. and J. Lewy, "The Origin of the Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar", *HUCA* 17, 1943, 53–54; (4) *ha-mu-uš-tum* (5) *ša Ta-dáš-me-tim* (6) *ša ba-áb a-áp-tim* (7) *A-śur-e-nam* (8) DUMU *A-a-a e-pu-ši-na*.
10. The phraseology of the dating is quite unusual in this text; it is an envelope on which the debtor, Pilah-Aššur, son of Dädum, has sealed last, and it says that Pilah-Aššur has left 2 minas of silver in the Anatolian town Šinahuttum [cf. Trolle Larsen, *JCS* 24, 1972, 100–101]; it then continues: (7) *a-na Ši-na-hu-tim Pi-la-ah-A-śur* (8) *ù Sú-na-da ú-lá ša ki-ma* (9) *Sú-na-da i-lu-ku-ma KUG.BAB-BAR* (10) 2 MA.NA 10 *u₄-me i-na Ši-na-hu-tim* (11) *i-ma-nu-ú-ma Pi-lá-ah-A-śur* (12) *i-śa-qal šu-ma la iš-qú-ul* (13) *a-na MA.NA-im 3 GÍN.TA* (14) *i-na ITI ú-śa-áb iš-tù* (15) *ha-mu-uš-tim ša Pi-lá-ah-A-śur* (16) DUMU *Da-dim*,

confirm this position.¹¹ It is therefore logical to assume that the Kanesh system of weekly eponyms represents a adaptation of an original system which was found in Assur, a system which was a purely calendaric institution. The change to an eponymous system was presumably modelled over the year-eponymy and it seems to entail a connection with the administrative structure of the Kanesh colony. This reasonable assumption leads to the conclusion that the week-eponyms in fact did hold an office which was of some importance in the colony, and I should also think that the existence of such a feature in the administrative structure reflects a certain degree of local self-government. It is therefore not surprising that the week-eponymy was abolished in the later Old Assyrian period at Kanesh, level 1b, when the political power in Assur had been usurped by Šamši-Adad I, for he imposed a much more rigidly centralized system of government.

However, these reasonable assumptions are in fact not supported by the material available which contains practically no information about the week-eponyms. Tur-Sinai suggested several years ago that the week-eponyms presided in court in Kanesh on a certain day, their "Amtstag", so that persons who wanted to have issued a legally valid document had to present themselves before them at that day.¹² Such an "Amtstag" has no basis in our material however, and the fact that week-eponyms are mentioned in many documents is surely to be explained in terms of the system of dating. It says nothing about the role which they may have played in the colony.

Conclusions about the nature or importance of the week-eponymy may perhaps in the future be drawn from prosopographic investigations of the names found in the list of eponyms, but at the present time it is barely possible to suggest any reasonable hypothesis. One of the more surprising theories is that also Anatolians could serve as week-eponyms, and if this

"Pilah-Aššur and Suen-nādā or people representing Suen-nādā will go to Šinahuttum, and Pilah-Aššur will pay the 2 minas of silver after they have counted 10 days in Šinahuttum. If he does not pay, he must add interest at the rate 3 shekels per mina monthly. Reckoned from the week of Pilah-Aššur, son of Dādum." Pilah-Aššur, son of Dādum, is not otherwise attested as week-eponym. It seems that the *ištū*-phrase in this case refers to the end of the week, i.e. he must leave as soon as his term is finished.

11. Cf. Balkan, op. cit., 168–169.

12. N. H. Tur-Sinai, "Sabbat und Woche", *BiOr* 8, 1951, 17; see the criticism in Balkan, op. cit., 159.

is proven to be true we must assume that the office was in fact one of strictly limited power and influence. However, of the ca. 160 names known from the published material no more than a handful can be described as non-Assyrian, i.e. as names which could not be borne by Assyrians. Balkan mentioned seven names which he regarded as Anatolian: Aguā, Aguza, Banaga (or Panaka), Dalaš, Habiahšu, Makrua, and Tuhiš.¹³ Although none of these names is Akkadian it is certainly quite possible for most of them to be given to persons of good Assyrian descent, and in my view only Habiahšu and Tuhiš are undoubtedly Anatolian names.¹⁴ Even these two need some explanation however, in particular if it is assumed that the week-eponymy was an important institution with juridical authority. I suggest that the few men with Anatolian names who came to function as week-eponyms belonged to the group of local people who had established particularly close ties with the Assyrian community, for instance by intermarriage and perhaps adoption. The existence of such a group is of course well known, but it must be admitted that these persons are not likely to have been very powerful or influential in the Assyrian community.¹⁵

It is a fact that the list of week-eponyms shows such a distribution of names that one must doubt whether the office was one which was very often held by the really influential members of the colonial society. Such men as Pūšu-kēn and his sons are found only a very few times¹⁶ and for instance Enlil-bānī is never attested as week-eponym, but it is true that his father and other members of the family do appear in the list.¹⁷ Another typical feature is that some men are attested a great number of times, i.e. they served repeatedly, both within one year and in different years; a case in point in Kurub-Ištar, son of Alāhum, who is attested more than 30 times in at least 9 different years, and it is furthermore typical that the

13. Op. cit., 169.

14. Aguā/Aguza is explained as Akkadian in Garelli, *AC*, 129; Panaka's son has the name Aššur-bēl-awātim; Dalaš has a son called Puzur-Ištar (*BIN* 4:137, 6-7) and another called Idī-Šamaš (*BIN* 4:111, 21-22).

15. Cf. Garelli, *AC*, 161-168.

16. Pūšu-kēn: with Puzur-Aššur in the year-eponymy Elāli, son of Ikūnum (*KTBI* 11, 6), with Kurub-Ištar in an unknown year (c/k 387, 9), and alone in the year-eponymy after Ili-dān (*TMH* 1:14d, 8). Buzāzu: alone in the year-eponymy Akutum (*BIN* 4:160, 31).

17. Aššur-malik, son of Luzina: CCT 1:6c, 5, and c/k 1529, 5 (Balkan, op. cit., 171, n. 22).

same pair of week-eponyms are found in different months and different years;¹⁸ for Kurub-Ištar we may mention the fact that he was week-eponym together with Itūr-ili in the eponymies of Idī-abum, Kūbija, and Tāb-Aššur. It is tempting to conclude that the week-eponymy, while being of some importance to the firms in Kanesh, was often held by junior members of these firms, perhaps even in such a way that certain men specialized in this activity.

A special problem exists in the form of those references which mention weeks which are named after a person called GA-ši-im, i.e. the official usually called *kaššum*, for this word has been explained in various ways. According to Balkan and CAD it denotes a strictly Anatolian authority of somewhat undefined character; Balkan has ventured to propose such translations as "the local authority" or even "the sheriff."¹⁹ In AHw von Soden instead suggested the reading *qaššum*, from **qadšum*, and the meaning would thus be something like "priest". We have a very few references which tell us the names of persons who have this title and in all cases they are Anatolians. It remains doubtful, however, whether this means that the word had a specific meaning as suggested by Balkan, or whether it could denote both Anatolians and Assyrians.

It is the only title which is found in the list of week-eponyms and it is used most commonly in the special phrase: *hamuštum ša kaššim ša qāti* PN, a formula which must have the meaning: "week of the *kaššum* who took over from PN", i.e. it is a parallel to the *ša qāti* datings found with the year-eponymy. Obviously, the reason given for the anonymity of the *limmum*-dating cannot be maintained also for the week-eponymy,²⁰ and it is in fact not very easy to give a reasonable explanation of the absence of a personal name. I can suggest that the word may be a quite general one with a meaning like "official", "office-holder", and the formula in question would thus refer to weeks which for some reason were not named after a person. But even if the word did denote a specific office or official

18. See also the examples presented by Balkan, op. cit., 172.

19. The evidence concerning the *kaššum* is reviewed in Balkan, op. cit., 172–173; the translation mentioned was given in OrNS 36, 1967, 409.

The two Buzāzu-letters TC 3:9, 14, and CCT 3:20, 8–9, may in fact show that the word could serve as a synonym of the term *alahhinum*, which means "major-domo" or the like; if this interpretation is correct it should also be noted that the brother of a *kaššum* had the good Assyrian name Aššur-bēlī.

20. Cf. above, 211.

it is not certain that this was an exclusively Anatolian institution, for the word appears to be Akkadian.

As mentioned above, we have numerous cases of week-eponyms who appear in different months and years, and in some instances it can also be demonstrated that when we have pairs of week-eponyms the two men who serve together were closely related by family-ties. Again we may use Kurub-Ištar as an illustration for he is attested a number of times serving together with his father.²¹ Jankowska has suggested that the week-eponyms constituted special committees with a limited number of members, and although her precise interpretation seems unacceptable I do think that the basic concept is likely to be correct. Of course, the examples of relatives serving together is not anywhere near proof of this, and proof may in fact not be available, but there are some observations to be made which at least strengthen the hypothesis.

Balkan has pointed to some cases where we find three eponyms attested in one month and these should be examined. In fact, he suggested that there was a case of four week-eponyms in one month but he failed to take into account that one of the dates was from a *ša qāti* dating and thus belonged to the following year;²² the remaining three weeks were named after Aššur-malik, son of Luzina, Ennum-Anum's son, and Mannum-balum-Aššur, and unfortunately we have to assume that the latter two were identical, for we know that Mannum-balum-Aššur was in fact the son of Ennum-Anum.²³ He could of course have had a brother, but this is not very important anyway, for it can easily be demonstrated that the two remaining persons were closely related to the firm of Enlil-bāni.²⁴ Aššur-malik was of course his father and Mannum-balum-Aššur appears in several texts associated with the firm. At least two weeks, presumably consecutive, were thus held by members of the same firm. In another

21. For instance in the list of week-eponyms g/k 118, 7', and more examples are mentioned by Balkan, op. cit., 167, note to this line of the text. Another possible couple is Aššur-imitti and Idi-Aššur, although the patronymic is not attested in a dating; Idi-Aššur is known to have been a son of one Aššur-imitti and the two together as week-eponyms are found for instance in Balkan's list, line 3, and in a couple of texts to which he refers in a note to this line. An Aššur-malik, son of Innaja, is mentioned in CCT 1:18a, 12, and the two together occur frequently as week-eponyms: KTS 44c, 6, TMH 1:10a, 5, c/k 1276, 8.
22. Balkan, op. cit., 171 with notes 22–26.
23. Thus in a date in an unpublished text (information kindly provided by Balkan); outside of dates the patronymic occurs repeatedly, cf. e.g. Stephens, *PNC*, 56.
24. Cf. above, 83 and 347.

case we find the three week-eponyms Buzāzu, Šuli, and Šumma-libbi-ilija in one month, and although the evidence here is less clear, it does seem very likely that these three men had close connections; Šuli may have been a son of Buzāzu's partner Puzur-Aššur.²⁵ Finally, we have the three week-eponyms Idi-abum, Puzur-Adad, and Šu-Ištar son of Luzina, together in one month; Idi-abum was presumably the son of Aššur-rabi, but I cannot establish any certain connection between these men in spite of the fact that one Idi-abum is known to have corresponded with one Šu-Ištar;²⁶ the names are so common that it is impossible to say whether we have to do with the same persons.

However, support for the theory may also be found in the text g/k 118, a list of week-eponyms which has been published by Balkan.²⁷ The list contains two names in each line, i.e. it stems from the period when most weeks were named after two persons, and as can be seen from the chart of eponyms in the Appendix this means that it is from the first part of level 2; some lines contain simply the word *kaššum*. Balkan has shown that several of the pairs of eponyms in the list are in fact attested in actual datings, but we cannot assign the list to one specific year. Jankowska has shown that the list may be divided into sections and her reconstruction results in a pattern of three lines which belong together, some combined with a *kaššum*-entry, so her system points to a sequence of three weeks which were held by persons who together formed what could be called a "committee".²⁸ This interpretation cannot be accepted as final, however,

25. Cf. CCT 4:2b, 15, for the patronymic; note that Šuli corresponds with Buzāzu (BIN 6:134). Šumma-libbi-ilija is less well attested but in the letter CCT 2:24 he is associated with both Buzāzu and Puzur-Aššur.

26. There was also an Idi-abum who was the son of a Šu-Ištar (cf. Stephens, *PNC*, 42), but according to ATHE 54, 5, and TC 3:229, 10, the week-eponym's father was Aššur-rabi. See also BIN 6:92.

27. Op. cit., 166.

28. Jankowska, *ArOr* 35, 1967, 537–541. As expressed in the chart on page 538 her committees consisted of six members, corresponding to six weeks, but she fails to take into consideration that Balkan's list in fact gives pairs of eponyms, not single ones. She states that "each group of eponyms is divided by the scribe into three parts in accordance with the regulations of the kārum. Thus all names are listed in twos, with the exception of the priest." But these pairs are attested in actual datings, and it is impossible to accept Jankowska's explanation of the double week-eponymies (op. cit., 533), namely that these committees of six members functioned during a period of seven weeks, and at the end of such a period she claims that a "transfer of office would have to take place. So during the last week of each cycle each of the six days would be represented

for there are other possibilities for a reconstruction, but it does seem beyond question that there is an underlying pattern to the list as we have it, and it is very probable that the names could be combined in accordance with certain rules. It is worth noticing that the list contains two sequences which indicate that at some point the names begin to recur in different combinations:

Obverse:

- 1 *Narām-ZU*, Dan-Aššur's son
- 2 *Pappilum's son*, Alili
- 3 *Aššur-imitti*, *Idī-Aššur*
- 4 kaššum
- 5 [Am]ur-Ištar, Puzur-Ištar
- 6 *Kaprija*, Erradi
- 7 Amur-Ištar, *Aššur-malik*
- 8 Ennumaja, *Aššur-bānī*
- 9 Akutum, *Dadānum*
- 10 Puzur-Aššur, Nāb-Suen
- 11 *Panaka's son*, Dalaš
- 12 *Aguza*, Tuhniš
- 13 [Aš]šur-malik, Aguia

Reverse:

- 13' *Narām-ZU*, Hanānum
- 14' *Pappilum's son*, *Idī-Aššur*
- 15' *Aššur-imitti*, *Amur-Ištar*
- 16' *Kaprija*, *Aššur-malik*
- 17' *Dadānum*, *Aššur-bānī*
- 18' *Panaka's son*, *Aguza*

If the break which follows this line on the obverse contained 15–20 lines as estimated by Balkan, it would seem that the cycle comprised between 45 and 50 weeks and that is in agreement with the known fact that no text ever stipulates a term of more than 50 weeks.

Various combinations of the lines in this text are possible and I do not see how a final interpretation can be offered until we have some proper statistical material, but the list does seem to support the general idea of groups or “committees” of week-eponyms. Perhaps the most probable basis for a solution to the distribution in the text is the observation that groups of five weeks on the obverse seem to be represented on the reverse.

Turning to the data collected in the previous chapter concerning the

by two names instead of one.” A look of the distribution of single and double week-eponymies shows very clearly that some years are characterized by the occurrence of single week-eponymies whereas others have predominantly double ones, and the chart of eponymies in the Appendix shows that at some time there was an administrative reform so that a system with both single and double week-eponymies was changed to one where we have only single ones.

persons who acted as representatives of the colony I shall concentrate on the texts which concern the firm of Enlil-bānī. I have already made it clear that the men who acted on behalf of the colony cannot have been the current week-eponyms, and this is corroborated by the fact that there is no known case where the men who represent the colony are found as week-eponyms together with the same partners. But one of the curious things about the persons who represent the colony is that some of them recur as week-eponyms in other texts which concern Enlil-bānī, and we even have one very striking example where a man, Ahu-waqar, son of Šu-Ištar, appears as a representative of the colony and as week-eponym in the same month.²⁹ This one example cannot support far-reaching conclusions alone, of course, but it does indicate that it is reasonable to look for connections between the week-eponymy and the power to represent the colony. The following somewhat scattered material may be offered as a first attempt in this direction:

Aššur-taklāku, son of Alāhum: represents the colony in CCT 1:4, 37, together with Ennum-Aššur, son of Šalim-ahum, and Innaja, son of Elāli. He appears as week-eponym in CCT 1:2, 55, in the month *Te'inātum*, year Maši-ilī, a text where Enlil-bānī is creditor.

Ennum-Aššur, son of Šalim-ahum: represents the colony in CCT 1:4, 37 (see above).

He appears as week-eponym in L 29-557, 16 and 33, in the month *Kanwarta*, year Maši-ilī (i.e. immediately before the date in CCT 1:2 above), a text where Enlil-bānī is creditor.

Lipit-Anum: as son of Lālum he represents the colony in CCT 1:4, 14, together with Ahu-waqar, son of Šu-Ištar.

Without patronymic he appears as week-eponym in EL 226, 39, in the month *Qarrātum*, year Samaja, and in Gelb 59, 33, in the month *Te'inātum*, year Akutum, both of them texts where Enlil-bānī is creditor.

Mannu-ki-Aššur: as son of Puzur-Ištar he represents the colony in TC 3:213, 43, together with Ili-nādā, son of Aššur-nādā, and Šu-Ištar, son of Aššur-bānī.

29. In CCT 1:4 he is *limmum* together with Lipit-Anum during the week of Šu-Ištar, month *Qarrātum*, year-eponymy Enna-Suen, son of Šu-Ištar; and in c/k 1382 Ahu-waqar without patronymic is a week-eponym during the same month in the same year. However, it must be pointed out that the week-eponym could be another man since we have a week-eponym Ahu-waqar who was the son of Sursur (cf. Balkan, op. cit., 168).

Without patronymic he appears as week-eponym in BIN 6:238, 10, in the month *Mahhur-ilī*, year Samaja, a text where Enlil-bāni is creditor.

There are many more links between the persons in these texts, however; Ahu-waqar, son of Šu-Ištar, represents the colony in a week named after a Šu-Ištar who could be his father (CCT 1:4, 14), and he is a witness in TC 3:213, 27, another *kārum*-transaction, and in EL 226, 31; Aššurtaklāku, son of Alāhum, mentioned above, is a debtor in CCT 1:2, 3 and 13; Ili-nādā, son of Aššur-nādā, who represents the colony in TC 3:213, 43, is a witness in EL 226, 31; and Šumi-abija, the week-eponym in TC 3:213, 37, is a witness in another *kārum*-transaction, CCT 1:4, 2.

We may even pursue these special relations with Enlil-bāni's firm further by a study of the other known list of week-eponyms, TMH 1:24d, a text which is even more fragmentary than the one published by Balkan. It contains 17 partly broken lines with each one name, so it stems from a period when the system had been changed and the double week-eponymies had been abolished. Of the 11 entries which I am able to read no less than 8 recur in texts which concern Enlil-bāni, some as week-eponyms, some as representatives of the colony, some in other capacities:

- 8' Kurub-Ištar, son of Alāhum: week-eponym in CCT 1:2, 51;
- 9' Aššur-nimri:³⁰ as son of Idi-Suen a witness in CCT 1:4, 27;
- 10' Ili-nādā: cf. above;
- 11' Šumi-abija: cf. above;
- 12' Enna-Suen, son of Ili-ālum: without patronymic week-eponym in CCT 1:2, 45;
- 14' Idi-abum: week-eponym in Gelb 59, 45, and L 29-557, 51;
- 15' Itūr-ilī: week-eponym in CCT 1:4, 43;
- 16' Aššur-taklāku, son of Alāhum: cf. above.

All this shows one thing for certain, that the list belongs to one of the years when Enlil-bāni was active as merchant in Kanesh. Further conclusions must of course be somewhat speculative, but it does seem very likely that the week-eponyms and the men who represented the colony came from precisely the same circle of persons; apparently one did not act as a representative of the colony during one's term as week-eponym – at least our presently available material shows no such cases – but most probably both capacities could be assumed by a limited group of persons.

30. This man is not attested as week-eponym in any actual date.

It cannot be shown with certainty that the week-eponyms were divided in groups or "committees" but it remains a likely hypothesis, and it also seems most probable that each "committee" incorporated members of one firm. In that way the week-eponymy came to function in the interest of and as a reflection of the more important family-groups in the colony. The evidence concerning Enlil-bānī could perhaps even show that it was preferred to conduct business during the term of one's own firm. It should also be remembered that it was probable that some of the men called *limmum* in the texts dealing with the affairs of the firm of Aššur-idī were in the same way connected with that firm.³¹ And one wonders whether such considerations provide a basis for an understanding of those references which showed the expressions: "in our *limmum*", and "*limmum*: PN and his partners".

31. Cf. above, 203.

Summary

The Old Assyrian society consisted of two basic components: the old city-state Assur, located on the Tigris as a kind of satellite of the older centres of civilization in Southern Mesopotamia; and a series of trading colonies and stations which are found in Northern Syria and especially in Anatolia. A proper understanding of any one of these components can only be accomplished by way of a comprehensive analysis of them both. This study has been concerned with three main sets of problems: 1) the history and the political structure of the capital itself; 2) the relationship between the capital and the colonies abroad; and 3) the political structure of the colonial society, with special emphasis on the institutions of the main Assyrian colony which was established as a suburb of the ancient city of Kanesh in central Anatolia.

At the present time it is not possible to give any historical depth to the phenomenon of the Old Assyrian colonial system. The excavations of the colony at Kanesh have established the existence of four occupational levels, the two earliest ones of which, levels 4 and 3, have produced no textual evidence. We cannot say who the inhabitants of this settlement were or what the economic foundation for its existence may have been, but it is likely that these old levels reflect earlier trading patterns which connected Anatolia with Southern Mesopotamia. The vast majority of the texts come from level 2, and it is mainly the period of this level which is discussed in this study. The latest level which has produced textual evidence, level 1b, is separated from level 2 by a destruction level, but it is not clear whether this gap is a local phenomenon at Kanesh or whether it reflects a general break in the Old Assyrian activities in the entire area where colonies existed. The period of level 2 at Kanesh may be dated approximately to 1920–1840 B.C., and the interval between levels 2 and 1b presumably covers some fifty years; level 2 is therefore contemporary with the line of kings in Assur who are normally referred to as the Old Assyrian Dynasty, and level 1b corresponds roughly to the reign of the Amorite usurper Šamši-Adad I.

We do not know where, how, or when the colonial system came into existence, and the fully developed colonial structure of level 2 represents

an indivisible unit. It is true that we can observe that some three generations of traders were active during the level 2 period, but we cannot establish any evolutionary trends or any major shifts and changes in our material. Nor is it possible to link the existence of this elaborate economic, social, and political structure with any clear information which we possess concerning the conditions or the historical events in Assur or in those areas in Southern Mesopotamia or Iran which must have been at least indirectly involved. It has here been suggested that the rather obscure references in a couple of early royal inscriptions from Assur to certain acts involving the granting of "freedom" to in one case "the Akkadians", i.e. the Babylonians; and in another the inhabitants of Assur itself, could reflect elements in a conscious commercial policy. Its aim would be to establish the city of Assur as a major entrepôt for the metals trade in Northern Mesopotamia and Anatolia. The texts from the Kanesh colony indicate that this was the situation prevailing at that slightly later time when large amounts of tin came to Assur from mines somewhere to the east and were shipped further on to the colonies in Anatolia together with large shipments of textiles, some of which had been brought to Assur by traders from the Babylonian cities.

The nature of our evidence necessarily leads to a preoccupation with the economic aspects of the social life of the period. The thousands of texts from Kanesh reflect the business procedures and the daily life of the traders living in the colony, and it is possible to reconstruct a quite detailed picture of the structure and function of the basic units, the family firms. The basis for the existence of the colonies in the main period is relatively well established and we know a great deal about the procedures involved in the long-distance trade conducted between the mother-city Assur and the colonies. It was a venture trade conducted by private persons and firms, and the trade which directly touched the colony at Kanesh involved a substantial import of tin and textiles from Assur. These commodities were destined for the various states located in the Anatolian area, so only a relatively small part of the shipments were sold on the market in Kanesh, and the rest was taken over on credit conditions by retail traders who travelled round the Anatolian area with sometimes quite small consignments. Nearly all shipments back to Assur consisted of silver, i.e. money, and it is clear that there must have been at least one other commercial sector which involved the trade in copper outside Anatolia, thus also the export of this metal to Assur; this sector is not directly illuminated by the texts from Kanesh however.

The few scattered comments given by the Turkish scholars working on the material from level Ib are not sufficient to make a reconstruction of the economic basis for the colonial system during the later period possible.

The Assyrians who lived in the colonies were basically agents of firms which were managed by people who lived in Assur, but the financing and the technical organization of the firms was highly complex; it incorporated such elaborate elements as long-term partnerships reminiscent of general companies as well as partnerships which were based exclusively on the kinship structure. These features demand closer scrutiny and there is presently no consensus among scholars concerning the meaning of some key terms. The disagreement concerns basically the degree of state management in this field, and I have here argued that the system was one which rested on family firms and private institutions involving representatives, agents, factors, and partnerships of various types.

On the political level the colonies were part of a hierachic pyramid where authority ultimately emanated from the divine City, the god Aššur, and was passed from the king and the city-assembly to the central colony at Kanesh which was supervised by special envoys from the capital. The colonial system as such was under the authority of the Kanesh colony and it incorporated a number of colonies (called "harbours", *kārum*), which were located in the immediate vicinity of the local Anatolian capital cities, and some settlements known under the term *wabartum*, here translated "station". It is difficult to define the degree of autonomy on each of these levels but it does seem that the administration of the political system was quite strictly organized.

The Old Assyrian city-state was a theocracy. The discussion of its political structure has to define three main elements: 1) the institution of kingship; 2) the city-assembly; and 3) the year-eponymy. There may well have been another highly important element, constituted by the temples of the city and their staffs, but the available evidence does not allow us any understanding of their role and position. It seems clear, however, that there existed a very close connection between the kingship and the temples; thus, we know that the king was the chief priest of the cult of the city-god in later periods, and this is most probably true also for the Old Assyrian period. The somewhat imprecise definition that can be provided of the king's role may accordingly have to be refined along these lines.

The royal inscriptions can only to a very limited degree constitute the basis for an analysis of the institution of kingship. My own attempt has

relied heavily on the titles and epithets which are connected with the king, both in the royal inscriptions and in the documents from the merchants' archives in Anatolia. It is assumed that the use of different titles in reasonably precisely defined contexts is of significance and allows a definition to be made of the relationship between the king, the divine ruler of the city-state, and the community.

The first of these titles, *išši'ak Aššur*, "Aššur's steward", is specifically related to the king's position as intermediary between the city-god and the human community, and it points to the religious significance of the office and hints at important cultic functions. Politically, the special relationship existing between the god and his human steward must have been the main source of authority.

Whereas this title was used exclusively by the king himself, others normally referred to him with the common term *rubā'um*, "prince" or "king". Although the precise definition of the title and its significance must be somewhat hypothetical, we can establish a reasonable relationship with the concept of social status based on descent. This suggestion is based on a semantic analysis: the word means "the big one", and it is noted that in other dialects it often refers to a nobleman. The title may therefore be interpreted as specifically referring to the king's social position as the head of the royal lineage. It is typically found in contexts where the king functions together with the city-assembly.

When communicating directly with his human subjects the king makes use of the title *waklum*, "the overseer"; we find it therefore in the royal letters, some of which are addressed to private persons, others to the official organs of the colonies. This title must have an administrative-political background. It is significant that the official royal letters addressed to the colonial authorities are known in other documents as "letters of the City", so the title was used by the king when he functioned as the executive officer of the city-assembly.

When others referred to the king in a judicial capacity, always functioning together with the city-assembly, they used the title *bēlum*, "the Lord".

The analysis of these titles and the contexts where they occur shows that there was a very close functional relationship between the king and the city-assembly. The king may be assumed to have served as the president and the main executive officer of the assembly. The precise division of power between the two institutions cannot be defined, but the terminology of the texts indicates that the fundamental powers were held by the

assembly rather than the king. It was the assembly which passed verdicts, but these were communicated to the colonies by way of a letter signed by the king as *waklum*. Many references mention the City acting alone in such contexts whereas the king invariably is connected with (and mentioned after) the city-assembly.

We do not have any certain information concerning the composition of the city-assembly, so it is impossible to determine whether it counted only the group which is known as "the elders", or whether these men formed a special council within a larger primary assembly. The latter system is found in the Kanesh colony, and it may be assumed to have existed also in contemporary Babylonian towns. It is obvious however that the city-assembly represented the main kinship groups in the society, and the "elders" were most probably the heads of the most influential kinship units.

The specific nature of the available evidence, and especially the absence of any documentation from Assur itself, sets strict limitations on our knowledge of the functions of the city-assembly. We know only about certain aspects, namely those decisions which directly concerned the colonies and the men living there. Since so little of the official correspondence has come to light we are not even well informed about the political relations between the assembly and the colonial system. The decisions we know of are in nearly all instances of a legal nature, and we can observe that the assembly together with the king constituted the highest legal authority in the society. Individual cases could be appealed from the colonial courts to the assembly in the mother-city, and this body often interfered in the legal proceedings in Anatolia by the appointment of a special "attorney". This was a private individual who was retained by one party in a lawsuit and paid a regular fee for his services, and occasionally he would bring a letter from the assembly which gave him plenipotentiary powers. It seems clear that the Old Assyrian formulation of the common Mesopotamian legal traditions was designed to meet very special conditions; the geographical distribution of the colonies and the high degree of mobility of the traders made it necessary to perfect a system of legal procedures which allowed the city-assembly to intervene in all stages of a case, and complex cases could end before the assembly with all the necessary documentation collected from the various colonies and stations.

Some references show that the assembly not only functioned as a court

of law but that it also defined the policies of the state. The foreign policy directed towards the local kings of Anatolia, where the colonies were located, was tightly controlled by the assembly through the special officials called "Envoys of the City", who stayed in Kanesh.

The third main element in the political structure of the capital is the year-eponymy, and it seems clear that this office was very closely connected with the pattern of kinship groups in the city. The available documentation shows that the bureau known as "City Hall" or the "House of the Eponym" functioned as the main administrative agency of the city, so that it may be said to have held the position which in most Mesopotamian cities was taken up by the palace and/or the temples. It is a measure of the importance of the year-eponymy that its holder was in charge of that bureau. We know that taxes were paid there and we have references to other important administrative functions. The year-eponymy may therefore be seen as a kind of counterbalance to the office of the king, and it presumably represented the interests of the main kinship groups among whom the office and its powers circulated.

The Old Assyrian colonies were commercial establishments which in their economic and social structures constitute examples of a recurring pattern found in other periods and places. They were in all cases located in or near a major urban centre, and the colonies in the Anatolian area were always attached in some way to the capital of one of the local territorial states. We know about ten colonies from level 2 at the present time and a similar number of "stations"; these latter occupied a subordinate position relative to the colonies, and it seems that each colony exercised some administrative authority over the stations which were located in the state whose capital it was attached to.

The political relations between Assyrians and Anatolians have been studied in detail in the recent works of Garelli and Orlin, so they have not been subjected to scrutiny in this study. The analysis has been concentrated on the internal Assyrian administrative apparatus, and it appears that there was a relatively clear distribution of duties and powers. Diplomatic relations with the Anatolian kings were controlled by the Envoys of the City in collaboration with the Kanesh colony. This means of course that the city-assembly in Assur laid down the conditions for such contacts and formulated general rules, and it is perhaps for this reason that the system of taxation within the Anatolian area was quite uniform. The colonial system was directed from the Kanesh colony and it can be

observed that at least some of the other colonies sent copies of their own correspondence with other Assyrian authorities to the Kanesh colony where such material was filed.

The Kanesh colony alone, without the supervision of the Envoys of the City, of course conducted its own correspondence, and these letters are concerned with two subjects: 1) legal matters, and 2) the internal Assyrian system of taxation. The Kanesh colony held an intermediary position between the colonies and the capital also in the legal field, and cases could be appealed first to Kanesh before being passed on to the city-assembly. In large, complex cases such as inheritance suits the available evidence was collected by the Kanesh colony which sent it on to Assur. Some letters show that there existed precise procedures for having persons transferred by force from other colonies to Kanesh in order to appear in court there. The system of taxation is not very well understood as yet. It seems to have been based on a tax called *šaddu'utum*, which was paid to the officers of the colonies and apparently reckoned as a due on transported commodities. Certain persons appear to have been exempt from paying this tax, and it is likely that such a status was connected with certain payments known under the opaque term *dātum*. Men known as "dātum-payers" were charged with the duty (or given the right) to collect the *šaddu'utum*-tax in various less important settlements on behalf of the Kanesh colony. It may be that this particular institution, and this special group of privileged persons, assumed more prominence in the later Old Assyrian colonies of level Ib, for we have considerably more references to them in the few texts known.

The colonial institutions were basically modelled over those which are found in the capital, but the special nature of the colonial society naturally led to a strengthening of certain features. Most of our documentation concerns the Kanesh colony, but it seems clear that although there may have been some variation in the political pattern of the various settlements, the basic structures were the same everywhere.

Three badly damaged texts represent the remains of a set of rules which originally must have existed for the procedures of the institutions of the Kanesh colony. The Statutes show that the government of the colony was in the hands of two bodies: the "Council" which is said to have consisted of the "big men", and the "Assembly", known as *kārum saher rabi*, "the colony, small and big". The one clear lesson that can be learned from the Statute texts is that the Council functioned as a kind of steering committee for the Assembly, having the right to decide whether or not

this latter body should be convened in order to deliberate a case. It is impossible to offer further clear conclusions, and we cannot see even whether the procedures which are referred to in the texts are of a special type, or whether the rules given apply in all instances when the institutions of the colony function in a judicial capacity. The division between "small" and "big" men points to a sharp social stratification, and it is likely that the latter group was identical with "the elders". We are therefore again faced with institutions which reflect the kinship structure, and the "big" men may be presumed to have been the local leaders of branches of big firms.

We do not know how these governmental bodies functioned. It seems likely that most verdicts were passed by the primary assembly, but it may be that decisions of other types, for instance political ones involving contact with other authorities, were in the hands of the big men of the Council.

The daily affairs of the colonies were entrusted to officials who are known as "secretaries" or "scribes". The secretary of the Kanesh colony is mentioned in the Statutes where he is in charge of the practical procedures of the Assembly, convening it, dividing it into voting blocks, and counting the votes. Elsewhere we find the secretaries in other official capacities, for instance levying taxes.

A special procedure was used when the colony had to enter as a party to a contract of some kind, and it was not the secretary who could act on behalf of the colony. Such situations could be the acknowledgement of a deposit made in the office of the colony, or of a loan which in some fashion was extended to the colony, or the handing over of documents or goods to a person for transportation, and we find that from one to three men are said to step in and act on behalf of the colony. They are then referred to with the term *limmum*, the same word which in the capital was used about the year-eponymy and its holder, but the men in question can be shown to have belonged to the colonial society so they were not officials sent out from the capital. On the other hand, it cannot be determined whether they held some office with a certain tenure in the colony. It has here been suggested that the background for these examples of the *limmum*-institution was a delegation of the power to represent the community, and this is of obvious relevance also for the year-eponymy in the capital.

If these men were officials the only office known which might be a candidate is the week-eponymy of the Kanesh colony, but it can be shown that the men who served as week-eponyms were not identical with those

persons who as *limmu* were empowered to act on behalf of the colony. It remains a possibility that the week-eponymy was part of a more complex system which involved a kind of rotating committees, and it might be suggested that the members of such committees who did not currently serve as week-eponyms were those persons who acted on behalf of the colony. In the absence of really informative textual material such theories must remain quite uncertain. Indeed, it is a fact that practically nothing can be said about the actual function of the week-eponym. The office may have been directly involved in the judicial procedures of the Kanesh colony, and it may be mentioned in one of the Statute texts as well as in a record of a verdict, but even that remains doubtful.

From other colonies and stations we know of special committees consisting of five or ten persons, and these bodies may well have had important functions within the administrative structure: one such ten-man board was deeply involved in negotiations with one of the local Anatolian palaces. These institutions were most probably of a semi-private nature.

Many of the conclusions drawn in this study have to be of a tentative and preliminary character, and I am convinced that the available evidence does not make a definitive reconstruction of the political structures possible. There can be no doubt that the publication of new material – preferably a major archive from one of the scientifically excavated houses at Kanesh – would give us an opportunity to revise and refine central aspects of the picture presented here. I do not mean to say that the published evidence has been exhausted, for we are certainly still able to reach a much better understanding of crucial aspects: the legal system, the financing of the trade, or the organization of the firms – to mention some obvious examples. However, it cannot be said too strongly that real progress in the field depends on the speedy publication of the thousands of already excavated texts, some of which have awaited treatment for more than 25 years. A heavy responsibility rests on those persons who are in a position to bring an end to this painful state of affairs, and it is to be hoped that steps will soon be taken to start the publication of this material which is of such great potential interest. The field will then become revitalised and new and important research projects may be undertaken.

APPENDIX 1

A Preliminary Ordering of the Year-Eponymies

In my brief survey of the internal chronology of the Old Assyrian period presented above,¹ I referred to the possible use of the so-called memoranda in an attempt to establish rough guidelines for the ordering of the year-eponymies of level 2, and I pointed out that the results of such an analysis are in basic agreement with the very imperfect prosopographic data which are presently available. In this appendix I shall present such a chart of eponymies which is based on the data contained in the quite numerous texts which mention more than one year-eponym.

Most of the texts which have been made use of here are unpublished and lie inaccessible in the museum in Ankara, but the list of datings which has been published by Balkan in his book *Observations on the Chronological Problems of the kārum Kaniš* contains a great amount of data which can be directly incorporated in such a chart. It is unfortunate, of course, that nothing is known about the texts themselves, i.e. first of all we remain ignorant of the identity of the creditors whose contracts were brought together on these memoranda. Some of the texts were quite huge and contained copies of contracts which had been dated to a great number of different years. The largest one is c/k 839 which contained the text of no less than twenty-two contracts which were dated to at least nine different years;² since it is quite likely that some years were missing in the sequence, we may assume that the memorandum covered an even larger span of time. It is accordingly most probable that the loans recorded on these texts had long been repaid.

A brief look at some of these memoranda shows that they did not order the texts in chronological sequences; this may be illustrated by the two texts c/k 41 and 839 which both cover a number of the same years:

1. Above, 80–84.
2. It can be seen to have contained at least 115 lines.

c/k 41:
 Amur-Aššur (twice)
 Elāli
 Idī-Aššur
 Puzur-Nirah
 Aššur-damiq
 Šu-Hubur

c/k 839:
 Elāli, son of Ikūnum
 Amur-Aššur, son of Karrija (3 times)
 Aššur-damiq, son of Aparsum
 Idī-Aššur
 Alāhum, son of Inah-ilī (twice)
 Alāhum
 Idī-Aššur
 Aššur-damiq (3 times)
 Šu-Hubur
 Ili-dan
 Šu-Hubur
 Amur-Aššur (twice)
 Alāhum
 Tāb-Aššur
 Elāli
 Tāb-Aššur

We cannot, accordingly, arrange the memoranda which overlap with each other on the simple assumption that they thereby provide us with longer sequences of year-eponymies, but on the other hand we must assume that the years mentioned in these texts were not *very* far removed from each other. One simple observation is that the contracts placed together on one memorandum have the same person as creditor, but in at least some cases it is clear that the memoranda covered periods which were much shorter than one generation, for the same merchant could have several such texts written within his lifetime. The best known case is again Enlil-bāni who is represented in the material with a series of memoranda. One of these, CCT 1:4, contains contracts in which both he and his father appear as creditors so it is probable that this text is a comparatively early one; it has contracts dated to the years Enna-Suen, son of Šu-Istar, Aššur-malik, Iddin-ahum, and Adad-bāni, i.e. according to the preliminary chart numbers 20, 22, 27, and 28. The largest group of texts is constituted by L 29-557, Gelb 59, CCT 1:2, and TC 3:213, in which we find the eponymies Akutum, Maši-ilī, Enna-Suen, son of Šu-Aššur, and Ennam-Anum, i.e. numbers 31-34. Finally, one text constitutes a third group, EL 226, with the eponymies Ennam-Aššur, Ili-ālum, and Samaja, i.e. numbers 36-38.

The basic criterion for the ordering of the dates in my chart is very simple: I posit that the dates in each memorandum are likely to be close together in time, and the chart accordingly attempts to establish a sequence which results in as few empty places for each text as possible. Apart from this we do have a very few further facts which aid us in the ordering; I have pointed out that the eponymies Šilūlu, Buzutaja, and Innaja followed upon each other in this sequence.³ We also know from the unpublished text c/k 1144 that the eponymy Akutum came before that of Ennam-Ašsur – but it is unknown how much earlier.⁴ The letter TC 1:21, discussed earlier, shows that the eponymies Alāhum, Ašsur-idi, and Ilšu-rabi had to be placed some years before Buzutaja and Innaja.⁵

These criteria form the basis for the chart presented here. I have refrained from making use of the *ša qāti*- datings, even though they should clearly aid us in refining the details of the chart since normal dates cannot fall in earlier months in any eponymy than the latest *ša qāti*-date in the preceding eponymy. If eponymy A has a *ša qāti*-dating in the third month, the following eponymy cannot have a normal dating in the second month, for the *ša qāti*- datings were used in those months when the correct name of the new year was not yet known. However, I have refrained from making use of this criterion here for two reasons; first, in the memoranda it may lose its value for it is likely that when the contracts were copied the scribes would at least in some cases insert the real name of the year, thus obscuring the pattern; and secondly, we have so few data so long as Balkan does not publish a revised version of the list of datings which is available now, for in that the month-names are usually not indicated – and it seems certain that there are several misprints in the published list.⁶

It is freely admitted that the sequence established in the chart is unlikely to be correct in all details. A cursory inspection reveals that we are largely dependent on two large groups of texts, the last one of which is

3. See above, 204-205, the discussion of the text TC 1:21, and below, 379.

4. Cf. Balkan, *Observations*, 86.

5. Cf. above, 204-205.

6. As an example I refer to page 91 where Balkan gives a very long list of references to dates which should be years *ša qāti* Kübija, but it seems very likely that they were in fact all of them normal datings. Also the eponym Elāli seems to be connected with a number of *ša qāti*- datings which were in fact normal ones; note that c/k 680 according to the transliteration provided by Balkan in *OrNS* 36, 1967, 401, has a normal dating.

concentrated around the texts of Enlil-*bāni*. The eponymies 23–38 are reasonably well attested here and the sequence seems fairly certain. The other group is found in the very beginning of the chart and consists nearly entirely of unpublished texts so we cannot connect them with known personalities in Kanesh; one notices, however, that most of them stem from the same season of digging so it is to be assumed that a large number come from the same archive. The first ca. 15 eponymies can be ordered in a reasonable sequence on this basis. The real difficulties are found in the middle portion of the chart where the two major bodies of evidence are to be combined, and it is clear that the sequence here is quite provisional – and that more names will have to be added. As an example I refer to the eponymy Ibni-Adad, for in the letter BIN 6:3 Pūšu-*kēn*'s wife Lamassī mentions the eponymies Šudaja and Buzuzu,⁷ but in TC 1:30 Pūšu-*kēn* himself writes that his wife has died and mentions a loan which runs till the eponymy Ibni-Adad;⁸ the latter is therefore presumably to be inserted somewhere after Buzuzu (12). A careful sifting of the material, letters as well as contracts, will surely result in more evidence of the same nature.

In the broad outlines the chart is likely to provide us with a correct picture. A truly basic element of uncertainty is our ignorance of the possibly repeated service of some of the eonyms, but even that can hardly alter the basic pattern. Moreover, the results may be tested in various ways, and the data concerning single and double week-eponymies provide impressive support for the reliability of the chart. I have not used this feature in the ordering of the eponymies so it is very noteworthy that such a clear pattern emerges which makes it possible to conclude that a major reform in the system of the week-eponymy was carried out during the period covered by this chart. After the eponymy Enna-Suen, son of Šu-Ištar (22), we have no more double week-eponymies, and before that date we have a mixed system in which double eponymies were the most common ones (out of a total of 125 weeks 91, or nearly three-quarters, had double eonyms).

As already pointed out, a superficial test on the basis of the prosopographic data confirms the general picture, and it is interesting to note that the sons of Pūšu-*kēn* appear to be found in the second half of the list,

7. Cf. above, 196.

8. Cf. above, 352.

beginning approximately with number 24; note that Buzāzu is a co-recipient of TC 1:21 which shows that the eponymies 13, 15, and 17 fall some time before 24 and 25, i.e. the approximate time of the text, and thus earlier than the *floruit* of Buzāzu as an independent merchant; he is also among the recipients of the letter KUG 35 in which the eponymy 15 (Ilšu-rabi) is mentioned, but significantly this year is said to be eleven years in the past when the letter was written.

I hope to be able to pursue the study of these questions in the future, but whereas it is obvious that a detailed analysis of all the evidence and the publication of more material will lead to many changes in the provisional chronology established here, I do not think that the basic structure will be affected.

The Texts in the Chart

All the unpublished texts from Ankara have been excerpted from the list in *Observations*. It should be noted that Balkan's reference to an eponymy Alāhum in line 17 of the text c/k 269 most probably is incorrect; Balkan has provided some lines from c/k 467 in *Anum-Hirbi*, 17–18, and it seems probable that the entire text, when known, will indicate that the eponymy Ikuppī-Ištar came before Maši-ili.

VAT 9218: unpublished letter, cf. above, 195, n. 16, and 351.

TC 3:91: letter from Aššur-idī to Aššur-nādā and Aššur-taklāku; cf. above 206.

ATHE 55: cf. above, 145, n. 115; I have no explanation of the apparently very long period covered by this text.

EL 227: Iddin-Aššur, son of Isalija, is debtor and his brother Ahu-waqr is creditor or guarantor.

BIN 6:3: cf. above, 196.

TC 1:21: cf. above, 204–205.

ICK 2:125: duplicated by ICK 2:128; the creditor is not named but we may confidently guess at Imdi-ilum.

CCT 1:4: cf. above, 333–335 and 347.

CCT 1:1a: EL 224; Aššur-malik is creditor.

CCT 5:19a: together with TC 1:21 this text establishes the sequence of the eponymies Ḡilūlu – Buzutaja – Innaja; it states that interest has accrued on a loan from the month *Qarrātum*, year Ḡilūlu, until the month *Kuzallu*, year Innaja, and if we assume that the rate of interest was the

usual 60 percent per year, we can see that 27 months separated the two dates.⁹

TC 3:238: this strange text shows the dating: month *Qarrātūm*, year Šu-Suen, on the envelope, but the tablet itself has: month *Narmak Aššur ša kēnātim*, year Aššur-malik. Cf. J. Lewy, "The Assyrian Calendar", *ArOr* 11, 1939, 35, where however, untenable conclusions are drawn from the text.

Gelb 56: creditor is Puzur-Ištar, son of Imdī-ilum, a contemporary of Pūšu-kēn's sons.

L 29-557: cf. above 363.

Gelb 59: cf. above, 363.

CCT 1:2: EL 228; cf. above, 363.

TC 3:213: cf. above, 335 and 363.

EL 226: cf. above, 363.

Comments on Individual Eponymies

1) Aššur-dān: attested in ambiguous context so it is uncertain whether he was really a year-eponym; cf. above, 351.

9) Elāli: In the chart I have taken all references to refer to the same individual and the same eponymy but that may not be correct; the texts mention both an Elāli, son of Ikūnum, and one who had the title *sangūm*, and of course some dates simply give the name without patronymic or title. As son of Ikūnum he appears in c/k 839 as indicated in the chart, but also without patronymic; in c/k 440 he is given the title *sangūm*, and this text is a duplicate of c/k 442 where no title is given. It cannot be excluded that the last references concern a second eponym of this name who is to be placed some 10-15 years after the first one.

19 and 35) Aššur-nādā: the two namesakes pose some problems since most references omit the patronymics; however a good criterion for distinguishing is the occurrence of either single or double week-eponymies in these years.

22 and 31) Enna-Suen: it is not clear how many year-eponyms of this

9. The most commonly attested rate of interest is 30 percent per year, and if that is applied we can conclude that the period which separated the two dates must have been 54 months; the eponymy Šilūlu would thus not come immediately before Buzutaja. This solution is less acceptable in view of the months, for a period of three months plus some years should be expected (*Qarrātūm* is month VIII, *Kuzallu* is month XI).

WEEK-EPIONYMIES	1	2
EL 226	-	-
c/k 1144	1	0
TC 3:213	2	1
c/k 1502	3	6
c/k 1501	4	0
CCT 1:2	5	6
Gelb 59	5	1
L 29-557	6	2
c/k 467	6	5
Gelb 56	7	1
c/k 269	7	6
c/k 1500	8	1
TC 3:238	8	0
c/k 601	9	8
e/k 56	9	2
c/k 258	10	7
c/k 623+	10	3
e/k 65	11	1
CCT 5:19a	11	2
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ICK 2:125	13	2
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EL 227	14	5
c/k 442	15	1
c/k 440	15	2
e/k 8	15	4
c/k 255	16	1
c/k 789	16	1
ATHE 55	17	1
c/k 512	17	5
TC 3:91	18	4
c/k 268	18	7
c/k 839	19	0
c/k 41	19	2
e/k 80	20	0
c/k 453	21	3
c/k 270	21	6
VAT 9218	22	0
	22	4
1 Assur-dan	23	0
2 Sallija	23	3
3 Su-Hubar	24	0
4 Puur-Nirah	24	0
5 Idi-Assur	25	0
6 Assur-damiq	25	0
7 Tbs-Assur	26	0
8 Amur-Assur	27	0
9 Elisi	27	0
10 Idi-abum	28	0
11 Sudaja	28	0
12 Buzuzu	29	0
13 Alatum	29	0
14 II-dan	30	0
15 Ibu-rabi'	30	0
16 Al-rib	31	0
17 Assur-idi	32	0
18 Kubija	32	0
19 Assur-nadu, s. Puuzr-Annu	33	0
20 Asad-bani	33	0
21 Sakallija	34	0
22 Enna-Suen, s. Su-Assur	34	0
23 Siulu	35	0
24 Buzatja	35	0
25 Inaja	36	0
26 Su-Suen	36	0
27 Assur-malik	37	0
28 Iddin-abum	37	0
29 Assur-imitti'	38	0
30 Ikuipi-Assur	38	0
31 Enna-Suen, s. Su-Assur	38	0
32 Masi-III	39	0
33 Akurum	39	0
34 Ennan-Assum	39	0
35 Assur-nadu, s. II-binanni	39	0
36 Ennan-Assur	39	0
37 III-abum	39	0
38 Samija	39	0

X = no patronymic, Δ = songsm; ○ = son of Ikuunum

name existed but in the published material we have the following: the son of Šu-Aššur, the son of Šu-Ištar, the son of Idi-abum (TC 3:250, 15), and the son of the *kumrum*-priest of Suen; the last one is presumably identical with one of the others. Again, we are confronted with the further difficulty that a great number of texts give no patronymic at all.

CCT 1:4 gives the patronymic Šu-Ištar, but CCT 1:1a gives *kumrum** ša Suen; I have chosen to understand these as identical in spite of the fact that the contract TC 1:66 may show that the son of the priest was in fact identical with the son of Šu-Aššur. We know the identity of one *kumrum*-priest of Suen, namely the frequently mentioned father of Dadaja, a certain Aššur-imitti who was the son of Šu-Ištar;¹⁰ I suggest that he inherited his father's title and that he had a brother by the name Enna-Suen – our eponym.

Of the six references attributed to the son of Šu-Aššur only one in fact gives this patronymic: CCT 1:2; the two memoranda L 29–557 and Gelb 59 contain abbreviated versions of the contract TC 3:230, and there we also find the patronymic Šu-Aššur. The remaining three texts, Gelb 56 and c/k 1501 and 1502, have been placed here because they also mention the eponymies Akutum and Maši-ilī.

24) Buzutaja: a certain Buzutaja who may be identical with the year-eponym, since the name is not very common, served repeatedly as week-eponym in the years 3+1, 5+1, 6, 7, 9, 11+1, 15, 19, 20.

25) Innaja: this man served repeatedly as week-eponym in the years 9+1, 15, 17, 18+1, 19, 19+1, 20 – all cases without patronymic; with the patronymic Amuraja, i.e. identical with the year-eponym, he served in the years 27 and 33+1. If all references are to the same person we can conclude that he served as week-eponym many times as a young man in Kanesh, then became year-eponym for one year, and returned to Kanesh where he became week-eponym a few more times. It is apparently quite clear that he served as week-eponym after his term as year-eponym.

29) Aššur-imitti: in the published material we have one person with the patronymic Ilī-bānī, and one who is called *malāhum*, “the skipper”; this designation is found in Gelb 56 but the other references in the chart only give the name.

10. All these persons presumably belong to Enlil-bānī's family; cf. my *OACP*, 17 and 76.

APPENDIX 2

The Term *hamuštum* in Atypical Contexts

I list in all 8 texts where the word *hamuštum* appears in unusual or atypical context and it is my conclusion that all these refer to a concept which is different from, and presumably has no practical relation with the week-eponymy.

- 1) CCT 2:25: (30) šu-ma ha-ra-nu-um (31) a-ni-ša-am i-ta-áp-té (32) 5 TÚG i-bi₄-tí-a a-qá-tí-a (33) ez-ba-ma ú lu-qú-tí kà-lá-ša (34) áb-kà-nim šu-ma ha-mu-uš-tí (35) ik-DA-áš-dí x (x) hi a [(x x)] (36) a-na a-wi-il₅-tim ah-za-ma (37) ha-mu-uš-tí lu da [...] (38) šu-ma A-mur-Ištar ha-ra-šu (39) a-na A-limkti iš-tí-ku-nu (40) li-iz-ku-ú, “If the road leading here has been opened, then leave (only) 5 textiles in my house for my disposal and send all my goods off to me. If my *hamuštum* has reached me(?), then procure the textiles(?) for the woman and let my *hamuštum* ... If Amur-Ištar intends a voyage to the City, then let him clear himself with you (first).”

Line 35: I suggest very tentatively that we have a form of *kašadum* here in a construction with a non-personal subject, so the meaning should be “fall to someone’s share”, “accrue to someone” (cf. Veenhof, *Aspects*, 413–417, for a discussion of this verb). – My translation of the remainder of the line is highly tentative and builds on the suggested reading: ú TÚG. HI.A; however, although I have collated the text I cannot interpret the traces on the tablet with any confidence.

- 2) TC 1:101: (1) 10 1/2 GÍN KUG.BABBAR (2) ša i-li-a (3) 4 2/3 GÍN KUG.BABBAR (4) ša A-na (5) ta-ad-mi-iq-tám (6) a-na Ili₅-ba-ni (7) a-di-in (8) 1/2 MA.NA URUDU (9) ta-aq-ri-ba-sú (10) 1/3 MA.NA (11) ša ha-mu-uš-tim (12) a-šu-mi-šu áš-qú-ul, “10 1/2 shekels of silver belonging to my god; 4 2/3 shekels of silver belonging to (divine) Anna – I gave as a *tadmiqtum*-loan to Ili-bānī. 1/2 mina of copper was his *taqriftum*; 1/3 mina ‘of’ the *hamuštum* I paid in his name. Witnesses.”

The text is EL 153, and it has been treated by Hirsch, *UAR*, 36, n. 191.

- 3) *CCT 5:32c*: (1) 16 1/2 GÍN 7 1/2 ŠE (2) KUG.BABBAR *a-na ši-ta*
 (3) *ha-am-ša-tí-kà* (4) *ni-a-tí-im* (5) *a-na a-ha-tí-kà* (6) *a-dí-in e-zí-ib*
 (7) 2 2/3 GÍN KUG.BABBAR (8) *ša i-na ha-mu-(uš-)tí-im* (9) *a-na A-šúr-GAL* (10) *ú-ša-he-ru-ni* (11) TÚG *a-na Ha-tí-tim* (12) *a-dí-in*,
 “16 1/2 shekels 7 1/2 grains of silver for your two *hamuštus*. – ours –
 I gave to your sister. Apart from the 2 2/3 shekels of silver which they
 deducted from the *hamuštum* for Aššur-rabi, I gave the textile to
Hattítum.”
- 4) *kt g/k 65*: (4) *um-ma a-ta-ma* (5) 1/2 MA.NA 9 1/3 GÍN (6) *a-na ha-muš-tí-kà* (7) *ù tap-hi-ri-kà* (8) *ga-me-er*, “You said: ‘39 1/3 she-
 kels have been expended on your *hamuštum* and your *taphírum*.”
 Line 7: the rare term *taphírum* seems to be connected with temples,
 and Kienast has suggested the translation “Tempelschatz” in *ATHE*,
 11.
- 5) *BIN 4:68*: (19) *a-šu-mì* (20) *ha-muš-tim ša a-bi-ni* (21) *ša-áš-hu-tim*
a-ša kima (22) *i-a-tí ù um-mì-ni* (23) *áš-ta-pár ù a-ma-kam* (24) *šu-ma ha-muš-tí* (25) [*a-bi-ni* . . .], “As to letting our father’s *hamuštum* be
 cleared(?) I have written to my representatives and to our mother,
 so if [our father’s] *hamuštum* [. . .].”
 Line 21: the verb(s) *šahātum* in Old Assyrian have not yet been ade-
 quately interpreted and my translation is quite provisional; it seems
 clear, however, that the verb denotes an aspect of the technique of
 clearing accounts since it is found very frequently with the word
nikkassu. According to Lewy in *EL* 1, 206, n. b, the verb in the D-stem
 could function as a synonym of *ebēbum*, “be clean”, in the D-stem;
 in *AHw* von Soden has apparently accepted this and gives the trans-
 lation: “Schulden bereinigen.”
- 6) *ICK 2:338*: (11') [x] GÍN KUG.BABBAR *a-šu-mì* (12') [x (x) *i*] *n a-dí-in* (13') *a-na ha-muš-tí(-šu)* [x¹ [. . .] (14') *i-li-bi₄ I-ku-ni[m (. . .)]*
-ma, “I gave [x] shekels of silver on behalf of [. . .]; for his *hamuštum*
 . . . in Ikūnum’s possession.”
- 7) *L 29-601*: (1) 1 *na-ru-uq* 2 DUG (2) *ar-ša-tim a-na DAM* (3) DINGIR-
ba-ni a-dí-in (4) 3 DUG *a-na ha-mu-uš-tim* (5) *i-dí-nu*, “I gave 1 sack
 and 2 jars of wheat(?) to Ili-nādā’s wife. They gave 3 jars for/to the
hamuštum.”
- 8) *CCT 3:50a*: (8) DUB-pá-am (9) *ša hu-bu-ul* (10) ^aIM-GAL (11)
 DUMU *A-šur-ma-lik* (12) *šé-li-a-ma* (13) 1/3 MA.NA 3 1/2 GÍN
 KUG.BABBAR (14) *li-iš-qú-lá-ku-nu-tí-ma* (15) *ú DUB-pu-šu* (16)
ú-šé-ra-šu-um (17) *ha-mu-uš-tí* (18) *lá ta-qí-i*, “take out the tablet con-

cerning the debt of Adad-rabi, son of Aššur-malik, and let him pay to you 23 1/2 shekels of silver, and then release his tablet to him. You have not dedicated my *hamuštum*."

In 6 cases the term *hamuštum* is given the personal possessive suffix or combined in a genitival construction, so that it must be something which could belong to a person; in one instance a person may be seen to have had two. Although it is true that the word for "week" was also found to be "possessed" by persons, it seems quite obvious that we cannot use this concept in the 8 texts presented above. Texts 4 and 8 appear to provide a link with the religious sphere, the former text indicating that *hamuštum* could denote a parallel concept to *taphirum*; but also text 2 places the word in a religious context.

Most probably the word denotes an amount of money and I suggest that we should interpret it provisionally as "a one-fifth share". Whether there is any connection with the Neo-Assyrian word *hamussu*, which has also been interpreted as denoting such a payment, must remain undecided. It occurs only in ABL 532 and is there said to be delivered to Aššur and to "the house of your gods", so it may also have a religious background.

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