

## YOUR MONEY OR YOUR LIFE! A PORTRAIT OF AN ASSYRIAN BUSINESSMAN

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The phrase which inspired the title of this paper is found in a letter which was written at the request of two Old Assyrian ladies, called Tarām-Kūbī and Šimat-Assur, and addressed to the Assyrian trader Imdi-ilum. The two women spent their lives in the city of Assur during the nineteenth century B.C., and the letter was obviously sent from there to the Assyrian commercial colony attached to the city of Kanesh in central Anatolia. The letter ran:

Here we ask the women who interpret oracles, the women who interpret omens from entrails, and the ancestral spirits - and (divine) Assur gives you a serious warning: You love money! You hate your life! Can't you satisfy Assur (here) in the City? Please, when you have heard the letter then come, see Assur's eye and save your life! As to the proceeds from my textiles, why don't you send that to me?<sup>1</sup>

The recipient of this letter, Imdi-ilum, will be the subject of this paper. It is not possible to provide a detailed portrait of him as a man, a clearly defined individual, for his own letters are stubbornly concerned with the multitude of practical matters which were relevant for the unceasing pursuit of profit. It is an intriguing fact that the unusual and deeply personal, strongly emotional outbursts and references to matters of religion and daily family concerns must be sought nearly exclusively in letters from women.

My preoccupation here will therefore not be a real portrait, but rather a description of a typical Old Assyrian businessman, his family relations and his economic and social world. For this purpose Imdi-ilum is well suited; the main reason is that we have a considerable number of textual references to him which make it possible to provide a fairly detailed analysis. Furthermore, we do possess at least some fragmentary evidence of an archaeological nature concerning his house in the Kanesh harbour, enough to allow us to reconstruct part of his archive. Finally, Imdi-ilum appears to have had a unique name, which is extraordinarily helpful for any analysis of the textual corpus. I know of only one patronymic, Šu-Laban, and I assume that all references to Imdi-ilum concern this man, Imdi-ilum son of Šu-Laban.

### Imdi-ilum's archive.

It is practically impossible to carry out satisfactory archival studies in the textual material from Kanesh at the present time, since the majority of the available texts stem from illicit diggings and since, moreover, the excavations carried out during one field season in 1925 by Hrozný appear to have been rather confused. The competent Turkish excavations, which have so far resulted in the finding of more than 15,000 texts, have provided us with some excellent reports dealing with the architectural and artifactual findings, but practically none of the texts have been made available for study. Since the basic socio-economic unit in the Old Assyrian society was the family firm, whose structure and functions were directly reflected in the individual private archives, we are in a very difficult situation when trying to analyse institutions, procedures, families etc. We must attempt to piece together again the scattered and obviously quite incomplete remains of these archives, and in this task we are faced with formidable and indeed often insurmountable difficulties which

seriously limit the power of our conclusions.<sup>2</sup>

The archive which I propose to study here is represented both in the published collections of European and American museums and in the corpus found by Hrozný. Of course, when he finally persuaded the villagers to tell him where they had been finding the tablets which had then been fed into the antiquities market for forty years, they showed him precisely those locations where they had been digging. Accordingly, he discovered what remained there of archives which had already been partly "excavated", and he tells us that he found "dans un endroit où les villageois avaient auparavant beaucoup creusé" part of Pūsukēn's archive; in two rooms he discovered ca. 250 tablets which had formed part of the archive of Imdī-ilum and his father Šu-Laban.<sup>3</sup>

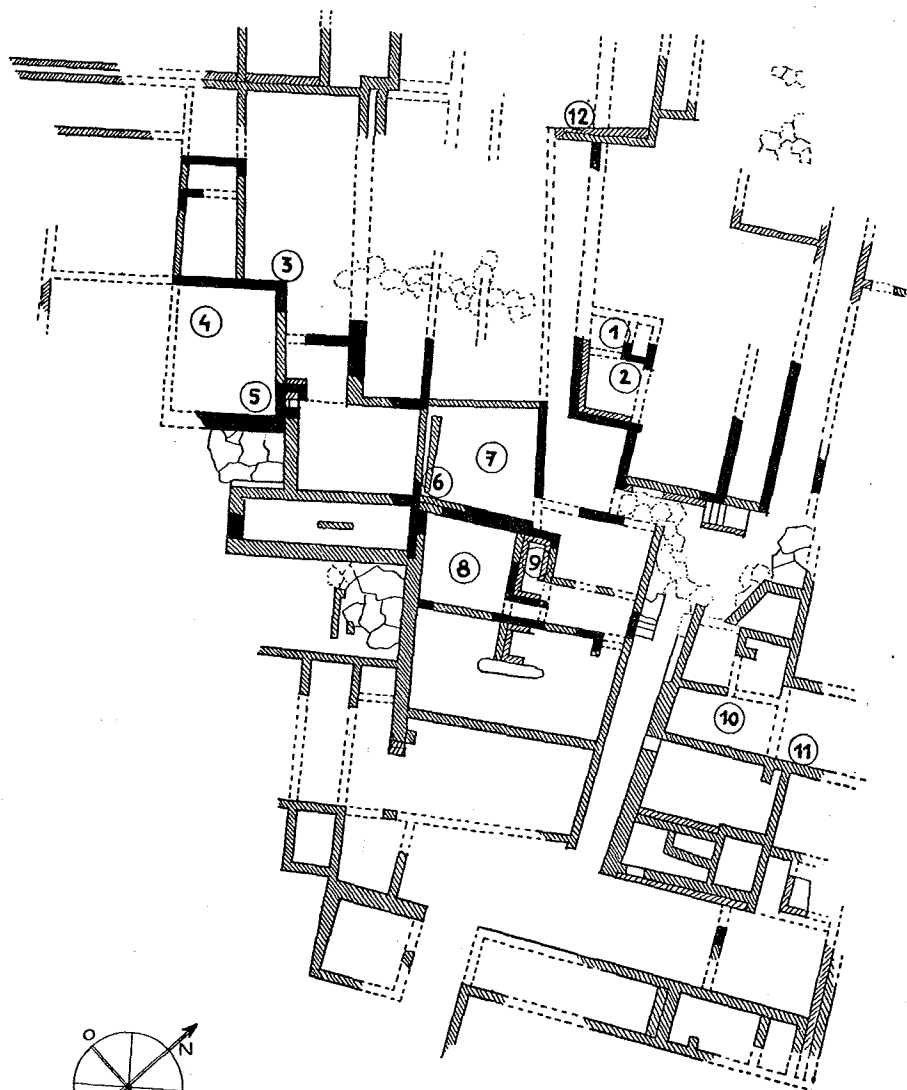
In the volume ICK 1, where Hrozný published nearly 200 texts found by him, he also provided a plan of his excavations of the field called "la prairie de Hadji Mehmed", and on this plan he indicated by numbers 12 locations where tablets had been found; the list of texts in the volume contains references to these loci so that it is possible to determine which texts had been found together.<sup>4</sup> Hrozný himself pointed out that "les tablettes les plus nombreuses, où est nommé Imdīlum, proviennent de l'emplacement 4, et sont presque toutes noircies par le voisinage d'une source".<sup>5</sup> Regrettably, Hrozný's notes on his excavation had disappeared when Matous in 1962 brought out the second volume of texts from the excavations at Kültepe, so it is not possible to determine where the large majority of Hrozný's finds came from. It must also be admitted that the plan given in ICK 1 is rather unclear so that it is impossible to combine the walls shown on it so as to form intelligible house-plans. Hrozný was aware that he was digging in an area where previous trenches had caused disturbances, and a further complicating factor - of which he was not aware - was the existence of more than one building-level.

The Turkish excavator Professor Tahsin Özgüç started his own activity at the site in an area which was immediately adjacent to Hrozný's old trenches. It appears that Imdī-ilum's house must have been entirely within Hrozný's area, but Özgüç found at least one house which had been partly excavated by Hrozný, one which had belonged to an Assyrian merchant called Iaqēpum. Texts from his archive had been discovered by Hrozný at locus 12 on his plan, and Özgüç reported finding further tablets from this archive. The rooms dug by Hrozný must be located in squares G 10-11 on the plan published by Özgüç.<sup>6</sup> We know from the further excavations that Iaqēpum and another Assyrian called Adad-šulūli were neighbours of Imdī-ilum, and it is interesting to see that these persons do not play any role in Imdī-ilum's archive.

It must be kept in mind that only fifteen out of the total of 163 letters which are known to me, where Imdī-ilum appears as either sender or recipient, were discovered by Hrozný. On the other hand, practically all of Imdī-ilum's loan-documents have been found by Hrozný.<sup>7</sup> It therefore seems virtually certain that letters were kept separate from texts of other types in Imdī-ilum's house, and it is indeed possible that they were stored in a different house.

The two lots of tablets mentioned by Hrozný as found in adjoining rooms and belonging to the archive of Imdī-ilum and his father Šu-Laban must correspond to loci 3 and 4. The plan indicates that another lot was found at locus 5 which appears to be in the same room as locus 4; however, only two texts are known to have been found at locus 5, ICK 1:31 and 33, letters which have no relation to Imdī-ilum's archive. I assume that they should be assigned to level 1b and thus came from a later building which stood at the same spot.<sup>8</sup>

Of the texts published in ICK 1, 67 were discovered at locus 4, and 5 were



Plans des édifices cappadociens,  
trouvés près du Kultépé par la Mission Tchécoslovaque en 1925.  
Les chiffres indiquent les places où les archives cappadociennes ont été trouvées.

found at locus 3. These 72 texts thus constitute only a fraction of the 250 documents which Hrozný said that he found here; some of the remaining ones have of course been published in ICK 2, others probably still await publication. It is hardly possible to determine which of the texts in ICK 2 came from Imdi-illum's archive; 25 texts directly mention this person and may therefore be included with certainty, and at least ten or twenty more may be added because they mention persons who are known to have been members of Imdi-illum's close family. However, no more than half of the tablets found by Hrozný at these loci may confidently be grouped as belonging to Imdi-illum's archive.

In spite of these restrictions the group of 72 texts in ICK 1 constitute an invaluable tool which may provide us with clues about the nature of the archive as a whole. The first basic observation then is that Imdi-illum himself is mentioned in only 26 of these documents, i.e. about forty per cent. 14 texts are written out in the first person or mention no names at all and are consequently not amenable to any analysis,<sup>9</sup> so we are left with 32 texts out of 72 whose presence in the archive must be explained on the basis of a study of the persons who appear in them.

In nine of these remaining texts we find one or more of Imdi-illum's brothers, Ennam-Bēlum, Assur-ṣulūli and Puzur-Assur (28, 72, 95, 99, 161, 176, 183, 186 and 190). Šu-Laban, presumably in all cases Imdi-illum's father, is found in four of the texts (7, 105, 140 and 156). Finally, Imdi-illum's son Puzur-Ištar is the recipient of one letter (54), which means that 14 of the 32 texts can fairly easily be explained as indeed belonging to Imdi-illum's archive. This leaves us with no less than 18 texts which need some further explanation.

Five of these texts refer to one Idī-Ištar (64, 83, 142, 175 and 178), and three to a man named Ušur-sa-Assur (70, 110 and 151); these men, sons of Assur-malik, had close relations with Imdi-illum's sons, but it is obvious that the documents in question could not have been attributed to Imdi-illum's archive without Hrozný's notes concerning their findspot. Two other texts (36 and 152) concern a man by the name Amur-Ištar who was probably identical with Imdi-illum's uncle of this name.

For the remaining eight texts no really satisfactory explanation can in fact be given here. Two of them may be intrusive and belong to different archives altogether,<sup>10</sup> and the six which remain are:

- 94 : a quittance involving Ilī-nādā, Alāhum son of Zukuhum, and Alāhum son of Ibezua,
- 132: a letter to Annali and Ilabrat-bāni from Abum-ilī,<sup>11</sup>
- 143: a loan: Assur-bēl-awātim son of Šu-Hubur owes an amount of copper to Ennu-Dagān,
- 160: a loan: Puzur-Anna son of Šu-Ilabrat owes an amount of gold to Idī-Aššur,
- 166: a loan: Maši-ilī owes an amount of silver to Sukallija,
- 189: a letter, names of sender and recipients missing.<sup>12</sup>

These texts could perhaps give support to the doubts expressed by Hrozný himself in the introduction to ICK 1, where he said that the previous extensive diggings in the area could well have disturbed the archaeological context to such an extent that most of the tablets were in fact not found *in situ*. However, these remarks stand somewhat opposed to Hrozný's first report from 1927 where he noted that tablets were regularly found associated with remains of large pots in which they had originally been stored; in fact, some tablets were discovered lying in such a pot.<sup>13</sup> It seems probable that the two lots of Imdi-illum texts discovered by Hrozný were relatively undisturbed, but it remains likely that they fell from an upper storey when the house was burnt down.

The incomplete and somewhat uncertain evidence available does make it clear that Hrozný found part of the archive which had been used by the *family and firm* of which Imdi-ilum was a leading member. Whether such an important man as his uncle Amur-Istar also had his own archive must remain uncertain, although highly likely, and the evidence available does not make it possible to even begin to speculate about the reasons for the presence of individual texts in the Imdi-ilum archive.

The letters found by Hrozný show that Imdi-ilum's archive contained messages sent to him as well as from him, and some of the letters have Imdi-ilum appearing in the company of a number of other persons, some of them clearly not members of his family. The list of letters provided at the end of the article indicates the difficulties involved in a reconstruction of the archive on the basis of the scattered material from illicit diggings, for it is obviously impossible to decide whether for instance a letter addressed to Imdi-ilum and Pūsu-kēn should be allocated to one or the other archive. In fact, one might suspect that in at least some instances more than one copy of such letters would exist, but duplicate texts are exceedingly rare in the Old Assyrian material. The list of letters must therefore not be regarded as a kind of inventory of Imdi-ilum's archive.

#### *Imdi-ilum's family.*<sup>14</sup>

Since patronymics are used sparingly in the Old Assyrian texts and are nearly always absent from the letters, it is necessary for any study of a family group to build the analyses primarily on an evaluation of context and content. This is naturally a perilous procedure where we run the risk of becoming involved in elaborate circular arguments. Moreover, homonymy quickly becomes a barrier to our reconstructions, which means that our analysis must be conducted and evaluated on different levels in consonance with the distance from the central figure. Imdi-ilum's closest relatives, father, brothers, children, occur so often together with him in intimate relationships that their place is fairly easy to ascertain. Women are always more poorly represented, and on the level of uncles, grandparents, grandchildren and in-laws we must accept an unpleasantly high degree of uncertainty. The reconstruction which follows must be understood in the light of these observations.

The name of Imdi-ilum's father was as already stated Šu-Laban. Perhaps the clearest evidence for this conclusion is found in the letter ICK 1:182, found at locus 4 in Imdi-ilum's house; this is a message from the king of Assur to the Kanesh colony which explains the background for the sending out to Kanesh of the attorney appointed by the city assembly to assist Imdi-ilum son of Šu-Laban in a lawsuit.<sup>15</sup>

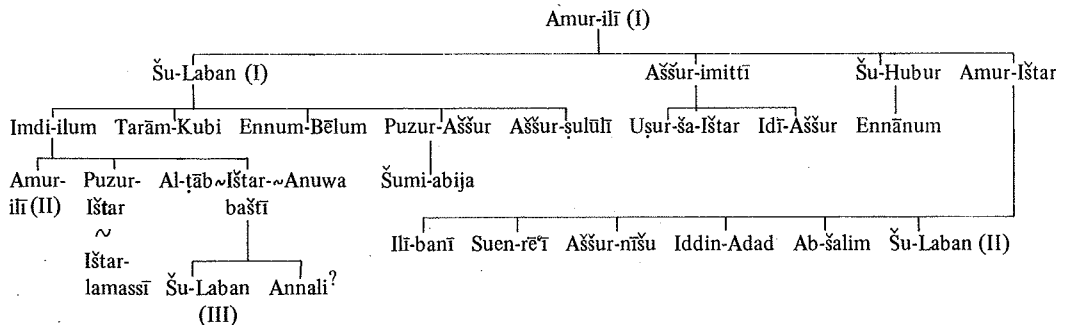
This patronymic is found associated with a few other names, and a glance at the list of Imdi-ilum's correspondents will show that some of these names do indeed refer to Imdi-ilum's brothers. Ennum-Bēlum, Puzur-Assur and Assur-gulūli occur as some of the most frequent correspondents and are often found together. Puzur-Assur is twice in letters to Imdi-ilum described as "your brother",<sup>16</sup> and his death is discussed in another letter in the correspondence.<sup>17</sup>

I do not know the name of Imdi-ilum's mother. We do know, however, his children, two boys called Puzur-Istar and Amur-ilī,<sup>18</sup> and a girl called Istar-bastī. As shown by J. Lewy, she moved from Assur to Kanesh at a certain point in her life; in her letter KTS 1b to her brother Puzur-Istar she urges him to come to Assur and fetch her, "so that in Kanesh I can watch over your father's house and you". Istar-bastī married twice; her first marriage was to an Assyrian called Al-tāb, and after his death she married an Anatolian by the name

of Anuwa. It is not known whether she had any children in her first marriage, but a letter refers to a daughter of hers from her second marriage.<sup>19</sup>

The two sons unfortunately have very common names and it is therefore very difficult to determine what their own family-ties were. Puzur-Istar may have been married to a girl called Istar-lamassī, the daughter of a certain Assur-nādā and the sister of Assur-nēmedī and Annina. A marriage-contract concerning a Puzur-Istar - unfortunately without patronymic - and this girl is known,<sup>20</sup> and Garelli has argued convincingly for the existence of close ties between Istar-lamassī and Puzur-Istar's family.<sup>21</sup> We also have two letters exchanged between these two persons, but only one name occurs in them: Enna-Suen, and that again is a very common personal name.<sup>22</sup> It must certainly be kept in mind that none of Istar-lamassī's brothers seem to have had close connections with Puzur-Istar; her father Assur-nādā was dead when she was given in marriage, and it is quite uncertain whether he was identical with the person of this name who appears in Imdi-ilum's correspondence.

I have not been able to establish whether Amur-ilī was married and had children.



Even though we do have some letters exchanged between Imdi-ilum and certain women, it is not possible to establish the identity of his wife with certainty. Other traders of his generation corresponded fairly regularly with their wives who spent their lives in Assur, and an obvious example is of course Imdi-ilum's close associate Pūsu-kēn whose correspondence with his wife Lamassī is quite substantial and varied in nature.<sup>23</sup> The letter quoted at the beginning of this article was obviously despatched by women who had very close relations with Imdi-ilum, and it is my suggestion that Šimat-Assur, who appears together with (and after) Tarām-Kūbī there and in one further letter, was most probably Imdi-ilum's wife. It was hardly Tarām-Kūbī, even though she had a higher status than Šimat-Assur, for Tarām-Kūbī was presumably identical with the wife of another well-known Assyrian trader in Kanesh: Innaja.<sup>24</sup> I suggest therefore that she was Imdi-ilum's sister; it should be noted that also Pūsu-kēn's sister, Tarīš-mātum, is known to have retained extremely close connections with her brother and his family affairs in Assur, in spite of the fact that she was herself married - namely to Assur-malik son of Šu-Kūbum.<sup>25</sup> This pattern has a number of parallels in societies where males are absent from their homes for long periods of time, often in connection with long-distance trading; we find

an added emphasis on women as carriers of titles and the guardians of male interests, and of particular relevance is the observation made by Marvin Harris that absentee males tend to "turn over the care of jointly owned houses, lands and property to their sisters. Absentee males rely on their sisters rather than their wives because wives are drawn from someone else's paternal interest group".<sup>26</sup> It is further interesting to note that neither Imdi-ilum nor Pūsu-kēn appear to have had very close contacts or extensive commercial dealings with their brothers-in-law.

Šimat-Assur's position is reflected by a group of letters which are concerned with the question of the purchase of houses for Imdi-ilum in Assur. In ICK 1:192 he writes to his representatives that Pūsu-kēn is on his way to the capital with 20 minas of silver which is to be given to "the women" who have lent an amount against interest to the representatives, money which have been used to pay for houses. He urges that the women should be made to accept that no interest is to be paid, but that he will take care of their business in Anatolia *in lieu* of interest, "doing my utmost over every single shekel of silver". The unpublished letter from Tarām-Kūbī and Šimat-Assur, to be edited by Sally Moren, refers directly to this affair; we hear that one of the women has given the 20 minas of silver and she complains that the representatives in Assur have not yet paid her back. In a further unpublished text from Imdi-ilum to these ladies (to be edited by Matouš as no. 50a) the writer promises that Pūsu-kēn will bring the money, and he asks them to send textiles which he can sell for them. Finally, the letter MET 10 (also unpublished) is from the recipients of ICK 1:192 and contains the following passage:

For 10 minas of silver we bought the house belonging to Bēlānum son of Nūr-Istar; for 3 minas 5 shekels of silver we bought the house of Šu-Bēlum for you. We borrowed the money from Šimat-Assur and paid. We shall give her 5 minas of silver out of this shipment of goods.<sup>27</sup>

It was thus presumably Šimat-Assur who advanced the money mentioned in the other texts, and one may well ask whether it is in fact likely that Imdi-ilum's wife would lend her husband money against interest. This must remain uncertain, but the very close ties existing between these two persons - also reflected in the references to small consignments sent to her from Imdi-ilum<sup>28</sup> - make it at least possible. It is worth noting that these women were able to dispose over such very large funds which clearly constituted their private, personal property; I would guess that such sums had their origin in a system of dowry, but that again is speculative.

Moving to the problem of Imdi-ilum's grandfather and uncles we step further into the realm of speculation and uncertainty. The name Šu-Laban is associated with no less than eight different patronymics: Amur-ilī,<sup>29</sup> Al-ṭāb,<sup>30</sup> Amur-Istar,<sup>31</sup> Bazi,<sup>32</sup> Dannu-ilī,<sup>33</sup> Kurub-Istar,<sup>34</sup> Šu-Assur,<sup>35</sup> and Šumi-abija.<sup>36</sup> Only Bazi occurs as a patronymic in one of the texts from Imdi-ilum's archive, and he was hardly Imdi-ilum's grandfather since the text records a loan extended by Imdi-ilum to Šu-Laban son of Bazi. The patronymics Al-ṭāb, Amur-Istar and Šu-Assur must all refer to persons too late to belong in this context. Šu-Laban son of Al-ṭāb could in fact be Imdi-ilum's grandson, from the first marriage of Istar-bastī. And Šu-Laban son of Amur-Istar was probably Imdi-ilum's cousin.

The only likely candidate as Imdi-ilum's grandfather is in fact Amur-ilī, attested once in the letter KTS 34a, where a certain Elāli writes about his purchase of a garden in Assur:



Šu-Laban son of Amur-ilī agreed (on a price) for the garden, but Assur-  
imittī said: "If you buy you must send 10 minas..."<sup>37</sup>

Assur-imittī was in fact the name of one of Imdi-ilum's paternal uncles, i.e. a brother of Šu-Laban,<sup>38</sup> which nicely explains why he appears in the passage quoted above. We have a number of references to one Assur-imittī son of Amur-ilī, a very influential man in Assur who is known to have entertained close relations with the king.<sup>39</sup> I suggest that it was this man who figured so prominently in Imdi-ilum's correspondence and was indeed his direct boss in Assur.

If it is thus correct that Amur-ilī was the name of Imdi-ilum's grandfather, we can go one step further and identify the man Amur-Istar who also figures so often in Imdi-ilum's letters as the son of Amur-ilī, and thus another paternal uncle of Imdi-ilum. This Amur-Istar is known to have been a close partner of Pūsu-kēn,<sup>40</sup> and his very active role in the trade as a contemporary of Imdi-ilum and Pūsu-kēn could be easily explained if he was the youngest son of Amur-ilī.

Just as it seems likely that the name Šu-Laban recurs in other generations and branches of Imdi-ilum's family, as suggested above, it is thus probable that Imdi-ilum's son Amur-ilī was named after his great-grandfather.

In my reconstruction of Imdi-ilum's family-tree I have placed one further son of Amur-ilī: Šu-Hubur. The letter BIN 4:33, to Assur-imittī and Šu-Hubur from Pūsu-kēn, shows that the two recipients were brothers,<sup>41</sup> but it must be admitted that there is no attestation known to me of a Šu-Hubur son of Amur-ilī. On the other hand both this name and Assur-imittī occur as sons of one Elāli, and it has therefore usually been assumed that it was this Šu-Hubur - known also to have held the year-eponymy - who wrote a great many letters to Pūsu-kēn. My suggestion is naturally quite tentative, but it should be remembered that especially those men who lived in the capital, and who therefore never appear in lists of witnesses, are only very rarely attested with patronymics. A Šu-Hubur can certainly be seen to have had close connections with Imdi-ilum, and his son Ennānum was Imdi-ilum's trusted man in Assur.<sup>42</sup>

Attempts to ascertain whether Imdi-ilum's brothers were married and had children run into serious difficulties because of their names which are all very common.<sup>43</sup>

#### Imdi-ilum's main business-contacts.

The basic premise upon which much of the following discussion is built may be formulated as follows: in the introductory formula of any letter the sequence of the names is determined by the status of the individuals involved; when we have only one sender and one recipient the situation is simple: "From A to B" shows that A has the higher status. When we have more than one sender and/or recipient the status relations of some of the persons must necessarily become obscured: when A and B send a letter to C and D we can conclude that A outranks all the others, and that C outranks D; but it remains unclear whether B has a higher or lower status than C and D.<sup>44</sup>

The three tables presented here show that the principle outlined is valid for the vast majority of the persons, and in fact the rigidity of the system is a powerful indication of the importance of social status in the Old Assyrian society. A restricted group of persons can be found in introductory formulae which place them both higher and lower than Imdi-ilum; obviously, some persons must have been regarded as equals, in which case other considerations may determine the relative position of these men: courtesy, anger or pure chance.



*Correspondents with a higher status than Imdī-ilum:*

name	location	attestations
Adad-bānī	Assur	2x
Alili	Assur	1x
Amur-Assur	Assur	1x
Assur-imittī	Assur	19x + 2 unclear att.
Assur-rēšī	Anatolia?	1x
Buzutaja	Kanesh	2x
Ikuppī-Assur	Assur	2x
Isma-Assur	Assur	1x
Istar-pilāh	Anatolia?	1x
Puzur-Istar (I)	Assur	2x
Šalim-ahum	Assur	1x
Šu-Hubur	Assur	4x + 3 unclear att.
Šu-Laban	Assur?	2x

*Correspondents with a lower status than Imdī-ilum:*

Adu	Anatolia	3x	
Ah-salim	Anatolia	4x	
Ahu-waqar	Anatolia	6x	
Al-tāb	Anatolia	2x	
Amur-ilī	Kanesh, Anat.	13x	
Amur-Samas	Kanesh	1x	
Anah-ilī	Kanesh	1x	
Annali	Anatolia	5x	
Aṣu	Anatolia	1x	
Assur-damiq	Anatolia	1x	
Assur-idī	Anatolia	1x	
Assur-malik	Anat., Assur	1x	+ 1 unclear att.
Assur-nādā	Anatolia?	2x	
Assur-šulūlī	Kanesh, Anat.	13x	+ 1 unclear att.
Assur-tāb	Kanesh, Anat.	8x	
Bazu[...]	Kanesh	1x	
Bēlija	Assur	1x	
Buburānum	Assur	1x	+ 12 unclear att.
Buzia	Anatolia	4x	
Ennānum	Assur	2x	+ 12 unclear att.
Ennum-Assur	Kanesh, Anat.	8x	
Ennum-Bēlum	Anat., Assur, Kanesh	21x	+ 5 unclear att.
Hadaja	Kanesh?	1x	
Huraṣānum	Anat., Kanesh	3x	
Idī-abum	Kanesh?	1x	
Idī-Adad	Anatolia	10x	
Idnaja	?	2x	
Ikūnum	Kanesh?	1x	
Ikuppīja	Assur, Anat.	6x	+ 1 unclear att.
Ilī-asrannī	Anatolia	3x	
Ilī-bānī	?	2x	
Inah-ilī	Kanesh	1x	
Innaja	Kanesh	1x	+ 2 unclear att.
Istar-bastī	Kanesh	4x	
Itūr-ilī	Anatolia	3x	
Kurara	Anatolia	3x	
Kurub-Istar	Kanesh, Assur?	3x	

name	location	attestations	
Kutallānum	?	1x	
Lālija	Kanesh	2x	
Laqēpum	?	1x	
Lulu	Anatolia?	1x	
Luzina	Anatolia	1x	
Pilah-Istar	Assur, Anat.	2x	+ 2 unclear att.
Puzur-Adad	Anatolia	1x	
Puzur-Anna	Assur	1x	
Puzur-Assur	Kanesh, Anat., Assur	14x	
Puzur-ilī	Anatolia	2x	
Puzur-Istar (II)	Kanesh, Anat.	11x	
Šamas-abī	Kanesh?	1x	
Šu-Bēlum	Kanesh	2x	
Šu-Istar	Anat., Assur	1x	+ 11 unclear att.
Šu-Kubum	Kanesh?	1x	
Šumi-abija	Kanesh	1x	
Taram-Kūbī	Assur	3x	
Usānum	Anatolia	1x	
Ušur-ša-Assur	Anatolia	3x	+ 1 unclear att.
Ušur-sa-Istar	Kanesh, Anat.	6x	+ 1 unclear att.
Uzua	Anatolia	5x	
Zuba	Kanesh	1x	+ 1 unclear att.

*Correspondents with unclear or mixed attestations:*

		higher	lower	unclear
Alāhum	Assur, Kanesh	3x	3x	
Amur-Istar	Anatolia	9x	8x	2x
Assur-taklāku	?	1x	2x	
Dadija	Assur			1x
Idī-Assur	Assur, Kanesh	2x	2x	
Kuzizia	Anatolia			1x
Pūsu-kēn	Assur, Kanesh	5x	11x	4x
Puzur-Ti'amtim	Kanesh			1x
Šalim-Assur	Kanesh, Assur?	2x	1x	
Šimat-Assur	Assur	1x	3x	

The pattern which emerges from the three tables is quite clear and indicates the importance of the basic bipartition of the Old Assyrian society into two branches of unequal status: the capital city Assur and the many colonies in Northern Syria and Anatolia.

In the capital we find Imdi-illum's superiors, led by his uncle Aššur-imittī who appears in 21 of the letters in the correspondence. He is surrounded by a small group of men who write and receive letters together with him: Ennānum and Buburānum (each 12 times), and Šu-Istar (11 times). Twice he appears together with Šu-Hubur, which is particularly interesting in view of the fact that the latter has written two letters addressed to Buzutaja, Pūšu-kēn and Imdi-illum in which he acts as a protector of the interests of Assur-imittī's heirs.

Both Aššur-imittī and Šu-Hubur have been tentatively described as Imdi-illum's paternal uncles. It seems that his father Šu-Laban died relatively early, for it was obviously his brothers, and especially Assur-imittī, who took care of the interests of the family and directed the activities in the colonies. We have only two letters from Šu-Laban to Imdi-illum; one of them, written together with an otherwise unknown Dādija to Imdi-illum and Bazu[.] is a caravan-account referring to purchases of a small number of textiles in Assur;<sup>45</sup> in the other letter Šu-Laban says that he will build a house and explains that he is alone; he goes on with a good deal of advice concerning the proper way to handle certain affairs, and asks Imdi-illum to act in such a way that he will not become unhappy but may hear good tidings from him instead: "Please take care and let me see you act like a man!"<sup>46</sup>

Whereas for instance Pūšu-kēn's father Su'ejja, who must have been roughly contemporary with Šu-Laban, is never found alive in our documentation, Imdi-illum's father did live to see his sons in full action in Kanesh. This is confirmed by a passage from the letter VAT 9247 to Ennum-Bēlum and Aššur-šulūli from Puzur-Assur,<sup>47</sup> in which the latter says that he gave a consignment of tin and textiles to Ušur-sa-[Assur] "while our father was still living".

Of the persons who occur together with Aššur-imittī only one can be confidently identified as a member of Imdi-illum's family: Ennānum was undoubtedly a son of Šu-Hubur.<sup>48</sup> Buburānum who nearly always appears together with Ennānum must surely have been another close relative, but I do not know of any patronymic for him. These two, who are of lower rank than Imdi-illum, appear to have had special relations to him. Ennānum writes in one letter how he takes care of all of Imdi-illum's wishes in Assur,<sup>49</sup> and of particular interest is the letter CCT 3:46b in which both warn him of Assur-imittī's attempts to pass on the responsibility for some losses to Imdi-illum:

Concerning the silver which you entrusted to Idī-Aššur for (?) Aššur-imittī, your father's brother, he will sue you for the losses. He says: "It is not my affair! " - Confirm your witnesses there that you did entrust the silver to Idī-Aššur! Further, concerning the tin which was lost in ... Aššur-imittī says: "That is not my affair! The tin belonged to Imdi-illum!" Aššur-imittī will sue you in these matters. Take care and be prepared!

Aššur-imittī's letters are concerned with many different subjects but some are of special interest; I have already referred to the purchase of houses in Assur on behalf of Imdi-illum, and to the large amounts of silver which he received in that connection. We also have some texts which show how Assur-imittī and his associates in Assur took care of the purchase of very substantial shipments of tin and textiles for Imdi-illum. Both in MET 10 and VAT 9218 the men in Assur acknowledge receipt of no less than 1 talent of silver, for which money

they have bought large quantities of tin and textiles. MET 10 is of quite special interest since it seems that the caravan referred to here, containing a shipment of 8 talents 40 minas of tin under seal, 50 minas of tin for expenses, 100 *kutānum*-textiles, plus seven donkeys, is also mentioned in the account ICK 1:124; this latter document makes it clear that the shipment belongs to three partners, namely Imdi-ilum, Pūsu-kēn and Šalim-Assur.<sup>50</sup> The damaged text Bursa 3376 presumably contained a quotation from another such caravan-account. The letter TC 3:54 refers to a shipment brought by a certain Pilah-Istar, probably the son of Uzua, one of Imdi-ilum's trusted agents in Anatolia, and Assur-imitti and his associates are asked to assist the transporter with the purchases and in particular see to it that the *nišhātum*-due is levied "with us". They must also represent Imdi-ilum when Pilah-Istar's *naruqqum*-tablet is written so that Imdi-ilum invests 2 minas of gold.<sup>51</sup> Such negotiations, where Assur-imitti acts for Imdi-ilum in connection with investments to be made in other traders' *naruqqum*-capital, are also reflected in the letter VAT 9253.<sup>52</sup>

The two letters TC 3:44 and MAH 10823, where we find a different group of people surrounding Assur-imitti, two of them, Idī-Assur and Adad-bānī being his superiors, deal with the complex business of transferring the assets of the dead trader Šu-Assur, son of Alāhum, to his brother Assur-malik. The same affair is briefly mentioned in a letter from Assur-imitti to Pūsu-kēn, CCT 2:41a. In these letters we find Imdi-ilum among the men in Assur, and very significantly he is the lowest ranking member of the group.

The letter CCT 2:35, addressed to Assur-imitti, Ennum-Bēlum, Ennānum and Burānum from Imdi-ilum, Pūsu-kēn, Assur-šulūlī and Ušur-sa-Istar, is concerned with the financial difficulties connected with the death of Puzur-Assur. The men in Kanesh have assembled all of the deceased man's assets, from Kanesh, Washania, Wahsusana and Purushaddum, but it all amounts to no more than about 1 talent of silver, which is said to be too little. What emerges from the text is first of all the complexity of the relations between the capital and the colonies, where the major decisions clearly belong to the men in Assur. The dead merchant's money and tablets must be sent there, and it is in Assur that the final accounting will take place.

Pūsu-kēn appears together with Imdi-ilum in five of the Assur-imitti letters, and we furthermore have a number of letters exchanged between these men without any mention of Imdi-ilum.<sup>53</sup> It is uncertain, however, whether we are in all cases dealing with the same Assur-imitti, and it should be pointed out that in a number of letters Pūsu-kēn is placed before Assur-imitti.<sup>54</sup> Also Šu-Hubur writes letters to Pūsu-kēn, sometimes in company with Pūsu-kēn's boss Šalim-ahum. I cannot find the proper basis for the very close contacts which clearly existed between Pūsu-kēn and his family on the one side and Imdi-ilum and his family on the other. The correspondence indicates that the two men were of equal status, and the 20 letters involving Pūsu-kēn show the constant and diversified contacts that existed between them. Three documents, ICK 1:124, 2:97, and BIN 4:33, all outside the Imdi-ilum correspondence, provide examples of their partnership involving joint investments in the overland trade, and the same pattern is revealed by our letters. According to CCT 3:21a they are jointly representatives for Šu-Hubur, a role which Pūsu-kēn has alone in TC 2:72.

A completely similar pattern is found in the correspondence which involved Amur-Istar, identified here as Imdi-ilum's uncle. It is interesting that this man had a formalised partnership with Pūsu-kēn, a contractual relationship which was terminated by the two merchants' heirs according to ATHE 24. It is accordingly not surprising that we have a number of letters exchanged between

these two men.

Amur-Istar was a very active man who functioned in various capacities. We have a considerable number of references to his activities concerning the trade in copper and wool, and he is known to have travelled a great deal in Anatolia in connection with these transactions: we find him of course in the copper-producing centers in Eastern Anatolia in such places as Tismurna, Durhumit and Kunanamt,<sup>55</sup> but also in Purushaddum where he had dealings with the local palace administration.<sup>56</sup> He also acted as caravan-leader on the long overland haul between Assur and Kanesh. The texts Gelb 62 and ICK 2:145 show how Imdī-illum represented his interests in court, and we hear once that he was entrusted with Puzur-Assur's seal.<sup>57</sup> He is mentioned frequently in the letters exchanged between the other members of the group, and his position is shown for instance in the letter CCT 4:27a from Uzua to Imdī-illum, where the former complains that he has written repeatedly to Amur-Istar and Pūsu-kēn to be allowed to go to Durhumit to do business in copper, but Amur-Istar has denied him that permission.

The impression one gets from all these texts is of a man whose position in the daily routine of the firm was quite different from the one held by Imdī-illum. Amur-Istar travelled much, and although we do find Imdī-illum engaging both in travel in Anatolia and in leading a caravan to Assur, it is obvious that he was usually stationed in Kanesh where he directed the affairs of the numerous agents. Amur-Istar was apparently the most highly placed such agent.

Imdi-illum's brothers, and especially Ennum-Bēlum, played a very conspicuous role in the running of the affairs of the family. They were the trusted agents who could deal with all aspects of the commercial and legal transactions. Ennum-Bēlum was apparently in Assur quite a number of times, and he writes letters back to Imdī-illum in Kanesh together with Assur-imittī and the other representatives there. We find him collecting debts and negotiating with customers; in the letter KUG 36 he recounts how he intervened in an affair because he found that Imdī-illum's agent acted irresponsibly. His position is also reflected in a letter from Imdī-illum to the son Amur-ilī where the latter is commanded to assist Ennum-Bēlum, obviously with the daily routine of the business.<sup>58</sup>

Ennum-Bēlum had his own affairs as shown by the fact that he had a *naruqqum*-capital; interestingly, Pūsu-kēn was one of the investors with an amount of 2 minas of gold; one of the witnesses to the document was his brother Puzur-Assur.<sup>59</sup> We have references to shipments owned jointly by Imdī-illum and Ennum-Bēlum: the extremely complex legal affair reflected by the documents TC 3:130 and ICK 1:188 involved the transportation of a consignment of tin and textiles to Ennum-Bēlum and Imdī-illum's representatives, whose names were Enna-Suen and Huraṣānum; the consignment was owned by the two brothers and the transporter was Imdī-illum's son Amur-ilī. The very close relations between these men did not prevent occasional litigation, as shown by for instance ICK 1:185 dealing with a shipment of a large amount of silver.

It seems that Imdī-illum went to Assur and stayed there, maybe enjoying his otium after a number of years in the colony at Kanesh;<sup>60</sup> Ennum-Bēlum probably took over the business in Anatolia together with Imdī-illum's sons. We have an intriguing letter from Ennum-Bēlum to his other brother Assur-ṣulūlī which could refer to this period and which gives us a picture of conflict and strife in the family:

To Assur-ṣulūlī: Please sell your goods for cash and be ready and cleared before I arrive so that we may go to the City together and (see to it that)

our father's house does not get destroyed. Let us clear ourselves! Don't you know how our brother is wicked? All the silver that I send from here, our brother indeed keeps it! He did not make any accounting with our father!<sup>61</sup>

The brother referred to here could be either Imdi-ilum or Puzur-Assur, of course, but I do not know of any references which indicate that the latter spent any long period of time in the capital. Another possibility is that the kinship terms here - as in so many Old Assyrian contexts - cover other relations, so that the "brother" could have been one of their associates. It seems obvious at least that the "father" in this letter was not their real father who must have been dead by then.

Puzur-Assur, whose status, and thus presumably his age, was lower than Ennum-Bēlum's, did not ordinarily stay in Kanesh. He corresponded with his three brothers in a few letters, and even though it is impossible to determine his usual home-city, these letters make it clear that it was somewhere to the southeast of Kanesh, i.e. most probably in one of the major caravan-cities on the road to Assur. He is involved in smuggling a number of times and can be seen to have had particularly close ties with Hahhum and Timelkia.<sup>62</sup> When we hear that he has handed over fairly substantial consignments of goods to other people who bring them to Kanesh and further on to Purushaddum or Wahsusana, it is possible that he is referring to re-loading procedures along the overland caravan trail rather than to purchase transactions which took place in Assur. He was certainly in the capital now and then,<sup>63</sup> and it remains possible that he was not in fact stationed permanently anywhere but that he functioned as a transporter. However, the information which we possess does point to a colony in Syria or southern Anatolia as his base.

About the last of the brothers, Assur-ṣulūlī, there is little to say. He does not seem to travel as much as Ennum-Belum or Puzur-Assur, but normally functioned in Kanesh together with Imdi-ilum, presumably as a junior associate dealing with the daily business there. A couple of letters show him in Wahsusana on his way to Durhumit; he became entangled in a lawsuit there and asked Imdi-ilum for help, and according to KTB 6 a letter from the latter proved effective. This is a very clear indication of his relatively modest place in the hierarchy.

The sons Puzur-Istar and Amur-ilī are found in all the roles described for the other members of the family. Puzur-Istar is especially interesting because of his role as Imdi-ilum's caretaker in Kanesh at a time when he himself was in Assur; the letters TC 1:24 and VAT 9241 refer to a lawsuit involving "attorneys" sent out from Assur, and the same matter is dealt with in BIN 6: 219.<sup>64</sup> But also such letters as ATHE 59 and KTS 19b (related to CCT 2:11a and LB 1202) show Puzur-Istar in action in Kanesh, collecting debts and handling the sale of shipments arriving from Assur. On the other hand, TC 3:50 shows that he was in Assur, and refers to a complex legal conflict with Ennānum.

Puzur-Istar's business is further illuminated by a memorandum which enumerates a number of loan documents where he is the creditor. In all this document, Gelb 56, refers to an outstanding credit of 12 minas 31 shekels of silver and 55 minas of copper, and his activities are thus - according to this one text - on a quite modest scale. None of the loans extended by him amount to more than about 3 minas of silver.

Amur-ilī is especially well known as a transporter, both on the overland haul to and from Assur and within Anatolia.<sup>65</sup> One letter makes it clear that he is supposed to assist Ennum-Bēlum, apparently in Kanesh, and we do in fact



find him in a number of letters together with this man. Otherwise, it is difficult to gain a clear impression of Amur-ilī's functions within the family-firm.

Amur-ilī was apparently not a very reliable person, or at least his father seems to have thought so. Imdi-illum writes once to Istar-bastī and Amur-ilī and enjoins upon the daughter to keep an eye on her brother:

Let him know how to obey! He must not interest himself (only) in bread and beer! Let him be a man!<sup>66</sup>

Istar-bastī herself held a rather dim view of both of her brothers according to her letter TC 3:112; it was addressed to Puzur-Istar and must have been sent from Assur to Kanesh, i.e. from before the time when she moved to Anatolia. She is extremely worried and asks Puzur-Istar why the brothers keep quarrelling with each other:

Who began the quarrel? As for me, and you both, why doesn't one listen to what the other says, but (like) an evildoer does harm to your father's house? On top of my illness and you who quarrel, I also heard about the revolt in the land and became extremely worried about you. ... When the land is again peaceful, then act in accordance with your father's instructions, set out and come here. Your father must not worry. And do be at peace with your brother and do not quarrel!

Amur-ilī himself has written a long letter to his father in which he presents a very elaborate defence against a whole series of accusations:

Why is it that you keep writing to me, saying: "You constantly send off your money in deceit<sup>67</sup> so that other people's firms may levy the *nishātum*-due! So, your transgressions are many and concern for you has eaten me up!" What silver of mine is it that you don't know about? Give me an opportunity<sup>68</sup> to go anywhere to take anything and place it before you in order to satisfy you! (It is true) that I observe others take away from their fathers' money some 10 minas of silver for themselves, and send it off for purchases under their fathers' noses, so that when their fathers hear about it they become angry - but when have I done such things? You say<sup>69</sup> that they keep doing such things and make their fathers angry, so that their fathers utter a curse before their gods - let that be *their* concern! And (divine) Assur and Massāt must not make such matters my business. When I was small ... did I not stand at your side? I never made trouble or wickedness. Today it is I who have in truth become your small brother.

Amur-ilī crowns these protestations of unflinching loyalty with saying that if he has done anything wrong "then may the palsy seize me! You are unique, my god, my trust, my guardian angel!"<sup>70</sup>

Apart from these members of Imdi-illum's immediate family we find a handful of men who repeatedly take care of the interests of Imdi-illum's firm. All of them seem to have higher rank than Imdi-illum's sons, but I am unable to establish their own family-relations and thus to determine whether they belonged to another branch of the family. The best attested are Adu, Annali, Idī-Adad and Uzua, and they are often in direct relation with each other and with one or more of the close relatives of Imdi-illum.

Adu seems to have been based more or less permanently in Puruṣhaddum, where he was involved in the sale of tin and textiles; he goes on some trips, of course, to Ussa, Ulama and certainly occasionally to Kanesh.<sup>71</sup> Idī-Adad and Annali are often found together, writing joint letters and acting as transport-

ers of letters and shipments. Idī-Adad was clearly the more important of the two, and we find him alone in a group of letters, CCT 4:30b and 50a, ATHE 27 and BIN 6:74, which all deal with his action on behalf of Imdī-īlum against Ennum-Assur who owes a large amount of silver. The first of these letters is from Idī-Adad to Imdī-īlum and it recounts in detail the negotiations between Ennum-Assur and himself; he ends with a plea to Imdī-īlum to write an angry letter directly to his debtor who has concluded his talks with Idī-Adad in disagreement and harsh words.

This same Idī-Adad, who acts so virtuously in the letter just discussed, became involved in a brawl with Amur-Istar, Imdī-īlum's uncle, and is accused both by him and by Uzua of having spread slander and false accusations against Amur-Istar. The letter KTS 17 from Uzua gives a very precise picture of the difficulties that could arise so easily in the competitive and tense life of these roving merchants:

There Idī-Adad must not say: "Amur-Istar has wasted a lot of money", and you must not become worried! Do not worry at all! And do not pay attention to Idī-Adad's slander!

Uzua was quite clearly often in a position to know about Amur-Istar's affairs, for he was also involved primarily in the trade in copper with Anatolia. He has written a letter together with Amur-Istar, and he refers to him in his own writings. He has left us a very unhappy letter, the unpublished VAT 9301, which shows him in deep trouble in the town Kunanamet in the copper-region in Eastern Anatolia. This very long letter of 67 lines gives us a sad picture of a once trusted employee in Imdī-īlum's firm who had been abandoned and forgotten:

Since I arrived at Kunanamet I have been moved far away from your breast. May Assur and Massat be my witnesses that I have never heard a letter from you! Because I have heard no letter from you, my face became heavy (with longing) to go to you. .... Because I have not heard any orders from you whatsoever my foot has been barred from entering the colony. I have been afraid for your sake.... As for me, I sweat and toil over every single shekel of silver that I make. My dear father and lord, why must your faithful servant, namely me, be destroyed for want of a protector?<sup>72</sup>

Imdī-īlum's correspondence thus shows us what we must call a "family firm" in action. The men in Assur who directed the affairs of the firm in a general way, and who controlled the essential purchase procedures of tin and textiles which were the economic foundation for the existence of the colonial system, were his father's brothers. It seems that Imdī-īlum himself belonged to the first generation of Assyrian traders who stayed permanently in the Kanesh harbour of the level 2 period; like the other men of his generation he had left his wife in Assur, hundreds of kilometers away, but his sons moved to the colonies and their generation appears to have had wives in Anatolia.

In Kanesh itself Imdī-īlum had at least one house, and we find several members of his close family there with him: his brothers Ennum-Bēlum and Assur-sulūlī, his daughter, and his sons Amur-īlī and Puzur-Istar. One brother appears to have been stationed in a colony on the road to Assur, and his uncle Amur-Istar clearly spent a great deal of his time in the copper region of Eastern Anatolia together with some employees,<sup>73</sup> first of all Uzua. In Western Anatolia and the Konya plain, where we must find the major metallurgical center Purushaddum, Imdī-īlum seems to have relied on agents like Adu, Annali and Idī-Adad.

Imdi-ilum's death is not directly referred to in any text known to me. We do have a number of letters exchanged between his sons, and they indicate that a partially different cast of persons took over the firm in the following generation, men such as Ilabrat-bānī and his brothers. However, an investigation of this period is outside the scope of this study.

*Imdi-ilum's business and status.*

The preceding analysis of Imdi-ilum's family and firm has shown that we are dealing with a man who had considerable influence in the Kanesh harbour and in the colonial system as a whole. The disastrous situation where only a fraction of the excavated textual material is available for study makes it impossible to determine more precisely what position he held in the community of the Kanesh harbour, and we must certainly be wary of conclusions concerning the importance of this particular family as compared to other families whose archives have not been published. Nevertheless, it seems entirely justified to characterise Imdi-ilum as an important man, presumably a very wealthy man, and most probably involved in the running of the affairs of the Assyrian community. We know that he functioned as week-eponym in Kanesh a number of times:

text	year-eponym	month <sup>74</sup>	together with
b/k 114	Elāli	IX	Garwaja
a/k 1304	sa qati Idī-abum	II	Garwaja
El 93	sa qati Idī-abum, son of Narbutum	IV	Samas-bānī
KTH 20	Assur-idi	VII	Pilah-Istar
TMH 1:13b	Tāb-Assur	IV	Aninum
b/k 687	Ilsu-rabi, son of Bazia	VII	Aninum
ICK 1:117	?	?	Ilī-ālum
BIN 4:153	?	?	Assur-ṣulūlī

All these dates place him squarely in the first half of the chronological chart of year-eponymies which I have attempted to reconstruct, the period when the week-eponymy was usually held by two men, rather than one.<sup>75</sup> His partners as week-eponyms cannot all be said to have had any close relations to him or his family: the brother Assur-ṣulūlī appears once, and Pilah-Istar in the list is probably identical with the man of this name who appears repeatedly in the correspondence.

We are in the unusually lucky situation that a couple of texts provide us with detailed information about Imdi-ilum's current business at two different moments, and this gives us a unique chance to evaluate the scope of the economic activities of his family in Anatolia. Otherwise, it is obviously extremely hazardous to attempt to establish figures for the volume of the Old Assyrian trade; Veenhof has collected all the references known to him concerning shipments of tin and textiles from Assur to Kanesh, and on the basis of the information contained in 188 texts he could conclude that we possess direct documentation for shipments of in all some 14,500 textiles and some 27,000 minas of tin (450 talents, or ca. 13,500 kgs).<sup>76</sup> Now one single unpublished text from Berlin, VAT 9210, practically doubles the figure for tin by mentioning a shipment of no less than 410 talents of tin. Moreover, this is described as "the consignment in Imdi-ilum's caravan".<sup>77</sup> This truly enormous shipment is not mentioned anywhere else. The text makes it clear that the total was composed of a large number of individual shipments, probably 35, which belonged to different persons, so we cannot conclude that Imdi-ilum by himself could control such vast amounts of tin. In fact, his own share seems to have been the largest single part, amounting to no less than 57 talents of tin, but even this figure may not represent his private investment but could describe the common

fund of a partnership of which he was only a member.

The two texts referred to above are CCT 2:8 and ICK 1:191+; the former is a letter sent by Imdi-ilum to Ennum-Bēlum, Hurašānum and Amur-ilī; the other text is a memorandum, *tahsistum*, a note which gives in abbreviated form the text of a great number of loan-documents where Imdi-ilum appears as creditor. It seems reasonable to assume that both texts refer to affairs which were current at the time when they were written, and this is virtually certain with regard to the letter. We have a few other fragmentary memoranda and a number of loan-documents,<sup>78</sup> but the two texts by themselves cover several times more transactions than we find recorded in all the other texts taken together. This indicates once again that we do not possess the whole of Imdi-ilum's archive; part of the explanation is undoubtedly to be sought in the practice which is recorded at the end of some memoranda, where we are informed that the original tablets which have been summarised and repeated on the memorandum have been sent to Assur.<sup>79</sup>

CCT 2:8 enumerates some 32 loans,<sup>80</sup> referred to laconically as follows: "x minas of silver with PN". We are not given any dates or conditions of the loan, but occasionally we are told that an amount was given *ana be'ālim*, "to dispose over", or that part of the debt has been paid, etc. The text also informs about transactions in the office of the colony at Purušhaddum where certain persons have deposited textiles on accounts, and the money for these must be transferred to Imdi-ilum. Finally, some people have borrowed tin and textiles for which they must pay. The end of the text is unfortunately damaged at exactly the point where Imdi-ilum's instructions to the recipients were given, but tentatively I suggest the following translation:

My dear brothers, to ... and make the customers pay, and Amur-ilī must not delay! ... Place this [letter] among my own tablets!<sup>81</sup>

The text contains reference to debts outstanding amounting to a little over 3 talents, 7 1/2 minas and 9 3/4 shekels of silver, 21 shekels of gold, and 60 *kutānum*-textiles. A number of these amounts were owed by members of the family, and some others are directly related to caravan-procedures. Since the memorandum CCT 6:9a partly duplicates our text, giving the complete text of some of the original loan-documents, we can suggest a date in the first half of level 2 (Puzur-Nirah is no. 4 and Alāhum is no. 13 in my preliminary ordering of the year-eponymies); the fact that some of the transactions are referred to in letters from Imdi-ilum to Istar-bastī and Amur-ilī (CCT 4:28a and TC 3:57) makes it probable that the text refers to a period when Imdi-ilum was living in Assur.

The memorandum called by me ICK 1:191+ is a composite text which is reconstructed in the following way:

<u>1:191</u>	<u>covers lines 1-62</u>
<u>2:132</u>	<u>covers lines 63-106</u>
<u>2:129</u>	<u>covers lines 1-10, 37-40, 45-47, 87-93, 135-141</u>
<u>2:130</u>	<u>covers lines 10-37, 41-44, 47-72, 142-3'</u>
<u>2:131</u>	<u>covers lines 72-86, 94-134</u>

This very long text does not overlap at any point with CCT 2:8, even though a few of the debtors appear in both documents. We can therefore assume that they describe two different moments in the life of Imdi-ilum. ICK 1:191+ cannot be connected with other texts from his archive except the unpublished Matous-text called K.536 (37a). It contains no clear year-datings, but all the week-eponymies mentioned are of the double type, which again indicates that

Imdi-illum's activities must be placed in the first half of level 2.

ICK 1:191+ refers to more than 3 2/3 talents of silver as debts outstanding to Imdi-illum. Because of breaks in the text we cannot ascertain the precise figure, but it is interesting to see that we reach a total which is quite close to the one found in CCT 2:8. Since both documents comprise both very large and very small amounts it is reasonable to assume that they are meant to cover the total outstanding debts at a certain time. This leads to the further conclusion that between 3 and 4 talents of silver, or some 100-120 kgs, constituted the total liquid assets of Imdi-illum at any given time. That is certainly a very considerable sum of money, but it is actually a reasonable figure in view of the scattered information which can be gleaned from our sources. For instance, when Puzur-Assur, Imdi-illum's younger brother, died in Anatolia, his total assets there were estimated at over 1 talent of silver, and this was obviously not enough to cover his obligations.<sup>82</sup> That the boss of the Anatolian branch of the firm should be able to count on 3-4 times as much as Puzur-Assur seems convincing. Another point to make is the fact that Imdi-illum at least twice could send a shipment of 1 talent of silver to his representatives in Assur for purchases. We also know that Imdi-illum was able to buy up a number of houses in Assur and paid enormous sums, more than 20 minas of silver, for some of them. Another indication of the general correctness of the figures in our texts may be found in TC 3:187, a document which enumerates a number of amounts in silver related in an unclear way to persons, and which sums up: "In all: 4 talents, 28 1/3 minas minus 1/2 shekel: the lot of Pūšu-kēn". Even though the background to this text remains unknown, it does not seem too far-fetched to compare it with the two documents which enumerated Imdi-illum's current assets.<sup>83</sup>

Finally, the previously mentioned text VAT 9210 connects Imdi-illum with a shipment of 57 talents of tin: the purchase price for this shipment alone would amount to nearly 4 talents of silver, and its value on the market in Anatolia would be in the neighbourhood of 8 talents of silver. We are here dealing with such huge amounts that we would be justified to describe these Old Assyrian merchants as millionaires. Imdi-illum's assets as described by our texts would correspond to between 60 and 70,000 dollars, using the current exchange-rate for silver. It is obvious that such a comparison is only to be regarded as a vague pointer, but the scale cannot be totally wrong.

We are not in any doubt, then, that the women writing to Imdi-illum had a quite accurate impression of his priorities. Imdi-illum comes through to us in his correspondence as a tough but rather dull and uninspiring man, rich and successful and undoubtedly a highly competent manager of the family's business. He stands as a typical Old Assyrian merchant, but we have to admit that in spite of the extensive documentation available we cannot say very much about his person. Let us be charitable and assume that he was also an amusing and lively man with many friends, a keen intellect and an open and searching mind - some of the qualities which we all admire and appreciate in the master in whose honour this was written.

CCT 2:8

*debtor*

Ennum Belum  
Enlil-bānī, son of Ili-banī

*amount*

17 minas of silver  
10 minas of silver

*note*

Cf. CCT 6:9a, 1-10, dated to week  
of Assur-bēl-āyātīm, son of  
Panake, and Assur-ṭāb, son of  
Karria, II, year Puzur-dNirah

Ušur-ṣa-Assur, son of Assur-malik  
Idi-Assur, son of Pappilum  
Assur-ṣulūlī, son of Šu-lāban  
Ušur-ša-Ištar, son of Assur-  
imittī  
Ušur-sa-Ištar

30 minas of silver  
25 1/2 minas of silver  
5 minas of silver

2 minas of silver  
10 1/2 minas 5 1/2 shekels of  
silver  
1 1/3 minas 3 3/4 shekels of  
silver

Cf. CCT 4:28a, 33-37  
5 minas paid already; cf. CCT 6:9a  
6'-9', and TC 3:57, 16-17

Ištar-pilāh, son of Aninum

Kuzizia

21 shekels of gold

cf. CCT 6:9a, 11-18, dated to week  
of Pusu-ken and Kurub-Ištar, XI,  
year Alāhum, son of Enah-ilum  
cf. CCT 6:9a, 19-22  
*ana be'ālim*; cf. CCT 6:9a, 22-23

Idi-Assur, son of Assur-imittī  
Ennum-Assur, son of Šalim-ahum  
Amur-ilī, son of Ibeḡua  
Susaḡa and Ṭāb-pi-Assur, sons of  
Šu-Ištar

1 mina of silver  
1/2 mina of silver  
3 minas of silver

Amur-Ištar, son of Dada

1 mina of silver

same

1 mina 7 shekels of silver

Kuḡara, son of Abu-salim  
Assur-ṭāb, son of Karria

3 minas of silver  
1 1/3 mina 4 shekels of silver  
12 minas of silver

Uzua, son of Abia

2 1/2 minas 1 1/2 shekel of  
silver

cf. TC 3:57, 14-15

Assur-ṭāb, son of Alāhum  
Ennum-Aššur, son of Usaria  
Filah-Assur, son of Al-ṭāb  
Daja, son of Mannua  
Suen-pilāh  
Ušur-Anum

cf. CCT 2:6, 22ff.

his working-capital



CCT 2:8, continued

<i>debtor</i>	<i>amount</i>	<i>note</i>
Susaja and ṭāb-pī-Assur <sup>vv</sup>	1/2 mina of silver	"If Šu-Ištar does not pay 4 minas of tin from my caravan to my representatives in the City"
Ennānum, son of Abu-šalim <sup>v</sup>	15 shekels of silver	Susaja will pay when he comes from Assur
Assur-ḡamiq, son of Assur-rēšī <sup>vv</sup>	2 minas of silver	"Ennum-Bēlum will pay the money"
Puzur-Adad, son of Šu-Hubur	28 <i>kutānum</i> -textiles	
Assur-šulūlī	5/6 mina of silver	price of 2 donkeys
Ennum-Bēlum	32 <i>kutānum</i> -textiles	sold to the palace at Purušhaddum for 40 minas (of copper) a piece
Irraja's son	10 shekels of silver	
Nab-Suen	1 mina 5 shekels of silver	
Šu-Bēlum, son of Šalim-Assur <sup>vv</sup>	10 shekels of silver	creditors I. and Assur-imitti; cf. CCT 6:9a, 10-16, dated to week of Assur-takiāku and Itūr-ilī, VII
Idī-abum, son of Idī-Ištar <sup>vv</sup>	22 1/2 minas of silver	
Ušur-ša-Assur <sup>vv</sup> , son of Assur-malik <sup>vv</sup>	1 5/6 mina of silver	
Idī-Suen, son of Alāhum	5 minas of silver	
[Babar]simala	2/3 mina of silver	
ICK 1:191+		
<i>debtor</i>	<i>amount</i>	<i>date</i>
Šalim-A[ssur] <sup>vv</sup>	8 minas of silver	week: Ennānum <sup>v</sup> , s. Enaki, and Šalim-Assur
Šudaja	10 m. silver	week: Ilī-bāni and Amurru-bāni <sup>vv</sup> [..]
Rabi-Assur <sup>vv</sup>	5 m. 15 s. + 1/2 m. silver	week: Ašur-im[ittī] and Amur-Ištar <sup>v</sup>
Assur-ṭāb, s. Karria <sup>vv</sup>	15 m. silver	week: Ennānum and Šalim-Assur <sup>vv</sup>
Iḡnaja, s. Iaḡēp	10 m. silver	week: Assur-rē <sup>v</sup> and Ennam-Anum

ICK 1:191+, continued	amount	date	note
<i>debtor</i>			
Kuzizia and Šumi-abija, s. Puzur-Assur	22 m. silver	week: Karria and Laqēpum	price of donkeys; fur- ther textiles and tin
Kuzizia	2 m. silver		
Šumi-abija, s. Puzur- Assur	1 1/3 m. 4 s. silver		
Pazur-Adad, s. Idi-Ištar	12 m. silver	week: Amurrum-bāni and Ikūnum	cf. ICK 2:13?
same	12 m. silver	week: Elāli and Šamas-bāni	cf. Mat. K.536 (37a)
Ikuppi-Enlil	2 m. + 1 m. silver	week: Kura and Sukallija	
Ai-ṣāo, s. Annali	15 m. 15 s. silver	week: Assur-bēl-awātīm and Akuza	
Lilu, s. Azua	1 2/3 m. silver	week: Ilī-ālūm and Laqēpum	var.: debtor Kura
Pappilum	4 m. 17 s. silver	week: Ilī-bāni and Amurrum- bāni	
Suen-nādā, s. Šu-Suen	10 m. silver	week: Ennānum and Šalim- Assur	
same	4 m. tin		var.: 3 1/3 m.
Zikur-ilī	4 m. silver		
Ennam-Assur, s. Assur- nādā	2 m. silver	week: Kabria and Assur-malik	
Kasia, s. Amria	4 m. 8 s. silver	week: Ennam-Anum and Assur- rē'i	ana be'ālīm
Pilāh-Ištar, s. Assur- malik	10 m. silver	week: Alāhum and Buzia	cf. Mat. K.536 (37a), CCT 6:28d, 1-11 Alāhum gets 25 s., Imdī- ilum gets 38 s.
Idī-abum, s. Idi-Ištar	3 m. silver		
Ušur-sa-Assur	4 m. silver		
Buzia, s. Šu-Anum	30 m. silver	week: Laqēpum and Ilī-ālūm	
Idnaja	1 m. 3 s. silver		
Šu-Laban	x m. silver		
Šu-Anum and [..]-Ištar	1/2 m. silver		
Puzur-Assur, the scribe	10 s. silver		
Adad-rābi, s. Assur-bāni	x m. silver		
Dan-Assur, s. Nabi-Suen	10 s. silver		
Alāhum	21 s. silver		

ICK 1:191+, continued	<i>debtor</i>	<i>amount</i>	<i>date</i>	<i>note</i>
	Abu-qar	8 m. silver	week: [...]	
	Atata, Kukua, and "his brother's son"	5 m. silver		
	Zu <sup>y</sup> ba, s. Istar-pā <sup>l</sup> il	2 m. silver		
	Assur-ṣulū <sup>l</sup> i	1/3 m. silver and 5 m. tin		
	Amurru <sup>y</sup> m-bā <sup>n</sup> ī	13 1/4 s. silver		
	Amur-Istar	10 1/3 s. 10 grains silver		
	Abia	4 1/3 s. 15 grains silver		
	Pilah-Istar, s. Ibezua	10 s. silver		
	Amur-Istar	20 s. silver		
	Assur-i <sup>y</sup> mittī, s. Agua	2/3 m. 5 s. silver		
	Puzur-sa <sup>y</sup> due	1/2 m. silver		
	I <sup>y</sup> kūnum, s. Ili-bā <sup>n</sup> ī	1/2 m. silver and 5 m. tin		
	Elamma	2/3 m. silver		

*ana be'alim*

*Imdi-ilum's correspondence*

	<i>sender</i>	<i>recipient</i>
Adana 237-S <sup>84</sup>	*Imdi-ilum	[Luz]ina and Puzur-Ištar
AnOr 6:2	*Assur-imitti, Šu-Ištar, Šu-Hubur, Ennanum and Buburānum	Imdi-ilum
AnOr 6:6	*Imdi-ilum	Idi-Adad, Annali and Puzur-Ištar
ATHE 27	*(Imdi-ilum) - second page of letter. <sup>85</sup>	(Ennum-Assur and Idi-Adad)
ATHE 28	*Šalim-Assur, Imdi-ilum, Pūsu-kēn and Ili-bānī	Kuzizija
ATHE 46	Idi-Assur	*Imdi-ilum
ATHE 59	*Imdi-ilum	Inah-ili and Puzur-Ištar
ATHE 60	*Imdi-ilum	Ennum-Belum, Hurāšanum, Idi-Adad and Amur-ili
ATHE 61	*Imdi-ilum and Idi-Assur	Ušur-sa-Ištar
ATHE 62	*Imdi-ilum, Ennum-Belum and Assur-šulūli	Puzur-Assur
ATHE 63	Puzur-Assur	*Imdi-ilum
BIN 4:5 <sup>86</sup>	Idi-Adad, Annali and Puzur-Ištar	*Imdi-ilum
BIN 4:27	Alāhum, Imdi-ilum and Puzur-Assur	*Šalim-ahum and Pūsu-kēn
BIN 4:30	Pūsu-kēn	*Imdi-ilum, [...]a and <i>tankārum</i>
BIN 4:56	Ennum-Belum	*Imdi-ilum
BIN 4:84	*Imdi-ilum	Puzur-Assur
BIN 6:12 <sup>87</sup>	Idnaja	*Imdi-ilum
BIN 6:27	Amur-ili	*Imdi-ilum
BIN 6:29	*Assur-imitti, Šu-Ištar, Ennānum and Buburānum	Imdi-ilum
BIN 6:34	*[Assur-i]mitti	Pūsu-kēn, Imdi-ilum, Šu-Belum, Šalim-Assur, Ušur-sa-Ištar and Anah-ili
BIN 6:39	Amur-Ištar	*Imdi-ilum
BIN 6:48	Imdi-ilum	*Assur-[...]
BIN 6:74 <sup>88</sup>	*Imdi-ilum	Ennum-Assur and Idi-Adad
BIN 6:76	*Amur-Ištar	Imdi-ilum
BIN 6:79	Imdi-ilum and Pūsu-kēn	*Šu-Hubur
BIN 6:133 <sup>89</sup>	Imdi-ilum	*Amur-Ištar, I[m...], Ušur-ša-Assur and Ušur-sa-Ištar
Bursa 3776	Imdi-ilum	*Assur-imitti, [(...)], Šu-Ištar Ennānum and Buburānum
CCT 2:5	*Imdi-ilum	Pūsu-kēn
CCT 2:6 <sup>90</sup>	*Imdi-ilum	Lulu, Alāhum, Assur-ṭāb and Idi-Adad
CCT 2:7	Imdi-ilum	*Assur-imitti, Šu-Ištar, Šu-Hubur, Ennānum and Buburānum
CCT 2:8	*Imdi-ilum	Ennum-Belum, Hurāšanum and Amur-ili
CCT 2:11a	*Imdi-ilum	Ikuppīja, Ahu-waqar and Puzur-Ištar
CCT 2:12a	*Imdi-ilum	Puzur-ili

	<i>sender</i>	<i>recipient</i>
CCT 2:23 <sup>91</sup>	Amur-Ištar, Ušur-ša-[Assur] and Ušur-sa-Ištar	*Imdi-ilum
CCT 2:35	Imdi-ilum, Pūsu-kēn, Assur- šulūlī and Ušur-sa-Ištar	*Assur-imittī, Ennum-Bēlum, Ennānum and Buburānum
CCT 2:42	*[Assur]-imittī and Ennum- Bēlum	Imdi-ilum and Assur-šulūlī
CCT 2:44a	*Assur-imittī	Pūsu-kēn and Imdī-ilum
CCT 2:49a	Amur-Ištar	*Imdi-ilum
CCT 2:50	Puzur-ilī	*Imdi-ilum
CCT 3:1	Amur-Ištar	*[Assur-tak]lāku and Imdī-ilum
CCT 3:2a	*Alāhum and Amur-Ištar	Imdi-ilum and Assur-ṭāb
CCT 3:11	Ennānum and Bēlija	*Imdi-ilum and Ennum-Bēlum
CCT 3:15	Ennum-Bēlum	*Imdi-ilum
CCT 3:16a	Buzia	*Imdi-ilum
CCT 3:21a	*Šu-Hubur	Imdi-ilum, Pūsu-kēn, Amur- Šamas and Zuba
CCT 3:22b	*Šu-Hubur and Assur-imittī's sons	Buzutaja, Pūsu-kēn and Imdī- ilum
CCT 3:34a	*Šu-Laban	Imdi-ilum
CCT 3:40a	Kurara	*Imdi-ilum
CCT 3:45b	*Alāhum	Imdi-ilum
CCT 3:46b	Ennānum and Buburānum	*Imdi-ilum
CCT 4:8b	Al-ṭāb	*Imdi-ilum and Šum-abija
CCT 4:10b	*Assur-rēšī and Amur-Ištar	Imdi-ilum and Buzia
CCT 4:18a	*Imdi-ilum	Puzur-Assur
CCT 4:18b	Ennum-Bēlum	*Imdi-ilum
CCT 4:22b	*Imdi-ilum	Ennum-Bēlum, Itūr-ilī, Ahu- waqar and A[mur-ilī]
CCT 4:26b	Ennum-Assur	*Imdi-ilum
CCT 4:27a	Uzua	*Imdi-ilum
CCT 4:27b	Ennum-[...]	*Imdi-ilum and Šu-Bēlum
CCT 4:28a	*Imdi-ilum	Ištar-bastī and Amur-ilī
CCT 4:30b <sup>92</sup>	Idī-Adad	*Imdi-ilum
CCT 4:44a	Usēnum and Adu	*Imdi-ilum
CCT 4:47a <sup>93</sup>	Imdi-ilum	*Amur-Ištar
CCT 4:50a <sup>92</sup>	*Imdi-ilum	[Ennum-Assur] and Idī-Adad
CCT 5:49c	*Šu-Laban and Dādija	Imdi-ilum and Bazu[...]
CCT 6:12a	*Amur-Ištar	Imdi-ilum
CCT 6:18c	Ikuppīja	*Imdi-ilum, Laqēpum and Innaja
CCT 6:19b <sup>94</sup>	*Amur-Ištar and Puzur-[...]	Imdi-ilum
CCT 6:37a	Imdi-ilum	*Amur-Ištar
CCT 6:43b	*Assur-imittī, Šu-Ištar, Ennānum and Buburānum	Imdi-ilum
Cole 4	*Imdi-ilum	Amur-ilī
Cont. 18	*Isma-Assur	Imdi-ilum
Cont. 27	*Imdi-ilum	Assur-nādā
Cont. 30	Puzur-Assur	*Imdi-ilum, Ennum-Assur and Assur-šulūlī
Gelb 62	Amur-Ištar	*Imdi-ilum, Pūsu-kēn, Ikūnum, Idī-abum and Hadaja
Herring	*Imdi-ilum	Amur-ilī
I 693	*Imdi-ilum, son of Šu-Laban	Enna-Suen, son of Šu-Ištar, and Puzur-Ištar, son of Imdi-ilum

	<i>sender</i>	<i>recipient</i>
ICK 1:51 <sup>95</sup>	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum, Ennam-Bēlum and Assur- <sup>v</sup> šulūlī	Puzur-Assur <sup>v</sup>
ICK 1:52	Puzur-Assur <sup>v</sup>	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum, Ennum-Bēlum and Assur- <sup>v</sup> šulūlī
ICK 1:82	Puzur-Assur <sup>v</sup> and Puzur-Anna	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum and <i>tamkārūm</i>
ICK 1:84	Assur-taklāku	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum, Pūsu-kēn, Būzia, Šu-Kūbum and Ennum-Assur
ICK 1:85	Assur- <sup>v</sup> šulūlī	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum
ICK 1:135	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum	Puzur-Assur and Ah- <sup>v</sup> šalim
ICK 1:184	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum and Assur- <sup>v</sup> šulūlī	Ennum-Bēlum
ICK 1:189	*[Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum]	[...]
ICK 1:192 <sup>96</sup>	Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum	*Assur- <sup>v</sup> imittī, Šu-Ištar, Buburānum and Ennānum
KTb 6	Assur- <sup>v</sup> šulūlī	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum
KTH 11	Assur-malik, Azu and Idī-Adad	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum, Pūsu-kēn and Assur- <sup>v</sup> šulūlī
KTS 14c <sup>97</sup>	Idnaja	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum
KTS 15	Amur- <sup>v</sup> ilī	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum
KTS 16	Šu-Ištar	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum
KTS 17 <sup>98</sup>	Uzua	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum
KTS 18	Amur- <sup>v</sup> Ištar and Uzua	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum
KTS 19a	Assur-damiq and Ilī-ašrannī	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum
KTS 19b <sup>99</sup>	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum	Puzur-Ištar
KTS 20	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum	Amur- <sup>v</sup> ilī
KTS 21a	*Alili, Ikuppīja and Šu-Hubur	Pūsu-kēn, Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum and Kurub-Ištar
KTS 21b	*Šu-Hubur and Assur- <sup>v</sup> imittī's sons	Buzutaja, Pūsu-kēn and Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum
KUG 36	Ennum-Bēlum	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum
KUG 45	Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum	*[A and B]
KUG 49	Kurara	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum
L 29-571	Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum	*Amur-Ištar
L 29-579	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum	Assur- <sup>v</sup> ṭāb
MAH 10823 <sup>100</sup>	*Idī-Assur, Adad-bānī, Assur- <sup>v</sup> imittī, Ikuppī-Assur, Puzur-Ištar and Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum	Pūsu-kēn, Zuba, Assur- <sup>v</sup> šulūlī, Innaja and Pilah-Ištar
MAH 19609	Ušur- <sup>v</sup> si-Ištar	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum
Matous K 536	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum	Pilah-Ištar, Kurub-Ištar, Ennum-Bēlum and Assur- <sup>v</sup> šulūlī
K 581	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum	Ennum-Bēlum, Itūr-ilī, Pilah-Ištar, Ahu-qar and Amur- <sup>v</sup> ilī
K 671+696	Hurašānum and Ilī-bānī	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum
K 888	Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum	*Amur-Assur
K 926	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum	Tarām-Kūbī and Šimat-Assur
MET 1 <sup>101</sup>	Puzur-Assur	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum, Ennum-Bēlum and Assur- <sup>v</sup> šulūlī
MET 4	Assur- <sup>v</sup> ṭāb	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum
MET 10 <sup>102</sup>	*Assur- <sup>v</sup> imittī, Šu-Ištar, Ennānum and Buburānum	Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum
MET 11	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum, Ennam-Assur and Assur- <sup>v</sup> šulūlī	Puzur-Assur <sup>v</sup>
Moren 2	Tarām-Kūbī and Šimat-Assur	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum
TC 1:5	Tarām-Kūbī and Šimat-Assur	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum
TC 1:16	*Imdi- <sup>v</sup> ilum	Annali, Assur-idī and Amur- <sup>v</sup> ilī



	<i>sender</i>	<i>recipient</i>
TC 1:24	*Imdi-ilum	Puzur-Ištar, Assur-ṭāb and Lalija
TC 1:53	Ah-salim	*Imdi-ilum
TC 2:22	Kurub-Ištar	*Imdi-ilum and Pūsu-kēn
TC 2:35	Ušur-sa-Assur	*Salim-Assur and Imdi-ilum
TC 2:36	Uzua	*Imdi-ilum
TC 2:37	Ah-salim	*Imdi-ilum
TC 2:38	Buzia	*Assur-imitti and Imdi-ilum
TC 2:45	*I [Imdi-ilum]	Assur-ṭaklāku and [...]
TC 3:44	Pūsu-kēn, Puzur-Tiamtim and Innaja	*Idi-Assur, Adad-bānī, Assur-imitti, Ikuppī-Assur, Puzur-Ištar and Imdi-ilum
TC 3:45	Kuṭallānum	*Imdi-ilum
TC 3:46	Assur-ṭāb	*Imdi-ilum
TC 3:47	Al-ṭāb	*Imdi-ilum
TC 3:48	Amur-Ištar	*Imdi-ilum
TC 3:49	Adu	*Imdi-ilum
TC 3:50	Puzur-Ištar	*Imdi-ilum
TC 3:51	Ennum-Bēlum	*Imdi-ilum
TC 3:52	Ennum-Bēlum	*Imdi-ilum
TC 3:53 <sup>103</sup>	Ennum-Bēlum	*Imdi-ilum
TC 3:54	Imdi-ilum	*[Assur-imitti], Ennum-Bēlum and Pilah-Ištar
TC 3:55	*Imdi-ilum	Ennum-Bēlum, Itūr-ilī, Ahu-waqar and Amur-ilī
TC 3:56	*Imdi-ilum	Ištar-bāstī
TC 3:57 <sup>104</sup>	*Imdi-ilum	Ištar-bāstī and Amur-ilī
TC 3:58	*Imdi-ilum	Ušur-sa-Assur
TC 3:104	Adu and Ikuppīja	*[Imdi-ilum]
VAT 9218	*Assur-imitti, Šu-Ištar, Ennānum, Buburānum and Ennum-Bēlum	Imdi-ilum
VAT 9229 <sup>105</sup>	Alāhum and Kurara	*Imdi-ilum
VAT 9233	*Imdi-ilum	Ištar-bāstī
VAT 9301	Uzua	*Imdi-ilum
VAT 9241	*Imdi-ilum	Šamaš-abī, Lalija and Puzur-Ištar
VAT 9253	Imdi-ilum	*Assur-imitti and Assur-malik son of Laqēp
VAT 9271	*Imdi-ilum	Ennum-Bēlum
VAT 9273	*Imdi-ilum	Puzur-Assur
VAT 13471	*Imdi-ilum	Ikuppīja
LB 1202	*Imdi-ilum	Ilī-asrannī, Ikuppīja, Ahu-waqar, Idi-Adad, Assur-ṭāb, Annali and Puzur-Ištar
CCT 6:46a	Ennum-Ššur	*[Imdi-ilum and [...]
AO 22505 <sup>106</sup>	*Assur-imitti, Š[u-Is]tar, Buburānum and [Ennān]um	Imdi-ilum
LB 1208 <sup>107</sup>	*Imdi-ilum	Ilī-asrannī, Ikuppīja, Ahu-waqar, Idi-Adad, Assur-ṭāb, Annali and Puzur-Ištar
LB 1295	Puzur-Adad	*Imdi-ilum
LB 1296	*Šimat-Assur	Imdi-ilum
LB 1313	*Imdi-ilum	Ušur-sa-Ištar

	sender	recipient
LB 1290	Imdi-ilum and Alāhum	*Amur-Ištar
C 20 <sup>108</sup>	Amur-Ištar	*Imdi-ilum, Pūšu-kēn and Ennum-Bēlum
C 16	Ah-šalim and Ikuppija	*Imdi-ilum
C 29	*Assur-imitti, Šu-Ištar, Ennānum and Buburānum	Imdi-ilum
C 31	*[Amur-]Ištar	Pūšu-kēn, Imdi-ilum and Puzur-Assur
Ank. 2804	*Assur-imitti, Šu-Ištar, Ennum-Bēlum, Ennānum and Buburānum	Imdi-ilum
Cont. 29	[Imdi-ilum]	*Assur-imitti, Šu-Ištar, Ennānum and Buburānum

\* When the present manuscript was completed and in press I learned that Dr. Metin Ichisar had concluded a "These de Doctorat" at the Sorbonne under the direction of Professor Garelli, which was a comprehensive study of all texts relating to Imdi-ilum's family. This work includes an introduction which contains a reconstruction of this family and there is accordingly a considerable overlapping. It has been agreed that both studies will nevertheless be published since this can happen more or less simultaneously. It is a pleasure to see that the two investigations reach nearly identical results. I have not been able to incorporate any of Dr. Ichisar's conclusions in this article, even where he has clearly reached more convincing results than I.

- 1 TC 1:5; cf. Hirsch, *UAR*, p. 14.
- 2 It is instructive to compare with the studies which can be conducted on for instance the Nuzi-material where full archaeological data are available. See M.P. Maidman, "A Nuzi Private Archive: Morphological Considerations", in *Assur* 1/9, 1979, pp. 179-186.
- 3 *Syria* 1927, p. 8; see also photograph, Pl. III, no. 2.
- 4 List on pp. 3-7; one text, ICK 1:3, is said to come from an unmarked locus "13". It is the marriage-contract of Laqēpum and Hatala and probably belongs to locus 12.
- 5 Preface to ICK 1.
- 6 See map 1 and pp. 128ff. in Özgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe 1948*, [Ankara 1950].
- 7 The only exceptions appear to be CCT 6:9a, a partly broken memorandum, and BIN 6:228, a note regulating the sale of goods for silver. Also CCT 6:28d.
- 8 They are dated to the year-eponymy Dādiya son of Šu-Ilabrat.
- 9 Including 181, a list of deliveries of bread and beer to a large number of persons.
- 10 121 probably belongs to Laqēpum's archive which was found at locus 12; Hrozný himself was apparently not sure that 158 was discovered at locus 4 since he adds a questionmark.
- 11 For Annali see perhaps below, pp. 228-229.
- 12 The style of this letter (cf. J. Lewy, *OrNS* 29, p. 31) indicates that it

could well have been written by Imdi-ilum.

- 13 Cf. *Syria* 1927, p. 7, and Pl. III, no. 4.
- 14 Cf. J. Lewy, *ArOr* 18/3, p. 374 and 421; *JAOS* 78, p. 92f.; *OrNS* 29, p. 31; *OACP*, pp. 30-31; Veenhof, *Aspects*, pp. 321-322; *OACC*, pp. 184-186; Garelli, *ArOr* 47, pp. 45-48.
- 15 Cf. *OACC*, pp. 177-178. The list of names in ICK 2 refers to a woman with the name Imdi-ilum who is supposed to have been a daughter of Suen-namir, but this interpretation is based on a misunderstanding of ICK 2: 152.
- 16 CCT 3:45b; BIN 6:29, 35.
- 17 CCT 2:35. Cf. also CCT 5:43, 26 (Puzur-<sup>vv</sup>Assur son of <sup>š</sup>Su-Laban), CCT 2:8, 8 (Assur-<sup>š</sup>ulūlī son of <sup>š</sup>Su-Laban), and CCT 5:43, 24 (Ennum-Bēlum son of <sup>š</sup>Su-Laban).
- 18 BIN 6:219, 1, and CCT 5:41a, 27; cf. *OACP*, p. 30, n. 42, for references to Amur-ilī's seal.
- 19 Cf. Hecker, *OrNS* 47, p. 415, with references to texts and to previous discussions; see especially the unpublished text Leiden 4, communicated by H. Lewy, *AS* 16, p. 273, n. 8. Veenhof informs me that the correct number of this text is LB 1217.
- 20 Cf. J. Lewy, *HUCA* 27, pp. 6-8.
- 21 See *ArOr* 47, pp. 45-48.
- 22 The letters are BIN 6:111 and VAT 13547. A man called Enna-Suen is known to have functioned as Imdi-ilum's representative together with Hurašānum (ICK 1:188, 21-22), and he received letters and goods together with Inarawa from Puzur-Istar (CCT 3:40b and VAT 9258).
- 23 Cf. Veenhof, *Aspects*, p. 103-123.
- 24 Cf. Hecker, op.cit., p. 408.
- 25 Cf. Veenhof, *Aspects*, p. 121, and Garelli, loc.cit.
- 26 Marvin Harris, *Cannibals and Kings*, Fontana, 1978, pp. 70-71.
- 27 (40) a-na 10 ma-na KUG.BABBAR (41) É Bi-lá-nim DUMU Nu-ur-Ištar ni-es-a-ma-kum (42) a-na 3 ma-na 5 GIN KUG.BABBAR É (43) Šu-Be-lim ni-es-a-ma-kum KUG.BABBAR iš-ti (44) Ši-ma-at-A-šur ni-il-qé-ma (45) [ni-iš-]qul 5 ma-na KUG.BABBAR i-na lu-qú-tim a-ni-tim (46) [ni-da-]šī-im
- 28 Cf. Veenhof, *Aspects*, p. 119. Veenhof kindly refers me to the unpublished letter LB 1296, in which she appears to address Imdi-ilum as "my brother". Was she in fact his sister?
- 29 KTS 34a, 24.
- 30 TC 1:79, 2; he is a witness to a settlement among the heirs of Pūsu-kēn.
- 31 ATHE 24, 4-5; the text deals with the dissolution of the partnership between Pūsu-kēn and Amur-Istar, after the death of these men.
- 32 ICK 1:87, 25.
- 33 ICK 1:4, 11.
- 34 ICK 2:345, 8.
- 35 CCT 6:15a, 14; the text deals with the legal fight over the inheritance

left by Pūsu-kēn's associate Puzur-<sup>vv</sup>Assur son of Isar-kitti-<sup>vv</sup>Assur. Cf. Matous, *ArOr* 37, 156-180.

- 36 ICK 1:23A, 2.
- 37 (24) *Šu-Lā-ba-an* DUMU A-*mur*-DINGIR (25) *ki-ri-am im-gu<sub>5</sub>-ur-ma* (26) *un<sup>?</sup>-ma* A-*sur-i-mi-ti-ma* (27) *gu-ma ta-sa-am lo ma-na* (28) KUG.BABBAR *gām-ra-am<sup>!</sup>* sa<sup>!</sup> *ki- [ri-im]* (29) [sé-jb<sub>4</sub>-il<sub>5</sub>].
- 38 Cf. CCT 3:46b, quoted below, p. 224.
- 39 Cf. *OACC*, p. 142, n. 102.
- 40 Cf. *ATHE* 24.
- 41 Cf. especially lines 20-27.
- 42 Cf. CCT 3:11.
- 43 My suggestion concerning Šumi-abija son of Puzur-<sup>vv</sup>Assur is merely a guess; cf. CCT 4:8b, BIN 4:66, VAT 9271, and ICK 1:191+, 18 and 29.
- 44 Cf. *OACC*, pp. 125-126. For references to individual letters see the list of Imdī-ilum's correspondence at the end of the article.
- 45 CCT 5:49c.
- 46 CCT 3:34a.
- 47 Unpublished. Copy J. Lewy.
- 48 Cf. TC 3:50, 11-12.
- 49 CCT 3:11.
- 50 Cf. my discussion of this text in *Iraq* 39, pp. 135-136. Cf. for this shipment also Ank. 2804 (translit. Landsberger).
- 51 Cf. *OACP*, p. 74, n. 28.
- 52 The text refers to Assur-malik son of Laqēp as the recipient of *naruqqum*-investments; for these procedures see *Iraq* 39, pp. 119-145.
- 53 For instance BIN 6:24, CCT 2:41a, 44a, 44b, KTS 22a, TC 2:15, BIN 4:24, 29, CCT 2:36b, TC 3:44.
- 54 Cf. also TC 2:40, a letter from Ennum-Bēlum to Assur-imittī, Assur-šulūlī, Assur-ṭāb and Usānum.
- 55 Cf. BIN 6:76, L 29571, CCT 6:12a, BIN 6:133, CCT 2:23, 3:1.
- 56 Cf. CCT 4:47a and the connected text CCT 6:19b.
- 57 KUG 49.
- 58 Herring, *JCS* 15, p. 127.
- 59 CCT 5:43.
- 60 Cf. J. Lewy, *ArOr* 18/3, p. 373, n. 44.
- 61 TC 2:40, 21-33.
- 62 Cf. MET 1, 11, *ATHE* 62, CCT 4:18a, VAT 9273. See Veenhof, *Aspects*, p. 320.
- 63 Cf. ICK 1:82.
- 64 See *OACC*, p. 184-186.

65 CCT 2:7, 4:22b, 28a, 50a, Cont. 30, TC 3:56.

66 CCT 4:28a, 31-32.

67 *i-sā-al-e*; according to *AHw*, p. 1017, this noun should mean something like "Unkenntnis". However, the OA examples do convey the concept of cheating, presumably by way of the withholding of information.

68 *lu ú-su-ra-ku*.

69 The suggestion in *AHw*, p. 1087, is to interpret the form *tù-ZA-wa* as the only attested Akkadian example of a verb *šawwûm* with the meaning "reden".

70 KTS 15; cf. *UAR*, p. 15.

71 Cf. TC 3:49 and 104.

72 (2) *iš-tù a-na ku-na-na-me-et* (3) *e-ru-bu-ni a-na ir-ti-kà* (4) *a-ru-qú A-sùr ù Istar.ZA.AT li-tù-lá* (5) *ma-ti-ma DUB-pi-kà lá áš-me-ú ki-ma* (6) *DUB-pi-kà lá áš-me-ú pá-nu-a a-še-ri-kà* (7) *a-na a-lá-ki-im ká-a[b]-tù ...* (13) *ki-ma ti-ir-tá-kà mi-ma-a-sa* (14) *lá áš-me-ú a-na ká-ri-im sé-pi* (15) *pá-ar-sá-at a-su-mi-kà pá-al-ha-ku-ma ...* (19) *a-na-ku a-na-kam i-še-er* (20) KUG.BABBAR 1 GIN *sa e-pu-su a-hu-al ù a-zu-áb* (21) *a-bi a-ta be-li a-ta mi-su-um IR-ad- [kà]* (22) *ke-nu-um a-na-ku i-na lá a-ši-ri* (25) *a-ha-liq*.

73 J. Lewy, *HUCA* 27, p. 64, n. 271, called him "a resident of Durhumit".

74 The sequence of the months used here is based on my suggestion that the first month in the year was Bēlat-ekallim; cf. Matous, *ArOr* 46, 217-231.

75 Cf. *OACC*, pp. 375-382.

76 *Aspects*, pp. 69-76 with comments on pp. 79-80.

77 See already J. Lewy, *JAOS* 78, p. 92, for comments on this text. As pointed out to me by Veenhof, the figure of 410 talents must probably represent the value of the caravan; we would accordingly not be faced with a caravan which actually brought so much tin, but even with this modification the shipment referred to was truly huge, and its significance for our statistics is not vitally affected.

78 CCT 6:9a, ICK 1:30, 41, 93, 117 (cf. 2:36), 146, 187, 2:47, 54, and BIN 6:228.

79 Cf. *EL* 1, pp. 215ff. It is perhaps significant that most of the loan-documents from Imdi-ilum's archive deal with loans extended to local Anatolians; perhaps such texts did not have to be sent back to Assur?

80 Cf. the table below.

81 (73) *a-hu-ú-a a-tù-nu a-na [x x x x x][x]-ma* (74) *[x (x)]-ma DAM.GAR-re-e-a sa-ás-qi-lá-ma A-mur-DINGIR lá i-sā-hu-ur [x x x x DUB][pā-am]* (75) *[a-JNIM i-na li-bi<sub>4</sub> DUB-pi-a-ma su-uk-na-su*.

82 CCT 2:35.

83 J. Lewy, *RHA* 38, 119-120, explained the text as "a balance-sheet recording property of Pūsu-kēn which had been - or still was - in the hands of partners, employees, or simply debtors of his". That would of course make it an exact parallel of the two Imdi-ilum texts discussed here.

84 Unpublished. Asterisk indicates the person named first.

- 85 Cf. BIN 6:74, CCT 4:50a and Cont. 27.
- 86 Cf. VAT 9241.
- 87 Cf. KTS 14c.
- 88 Cf. note 85.
- 89 Cf. CCT 2:23.
- 90 Cf. VAT 9229.
- 91 Cf. BIN 6:133.
- 92 Cf. note 85.
- 93 Cf. CCT 6:19b.
- 94 Cf. CCT 4:47a.
- 95 Cf. ICK 1:52 and TC 3:162.
- 96 Cf. Mat. K. 926 (50a) and MET 10.
- 97 Cf. BIN 6:12.
- 98 Cf. BIN 6:39.
- 99 Cf. CCT 2:11a.
- 100 Cf. TC 3:44.
- 101 Cf. TC 1:25.
- 102 Cf. ICK 1:192.
- 103 Cf. TC 3:54.
- 104 Cf. CCT 2:8.
- 105 Cf. CCT 2:6.
- 106 I thank P. Garelli for his reference to this text which he will publish shortly.
- 107 Veenhof has kindly provided me with transliterations of these unpublished texts in Leiden.
- 108 The next five letters are known to me in transliterations made by Landsberger.