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BUSINESSWOMEN

A gendered division of labor was already observed in the ancient world: women confined their work within the house and men without (*Xenophon, Oec.* 7). Since the mid-nineteenth century, a job has been understood to mean a specific activity for which one is compensated; using this definition, Assyrian women had jobs for which they were paid and which they performed at home.¹ In fact, women of Aššur, above and beyond their purely domestic activities, took part in long-distance trade with Asia Minor. They sustained this commerce by making textiles for export and were paid for what they did. This activity took place in the home, in the private sector, and all the women of the household seem to have taken part, including girls and slave women.²

Even if the total production of all the women of a wealthy household might amount to twenty-five pieces of fine cloth each year, the aggregate would be insufficient to sustain the Assyrian textile trade in Anatolia, which ran to a few thousands of textiles a year.³ This would account for the substantial volume of textiles, called “Akkadian,” purchased at Aššur from Babylonian merchants to round out the textile shipments to Kaneš. There is no documentation for any textile production centralized in palace or temple workshops, as known, for example, in Mari, on the Middle Euphrates, so there seems little likelihood of institutional production.⁴ A not inconsequential portion of the thousands of textiles sold yearly by Assyrians in Anatolia was, therefore, the output of Assyrian women active

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1. Lion and Michel 2016, 1–2.
 2. Veenhof 1972; Michel 2006b, 2016a; Michel and Veenhof 2010.
 3. Michel 2016c.
 4. Dercksen (2004a, 15–17) suggests the existence of such an institutional textile production.

in all phases of production, from buying the wool in places nearby the city to sending the finished cloth by transporters whom they paid or to whom they entrusted their textiles on favorable terms as a “good-faith consignment loan” (*tadmiqtum*, i.e., goods entrusted to someone to sell, with the obligation to give the yield to the owner).

Using the compensation they received as capital, women took part in all sorts of financial transactions, purchasing slaves and real estate, loaning money at interest, investing in various commercial undertakings long or short term, buying goods for export, and so on.

Although financially independent of their husbands, Assyrian wives routinely acted as their representatives to their associates and to the Assyrian authorities. Their husbands, for their part, represented them in certain transactions in Anatolia, selling their textiles and goods, and acting in their interest to secure what was due them. The social position and reputation of Assyrian men and women were determined by the success of the family business (*bēt abini*, “our father’s house”), the profile of which might be hard to define: there was no clear demarcation between family connections and the commercial network.⁵ Assyrian women enjoyed important social status and showed it by having fine, capacious homes built for themselves (147).

Since they were generally at home, wives at Aššur and Kaneš were expected to safeguard the goods kept there, especially merchandise and archives, which would include debt notes and various documents of legal import. These archives were kept in strong boxes and sealed rooms. The documents belonged to their husbands and to different members of the family or associates, though they could have their own as well. Because of the nature of their business activities, women would need to execute certain kinds of documents. They drew up contracts and carried on a sometimes-voluminous correspondence with family members and other merchants. They could seal goods and documents, and some of them were capable of writing their own tablets.

WEAVING AS A REMUNERATIVE PROFESSION

On the domestic front, all women took part in the production of textiles. Unfortunately, as with other activities of daily life, we have little docu-

5. Larsen 2007, and above, in the introduction.

mentation for the organization of private textile production. The wives of Assyrian merchants and the other women of the household, including children and slave women, wove the cloth used to clothe the family, but the largest part of their production went for export to Cappadocia.⁶ Spinning and weaving were the main activities of all the household women, including girls, elderly women, and female slaves, perhaps in all a dozen weavers in wealthy households.

Although the women's correspondence refers to the production of cloth at Aššur, technical details are seldom given and are normally confined to the amount of wool used to produce a specific textile, the finishing procedures after weaving, and the quality of the resulting cloth (162).⁷ Finishing of cloth could be done by a professional (167). Excavations of houses at Kaneš have yielded numerous spindle whorls for spinning or weights to hold the threads for vertical looms.⁸

The expertise of Assyrian women was highly valued. They could weave various kinds of cloth and could imitate the techniques and fashions used in other cities.⁹ Since their work was commercial in nature, they were judged by the skill of their weaving. The merchants in the market places of central Anatolia knew how to evaluate the quality of the cloth they received and, based on supply and demand, advised on production techniques, including the quality and amount of the wool used, the fineness of the weave, and its appearance and size (162, 163, 164). The recommended dimensions, 4 by 4.5 m, probably corresponded to one textile made of two or three sewn pieces. Merchant accounts dealing with the transport of textiles to Anatolia indicate that each piece weighed about 5 minas (2.5 kg), but letters show that it could be plus or minus one mina of wool. Other sources indicate that a piece of cloth exported to Anatolia 1.5 m long and 3 or 4 m wide weighed between 2 and 3 kg.¹⁰

6. For textile production in Old Assyrian sources, see Veenhof 1972; Günbatti 1992; Michel 2006b, 2014c, 2016c; Michel and Veenhof 2010; Lassen 2010a, 2010b.

7. See for looms and weaving techniques in the Ancient Near East, Breniquet 2008; Michel and Nosch 2010; Breniquet and Michel 2014.

8. Kulakoğlu and Kangal 2010, 236–38, nos. 164–83; Lassen 2013.

9. There are more than a dozen different names for textiles produced by Assyrian women; see Veenhof 1972, 123; Michel and Veenhof 2010, 231–46.

10. Veenhof 1972, 89–97; Michel and Veenhof 2010, 255–56. The Assyrian textile, measuring 4 by 4.5 m, would presumably not be woven in one piece, but in at least two or three pieces, which were then sewn together. Note that there are other dimensions

The archives found at Kaneš give little information about how the wives at Aššur got the wool to make their cloth or where this raw material came from. They bought the wool for money and grain from Suhûm nomads who came to pluck their sheep near the city.¹¹ The wool called *šurbu’itum*, coming from animals raised in the Hamrin basin, was particularly valued for the weaving of the textiles called *kutānum*, the most common type among those exported to the West.¹² In the letters they sent to Kaneš, women referred to shortages that left them unable to provide cloth for export, for want of wool; they asked their correspondents at Kaneš to send them some from Anatolia (163, 147, 259). However, these were unusual requests and involved only small quantities. Owing to distance and the cost of transport, the quality of wool from southern Babylonia was especially esteemed. The reputation of Babylonian cloths was based on their weaves, no doubt enhanced by the excellence of their wool.¹³ Important wool markets to the southeast of Kaneš, between the Balih and the Anti-Taurus, account for the small quantities of wool sent from Asia Minor to Aššur.¹⁴

After buying raw wool, women had to clean and prepare it for spinning. According to an Ur III text, a craftsman would only prepare for spinning about 125 grams of wool a day.¹⁵ To obtain the five minas neces-

given for other types of textiles. For example, a thin textile could measure 2 by 5 m, according to AKT 6c, 533:33–34.

11. Michel 2014d, 232–36. At the beginning of the second millennium BCE, sheep were plucked rather than shorn. In a letter sent to the king of Mari, an official proposed that the plucking of the sheep take place, not in Aššur as it used to be, but in the area where the herds were grazing, in Suhûm, south of Mari. This would then force the inhabitants of Aššur to go there to buy the wool they needed to produce their textiles; see Charpin and Durand 1997, texts no. 4 and 5. Usually, wool was imported directly to Aššur on the hoof, the herds being driven close to the town to be plucked. This seasonal movement was documented because it became impossible due to the war between Mari and Ešnunna.

12. Dercksen 2004a, 16 n. 32; Michel and Veenhof 2010, 221.

13. Mukannišum’s correspondence found in Mari shows that Babylonian wool was needed to produce luxury textiles; see Durand 1997, texts no. 134 and 136.

14. Southeast of Kaneš, wool was available in the following towns: Balihum, near the sources of the Balih river; Hahhum, north-east of Balihum; Timilkiya, near the modern city of Pazarcık; Mama, south of Timilkiya, in the Gaziantep area; and at Hurrama, in the area of Göksün. The town of Luhusaddiya, between Elbistan and Pazarcık, was an important textile production center; numerous sheep herds were plucked there. See Michel 2006b; Michel and Veenhof 2010; Lassen 2010b, 167–70; 2014.

15. Waetzoldt 1972, no. 32, rev. 1.6–14; and Waetzoldt 2010, 207.

sary for a textile, it would have taken twenty days. Experiments carried out at the Centre for Textile Research (Copenhagen) have shown that it is possible to spin some 35 to 50 m of thread per hour with archaeological tools.¹⁶ To weave a square meter of fabric, one needs some 2 km of thread, plus 2 to 5 percent for the setting of the loom. Thus, a person had to spin for five days (5×8 hours) to obtain 2 km of thread. The Assyrian textiles measuring 4 by 4.5 m (18 sq. m) required 36 km of thread for the weaving, and some three months of spinning for a single woman. The setting of the two or three looms required some 1.8 km, and four more days of work.

Again according to the Centre for Textile Research's hands-on experiments, one person is able to weave about 50 cm per day of work; depending, naturally, on the width of the loom.¹⁷ If we suppose that the fabric was woven in two strips of 2 m each, which were then sewn together, two women were necessary to set up the two looms during some four days, and two women would complete the textile in ten days. If we suppose that the fabric was woven in three strips of 1.35 m each, two women were necessary to set up the three looms during some six days, and three women would complete the textile in nine days.¹⁸

Tasks/number of days of work for one woman	In two strips	In three strips
Cleaning and combing	20	20
Spinning	94	96
Setting of the loom(s)	8	12
Weaving	20	27
Total of working days/woman	142 [4.75 months]	155 [5.2 months]
Textiles/woman/year	2.5	2.33

16. Andersson Strand 2012, 34. This section is a summary of Michel 2016c.

17. Andersson Strand 2012, 35.

18. As a matter of comparison, Firth and Nosch 2012 have made an estimate for the production of an Ur III *túgguz-za* fabric, measuring 3.5 by 3.5 m and weighing 2 kg, with the data of the text Waetzoldt 1972, no. 32, rev. 1.6–14: it amounted to 130 days including cleaning and combing. If we scale up to the size of a *kutānum*-textile, supposing a textile of a similar density, then this would become 192 days. For a different interpretation of the same Ur III text, see Andersson Strand and Cybulská 2013.

In the context of private production at Aššur linked to international trade, it seems probable that production ran throughout the year.¹⁹ If this supposition is correct, a woman would have been able to weave at most two and a half textiles a year. A wealthy household could then have been able to produce a maximum of twenty-five textiles a year. Out of these, some five large pieces—corresponding to ten garments—would be necessary to clothe the household members. Thus, at most twenty textiles could be sent to be sold in Anatolia.

In such computations, each parameter is naturally based on assumptions, and we still lack a lot of data. The number of persons per household, and, moreover, the number of active women, is based primarily on archival and prosopographical studies of wealthy households in Aššur, documented by letters discovered in the houses of the male family members settled in Kaneš. Reconstructed family trees often lack some female members, and it is difficult to know the number of slaves per household. Another important parameter is the number of hours women spun and wove each day.²⁰ The size of the textiles may also be debated. The caravan accounts show that textiles to be exported had a regular weight of 2.5 kg, so commercialized textiles may have been of standard size. But those produced for internal consumption could have been smaller, and thus faster to produce. Last but not least, the density of a textile varies widely; the proposed data are based on an average of the results of the experiments conducted by the Centre for Textile Research. According to the Old Assyrian letters, it was possible to add one mina of wool per textile without

19. Traditionally, weaving is considered a seasonal activity; Breniquet 2008. However, nowadays in Central Anatolian villages we find both situations, yearly or seasonal activity.

20. Visiting traditional handcraft villages in Jordan in March 2014 together with Eva Andersson Strand, I had the opportunity to interview a widow of Bani Hamida, mother of five children, who said that she weaves six hours per day. The next summer, visiting a traditional weaver in the village of Çavdar, east of Kayseri, she explained that, during wintertime, she used to start weaving at 8:00 in the morning and stop around midnight, thus more than twelve hours a day. I conducted similar interviews, together with Eva Andersson Strand, in Central Anatolian villages in 2014 and in 2018, thanks to the help of Fikri Kulakoğlu and the members of Kültepe excavation team. Women who weave on traditional looms and sell the product of their work—kilims and knotted carpets—to merchants from Kayseri, work frequently throughout the year, starting in the morning as soon as the children have left for school.

changing its size. So according to the type of the textile, the thickness of the thread varied, and the weaving was more or less dense.

Despite these uncertainties, the estimated number of textiles produced per household is realistic since it can be confirmed by the textile shipments made by Lamassī to her husband Pūšu-kēn. These can be summarized as follows:

Text	Shipments of textiles by Lamassī and names of transporters		
165	Kulumaya, 9 textiles	Iddin-Suen, 3 textiles	
166	Kulumaya, 9 textiles	Iddin-Suen, 3 textiles	
163	Done: Kulumaya, 3 <i>kamsum</i> + 6 <i>kutānum</i>	Done: Aššur- malik, 5 <i>kutānum</i>	Urani, 8 (before adding wool) Ia-śar, (later on + ½ mina)
164		Done: Aššur- malik, 1 heavy + 1 <i>kamdum</i> + 3 <i>kutānum</i>	

The first three texts (165, 166, 163) deal with the same shipment transported by Kulumaya. In the first two letters, it is announced; according to the third letter, the shipment has been made. Texts 163 and 164 deal with the same shipment transported by Aššur-malik. The shipments of textiles alluded to in these texts were made in a limited period of time, presumably a caravan season; in all they concern twenty-five textiles sent by Lamassī to her husband. We do not know the origin of these textiles, but it is most probable that they were produced by her household.

The Aššur households' textile production exceeded their needs; the surplus was sent to Anatolia, thus contributing to the international trade. Women were not always able to balance the time needed to maintain their households, including making clothing for the family and servants, with that required for producing textiles for export. For this, they would justify themselves in letters but got back peevish replies from their husbands complaining about the small number or indifferent quality of the textiles they had received (164, 165, 166, 167, 207).

The sale of their textiles by relatives in Anatolia assured an income to these women of Aššur, who were paid by piecework in precious metals,

gold or silver, or sometimes jewelry. Some letters give detailed accounts between husband and wife concerning the sale of textiles (168). Part of the payment they received for their textiles increased the personal capital of women. It is almost impossible to give an estimate of the percentage spent on food and household commodities and what they kept for themselves or reinvested in financial transactions (128, 168, 169, 170). But it is possible to compute the income per garment.

Once the textiles were ready, the women sent them to Asia Minor. They could sometimes entrust them to men of their family who regularly traveled between Aššur and Kaneš, or they could work out arrangements with different transporters who agreed to transport small quantities (163, 165, 166, 168, 169). They could also turn over some textiles to a merchant as a *tadmiqtum*-loan. He would sell them in Asia Minor at a profit to himself (165), while they, on the other hand, were guaranteed the sale of their products, preferably at a good price.

Some letters give an indication of the amount of silver women hoped to receive or did receive for the textiles they sent (170: 20 shekels per textile; 171: 17 shekels per textile; 14: 10 shekels per textile). The standard *kutānum*-textile was sold for fifteen shekels at Kaneš. In Anatolia, the textiles had to go through customs with the local authorities, who often retained the finest of them, then stored them until they offered them for sale, in competition with cheaper, locally produced merchandise.²¹ After taxes were deducted from the price of the textiles, women could hope to get back ten to twelve shekels a piece.²²

From this price, one has to deduce the cost of the wool. A royal inscription of Šamši-Adad (eighteenth century) indicates that for 1 shekel of silver, one could buy in Aššur 15 minas of (raw) wool. This corresponds to the price given by Mari archives for Upper Mesopotamia.²³ Taking into account that during the cleaning process, there could be a loss of 30 percent of the original wool, with 1 shekel of silver it might have been possible

21. Long-term storage and large quantities of textiles could be problematic, owing to possible moth damage; see Michel 1998b. Text VS 26, 9 (Michel 2001a, no. 199); Veenhof 2003c, 89–94.

22. An import tax corresponding to 5 percent of the textiles was levied by the palace, which could also impose a tithe of 10 percent. A transport tax on the silver proceeds of textiles was levied by the *kārum* authorities at the rate of 1/60, and an import tax by Aššur City Hall amounting to 4 percent of the precious metal.

23. Grayson 1987, A.0.39.1:59–72; Michel 2014d, 244–46.



Fig. 11. Textile tools excavated at Kültepe: (left) crescent loom weights; (right) spindle with a spindle whorl. © Archaeological Mission of Kültepe.

to acquire about 10 minas of cleaned wool, which could be used to weave two textiles.²⁴

With the income of one textile, corresponding to 10–12 shekels of silver, a woman could buy wool to produce 20 to 24 textiles. But usually, at most, a third of the sale price of a textile was invested in the purchase of wool to produce some 6 or 7 pieces (171).

According to these computations, a household producing yearly some 20 textiles sent for trade in Anatolia would receive between 3½ and 4 minas of silver per year as gross income, which corresponded to the price of a small house in Aššur.²⁵

Estimation of the production of textiles per household and of the resulting income for Aššur women, even if it needs to be adjusted, is very important for evaluating the role of women in the economy of ancient Aššur. Regular shipping of textiles guaranteed them a steady income. Assyrian women took part in international trade, worked, and were paid for what they did.²⁶ A few texts from Late Bronze Age Aššur show that

24. According to an Ur III tablet, when the raw wool was very dirty, the losses in cleaning could go up even to 50 percent; see Waetzoldt 1972, no. 32, rev. 1.6–14.

25. Veenhof 2011.

26. Michel 2006b.

comparable for-profit business was carried on during the Middle Assyrian period as well.²⁷

162. Technical Advice for Weaving and Finishing a Textile

Ov. ¹um-ma Puzur₄-A-šur-ma ²a-na Wa-qá-ar-tim qí-bi-ma ³1 ma-na kù-babbar ni-is-ha-sú ⁴diri ša-du-wa-sú ša-bu ⁵ku-nu-ki-a A-šur-i-dí na-áš-a-ki/-im ⁶šú-ba-tám qá-at-na-am ⁷ša tù-šé-bi-li-ni ⁸ša ki-ma šu-wa-tí ep-ší-ma ⁹iš-tí A-šur-i-dí šé-bi₄-li-ma ^{10½} ma-na kù-babbar lu-šé-bi₄-lá-ki/-im ¹¹ša šú-ba-tim pá-na-am ¹²iš-té-na-ma li-im-šú-du ¹³la i-qá-tù-pu-šu ¹⁴šu-tù-šu lu ma-da-at lo.e. ¹⁵i-šé-er pá-ni-im ¹⁶šú-ba-tim ša tù-šé-bi₄-li-/ni ¹⁷ša-áp-tám 1 ma-na-ta rev. ¹⁸ra-dí-i-ma lu qá-at-nu ¹⁹pá-na-am ša-ni-a-am ²⁰i-li-la li-im-šu-du-šu ²¹šu-ma ša-ar-tám i-ta-áš-ú ²²ki-ma ku-ta-nim li-iq-tù-/pu-šu ²³A-ba-ar-ni-a-am! ²⁴ša tù-šé-bi-li-ni ²⁵la ta-tù-ri-ma ša ki-ma ²⁶a-mì-im la tù-šé-bi₄-li-im ²⁷šu-ma té-pí-ší ša ki-ma ²⁸a-ma-kam al-ta-á-bšu! ep-ší ²⁹šu-ma šú-ba-tí qá-at-nu-tim ³⁰la ta-kà-ší-dí a-ša-me-ma ³¹a-ma-kam a-ší-mì-im u.e. ³²ma-du ša-mì-ma ³³šé-bi-li-im ga-am[!]-ra-am! ³⁴šú-ba-ta-am[!] le.e. ³⁵ša té-pí-ší-ni tí-šé i-na-mì-tim ³⁶lu ú-ru-uk-šu ša-ma-né ³⁷i-na a-mì-tim lu ru-pu-šu

¹⁻²Thus (says) Puzur-Aššur: say to Waqqurtum.

³⁻⁵1 mina of silver—its import tax added, its transport fee paid—Aššur-idī brings you under my seal. ⁶⁻⁷The thin textile you sent me, ⁸⁻⁹make (more) like it and send (them) to me with Aššur-idī, and ¹⁰I will send you ½ mina of silver (apiece). ¹¹⁻¹³They should *strike* one side of the textile, and not *pluck* it. ¹⁴Its warp should be close. ¹⁵⁻¹⁸Process per piece 1 mina more wool than you used for the previous textile you sent me, but they must remain thin! ¹⁹⁻²⁰Let them *strike* its second side only slightly. ²¹⁻²²If it is still hairy, they should pluck it like a *kutānum*. ²³⁻²⁶As for the Abarnian-textile you sent me, you must not send me another one like that again. ²⁷⁻²⁸If you make (one), make (it) like the one I wore there. ²⁹⁻³³If you cannot (make) thin textiles, I hear that there are plenty for sale over there. Buy (them) and send them to me! ³³⁻³⁷A finished textile that you make must be 9 cubits long and 8 cubits wide.

27. Postgate 2014.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Lewy as TC 3, 17; edited by Veenhof (1972, 103–9); Michel (2001a, no. 318); Michel and Veenhof (2010, 250–52).

Comments: Puzur-Aššur, who is in the market in Kaneš and knows what kinds of textiles are appreciated, gives technical advice to Waqqurtum to improve her textile production. This advice is not totally clear and has been interpreted in different ways.

Lines 12, 20: it does not seem possible to translate *mašādum* by “to full” since it applies to only one side of the textile, not both.

Lines 13, 22: the verb *qatāpum* means here “to create a smooth, flat surface that is not hairy” (Michel and Veenhof 2010, 252).

The writer gives here the size of a textile, 4 by 4.5 m, which is very wide and cannot be woven in one piece.

Puzur-Aššur ends by saying that, if Waqqurtum is unable to weave thin textiles, she will have to buy some (though her profits will be smaller).

163. Lack of Wool; Addition of Wool in Each Coupon

Obv. ¹a-na *Pu-šu-ke-en₆* qí-bi₄-ma ²um-ma Lá-ma-sí-ma ta-áš-pu-ra-/am ³um-ma a-ta-ma 5 ma-na-ta ⁴síg^{hi-a} : A-hu-qar ù ⁵I-a-šar : na-áš-ú-ni-ki-<im> ⁶mì-ma : lá i-dí-nu-nim ⁷um-ma I-a-šar-ma : a-na-ku-ma ⁸1 túg e-pá-šum ⁸túg^{hi-a} ⁹Ú-ra-ni : na-áš-a-ku-um ¹⁰ša ½ ma-na-ta : ú-şú-bu-ni ¹¹ki I-a-šar ú-še-ba-lá-ku-<um> ¹²ša Ú-ra-ni na-áš-a-ku-ni lo.e. ¹³pá-ni-ú : lá-ma ta-áš-pu-/ra-ni rev. ¹⁴e-pu'(EP)-šu-nu ¹⁵a-dí a-ma-kam : wa-áš-ba-tí-ni ¹⁶i-na ba-áš-tí-kà ¹⁷nu-[x-x]-ni : li-iš-bi₄-ú ¹⁸i-nu-mi : ki-sà-am ¹⁹tù-še-ba-lá-ni : síg^{hi-a} ²⁰šu-uk-na[m] šú-ha-[a]r-tum₈ ²¹ir-tí-bi₄ : ku-ta-bi₄-it-ma ²²al-kam-ma : a-na sú-un ^{23d}A-šur : šu-ku-ší ²⁴3 túg kam-sú-tim 6 túg ku-ta-nu ²⁵Ku-lu-ma-a : ub-lá-ku-<um> u.e. ²⁶1 túg kà-áb-tum 5 túg ku-ta-ni ²⁷A-šúr-ma-lik ub-lá-ku-<um> le.e. ²⁸2 gín kù-babbar ša síg^{hi-a} I-a-šar ²⁹i-dí-nam 1 gín A-hu-qar ³⁰i-dí-nam

¹⁻²Say to Pūšu-kēn: thus (says) Lamassī.

²⁻⁵You wrote me as follows: “Ahu-(wa)qar and Ia-šar are each bringing you 5 minas of wool.” ⁶(But) they gave me nothing! ⁷⁻⁸Ia-šar (said) as follows: “I will myself make 1 textile for him.” ⁸⁻⁹Urani is bringing you 8 textiles. ¹⁰⁻¹¹Those to which I am adding ½ mina (of wool) each, I will send you with Ia-šar. ¹¹⁻¹⁴Those that Urani is bringing you, I made them earlier,

before you wrote to me.^{15–17} As long as you are staying there, out of respect for you, [...] let them be satisfied.^{18–20} When you send the purse, enclose some wool.

^{20–23}The (little) girl has grown up. Be a man of honor, come here, and consecrate her to the god Aššur.^{24–25}Kulumaya brought you 3 *kamsum*-textiles (and) 6 *kutānum*-textiles.^{26–27}Aššur-malik brought you 1 heavy textile (and) 5 *kutānum*-textiles.^{28–29}Ia-šar gave me 2 shekels of silver for wool.^{29–30}Ahu-(wa)qar gave me 1 shekel.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Clay as BIN 4, 9; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 304). Collated on photo.

Comments: Lamassī explains to her husband that, according to his instruction to her in the previous letter (164), she added ½ mina of wool in each textile. But she has some difficulties with the supply of wool and asks Pūšu-kēn to send some from Anatolia.

Lines 5, 11, 25, 27: the writer of this letter omits the mimmation ending of suffixed pronouns attached to verbal forms.

Lines 22–23: literally: “Put her in the lap of divine Aššur”; see the other texts mentioning the consecration of Ahaha, that is, the “little girl,” to the god Aššur: 147, 163, and 166.

164. Dispute about the Quality and Size of Produced Textiles

Obv. ¹a-na *Pu-šu-ke-en₆* qí-bi₄-ma ²um-ma *Lá-ma-sí-ma i-nu-mì* ³a-na-kam : *wa-áš-ba-tí-ni* : *a-na* ⁴A-šúr-ma-lik 1 túg kà-áb-tám ⁵a-dí-šum : ù *i-na* tù-wa-ri-/šu ⁶1 túg kám-dam 3 túg *ku-ta-ni* ⁷a-dí-šum : mì-šum : túg^{hi-a} ⁸ša uš-té-[ni]-ba-lá-ku-ni ⁹ub-lu-ni-ku-<um> [l]á ub-lu-ni-ku-um ¹⁰té-er-ta-kà : li-li-kam-ma ¹¹li-bi₄ : *lu* *i-dí* ¹²ù *a-na* šu-mì : túg^{hi-a} ¹³ša ta-áš-pu-ra-ni lo.e.¹⁴um-ma *a-ta-ma* : *şa-hu-ru* ¹⁵lá dam-qú lá *i-pì-kà-ma* rev. ¹⁶ú-şə!¹-he-er-şu : ù *u₄-ma-am* ¹⁷ta-áš-pu-ra-am : *um-ma* *a-ta-ma* ^{18 1/2}ma-na-ta : *a-na* sú-ba-tí-ki ¹⁹ra-dí-i : *ur-ta-dí* ²⁰ù U-ra-ni *a-na* şa ki-ma ²¹ku-a-tí : *a-şu-mì* *gu₅-şu-ri* ²²ú-kà-i-nu : *gam-ra-am* ²³ma-dí-iş : *iş-ta-kà-an* ²⁴ú-lá ag-ra-am *e-gu₅-ur* ²⁵a-ba-áš-tí-kà ni-ta-ri-iş lá at-/kam ²⁶iş-am : lá ip-ra-am ²⁷şá 10 gín urudu : *il₅-qé* ²⁸ù *gu₅-şu-ri* 8 şá *a-hi-kà* *il₅-qé* ²⁹urudu şá *a-na* *ma-ri* *ta-dí-nu-/şu-ni* u.e.³⁰mì-ma lá *i-dí-nam* ³¹1 túg *na-ma-şu-ha-am* ³²şá *A-ha-ha* le.e.³³*a-na* sú-ha-ri-im *l-lí-ba-ni* ³⁴na-şí-şum *i-na* *wa-ar-ki-ú-/tim* ³⁵1 túg *ni-ib-ra-ra-am* ³⁶ú-şé-ba-lá-şum

¹⁻²Say to Pūšu-kēn: thus (says) Lamassī.

²⁻⁵When you were still here, I gave to Aššur-malik 1 heavy textile, and ⁵⁻⁷upon his return, I gave him 1 *kamduum*-textile (and) 3 *kutānum*-textiles. ⁷⁻¹¹What (happened)? Did he or did he not bring you the textiles that I had been sending to you? May a message from you arrive here so I will know!

¹²⁻¹⁵As for the textiles about which you wrote to me as follows: “They are (too) small, they are not good!” ¹⁵⁻¹⁶Was it not at your own request that I reduced the size? ¹⁶⁻¹⁹And now you write (again), saying as follows: “Process ½ mina (of wool) more in each of your textiles.” Well, I have done so.

²⁰⁻²⁴As for Urani, he charged a high fee to your representatives for the roof beams that he put in place, but he has not hired a man. ²⁵⁻²⁷We thus appeal to your sense of honor! The 10 shekels of copper he took correspond neither to [...] nor to a ration (for worker). ²⁸And as for the beams, he took 8 (beams) from your brother. ²⁹⁻³⁰He gave me nothing of the copper that you gave him for the spades. ³¹⁻³⁴Illi-bāni is bringing him 1 *namašuhhum*-textile from Ahaha for the servant, ³⁴⁻³⁶and later, I will send him 1 *nibrārum*-textile.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Clay as BIN 4, 10; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 303). Collated on photo.

Comments: Lamassī complains about her husband's reproaches concerning the quality and size of the textiles she made and sent. This suggests that profits on the sale of textiles could have been for the husband after having compensated his wife. She also wishes that her husband acknowledge the receipt of textiles she is sending.

Line 6: the *kamduum* textile is a *hapax legomenon*; it could be an error for a *kamsum*-textile, “a finished textile.”

Line 31: the *namašuhhum*-textile is usually considered as an expensive piece of garment, but here it is for a boy.

Line 35: *nibrārum*-textiles were valuable textiles that could be made into garments; see Michel and Veenhof 2010, 237.

165. Criticism of the Quality of Textiles Sent

Obv. ¹a-na Pu-šu-ke-en₆ qí-bi-ma ²um-ma Lá-ma-sí-ma 9 túg^{hi-a} ³Ku-lu-ma-a na-áš-a-ku-um ⁴3 túg^{hi-a} I-dí-Sú-en₆ na-áš-a-kum ⁵E-lá túg^{hi-a} lá-qá-a-am lá i-mu-a ⁶I-dí-Sú-en₆ 5 túg^{hi-a} lá-qá-a-am ⁷lá i-mu-a mi-šu ša ta-áš-ta-na-/pá-ra-ni ⁸um-ma a-ta-ma túg^{hi-a} ⁹ša tū-uš-té-né-bi-li-ni ¹⁰lá dam-qú : ma-nu-um lo.e. ¹¹za-ak-ru-um rev. ¹²ša i-na ébé-tí-kà ¹³wa-áš-bu-ni-ma i-lá-ku-ma ¹⁴ma-ah-ri-šu : túg^{hi-a} ¹⁵ú-nu-hu-ni : a-na-ku ¹⁶a-šu-mì i-na ha-ra-an ¹⁷ha-ra-ma kù-babbar 10 gín ¹⁸ébé-tí-kà li-im-qú-tám ¹⁹túg^{hi-a} uš-té-kà-ap-ma ²⁰e-pá-aš-ma : ú-šé-ba-lá-kum

¹⁻²Say to Pūšu-kēn: thus (says) Lamassī.

²⁻³Kulumaya is bringing you 9 textiles. ⁴Iddin-Suen is bringing you 3 textiles. ⁵Ela refused to accept textiles (for transport). ⁶⁻⁷Iddin-Suen refused to accept 5 textiles more (for transport). ⁷⁻¹⁰Why do you write to me every time as follows: “The textiles that you keep sending me are not good?” ¹⁰⁻¹⁵Who is this man who lives in your house and who is criticizing the textiles when they get to him? ¹⁵⁻¹⁸As for me, in order that from each caravan trip at least 10 shekels of silver accrue to your house, ¹⁹⁻²⁰I try my best to make and send textiles to you!

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Stephens as BIN 6, 11; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 302; 2014b, 206). Collated on photo.

Comments: The number of textiles sent by Lamassī to her husband by two different transporters is the same as in the next letter 166; she has trouble finding merchants who will agree to transport more pieces to Anatolia. Lamassī has received criticism from her husband about the quality of the textiles she previously sent; she is doing her best to maintain a regular production of good quality textiles.

166. Difficulties Weaving Textiles for Both the Household and the Trade

Obv. ¹a-na Pu-šu-ke-en₆ qí-bi-ma ²um-ma Lá-ma-sí-ma 9 túg^{hi-a} ³Ku-lu-ma-a na-áš-a-kum ³túg^{hi-a} ⁴I-dí-Sú-en₆ na-áš-a-kum ⁵2 sú-pá-ni ša zabar Dan-na-A-šur ⁶ub-lam : 1 sú-pá-nam ša zabar ⁷ú it-qú-ra-am ša zabar I-a-šar ⁸ub-lam 2 it-qú-ra-tim ša zabar ⁹I-dí-Sú-en₆ ub-lam : 1 it-qú-ra-am ¹⁰ša

zabar *A-hu-wa-qar ub-lam*¹¹ *sú-pá-nam ša kù-babbar I-ku-pí-a ub-lam*
^{12<1>} *sú-pá-nam ša kù-babbar dumu I-bi-sú-a ub-/lam*¹³ *sà-ma-lá-tim it-*
*qú-ra-tim*¹⁴ *ú sí-ba-tim ub-lu-nim šu'-ma be-lí a-ta*¹⁵ *a-šu-mì : túg^{hi-a} ša*
*ta-ás-pu-ra-ni*¹⁶ *lá ú-šé-bi-lá-ku-ni li-ba-kà*¹⁷ *lá i-lá-mì-in ki-ma sú-ha-ar-*
*[tum]*¹⁸ *i-ir-ta-bi-ú-ni : túg iš-té-en*₆⁶ *ú sé-na rev.*¹⁹ *kà-ab-tù-tim a-na na-ar-*
*kà-ab₁-/tim*²⁰ *e-ta-pá-ás!*¹ *ú a-na ni-ší bé-/tim*²¹ *ú a-na sú-úh-ri-im*²² *e-pu-*
*uš ú-lá ak-ta-ša-ad-ma*²³ *túg^{hi-a} lá uš-té-bi-lá-kum túg^{hi-a}*²⁴ *ma-lá qá-tí*
*i-kà-šu-du iš-tí*²⁵ *wa-ar-ki-ú-tim ú-šé-ba-lá-kum*²⁶ *é A-bu-um-dingir i-na*
*i-ga-ar-tim*²⁷ *ku-a-tim I-ku-pí-a ša é A-ta-a*²⁸ *i-ga-ar-tám šu-a-tám iš-ta-*
*kán*²⁹ *ú a-na-ku a-ša-al-ma um-ma šu-ut-ma*³⁰ *ta-pá-ú-tum-ma ú-ta-pá-šu*
*mì-ma-ma*³¹ *ú-lá ú-ta-pá-šu : it-bé-a-ma* (erased sign)³² *i-ta-ša-am a-ta a-*
*ma-kam qí-bi-šu-um*³³ *um-ma a-ta-ma mì-šu-um i-ga-ar-ta-kà*³⁴ *i-na ébé-*
*ti-a : ta-ás-ku-un*³⁵ *ki-ma é lá a-ší-ri-im : té-pu-uš*³⁶ *ú a-šu-mì ba-pí-ri ša*
*ta-ás-pu-ra-ni*³⁷ *ba-pí-ru-um wa-dí e-pí-iš ša-ak-/lu-ul*³⁸ *ú sú-ha-ar-tum*
*da-ni-iš le.e.*³⁹ *ir-tí-bi tí-ib-a-ma a-tal-kam a-na sú-ni A-šúr*⁴⁰ *šu-ku-ší ú sé-*
ep i-lí-kà ša-ba-at

¹⁻²Say to Pūšu-kēn: thus (says) Lamassī.

²⁻³Kulumaya is bringing you 9 textiles. ³⁻⁴Iddin-Suen is bringing you 3 textiles. ⁵⁻⁶Dān-Aššur brought me 2 bronze *supānum*-bowls. ⁶⁻⁸Ia-śar brought me 1 bronze *supānum*-bowl and a bronze ladle. ⁸⁻⁹Iddin-Suen brought me 2 bronze ladles. ⁹⁻¹⁰Ahu-waqar brought me 1 bronze ladle. ¹¹Ikuppiya brought me 1 silver *supānum*-bowl. ¹²The son of Ibbi-sū'a brought me 1 silver *supānum*-bowl. ¹³⁻¹⁴They brought me cups, ladles, and *ṣibtum*-objects.

¹⁴⁻¹⁷If you are my master, do not be angry on account of the garments about which you have written me and (which) I have not sent you. ¹⁷⁻²⁰Since the girl has grown up, I have now made a few heavy textiles for (wearing on) the wagon. ²⁰⁻²²And I also made garments for the household personnel and for the children; ²²⁻²³(this is why) I could not manage to send you some textiles. ²³⁻²⁵I will send you with later caravans whatever textiles I can manage (to make).

²⁶⁻²⁸Concerning the house of Abum-ilī, Ikuppiya, from the house of Ataya, placed his wall against your wall, ²⁹⁻³⁰so I contested, but he (said) as follows: "I will reach an agreement with him." ³⁰⁻³²But he did not do so in any way; he set out and left. ³²⁻³⁴You, over there, tell him as follows: "Why have you placed your wall against my house?" ³⁵You just acted as (someone would) with a property without a protector!"

^{36–37}Concerning the beer bread you wrote to me about—the beer bread is certainly made and ready! ^{38–40}The (little) girl has quite grown up; set out and come here. Consecrate her to (the god) Aššur and touch the foot of your god!

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Smith as CCT 3, 20; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 307).

Comments: Lamassī is sending a dozen textiles to her husband and acknowledges the receipt of various bronze and silver vessels. She has trouble combining the production of textiles to clothe the children and servants with that of textiles she has to make for her husband's trade. Besides a substantial textile production, she has to deal with everyday activities, such as the preparation of beer, and to represent her husband's interest in a quarrel with the neighbor. Lamassī urges her husband to come back home in order to consecrate their daughter Ahaha (see 163).

167. A Specialist Finishes a Garment for the Husband to Wear

Obv. ¹a-na Pu-šu-ke-en₆ ²qí-bi-ma um-ma ³Lá-ma-sí-ma ⁴²túg : A-šür-
ba-áš-tí ⁵na-áš-a-kum a-šu-mì ⁶túg ša Šu-ur-bu-i-a-tim ⁷ša ta-áš-pu-ra-ni
⁸um-ma a-ta-ma lo.e. ⁹1 túg a-na li-ta-ab-ší-a rev. ¹⁰šé-bi-li-im ¹¹túg wa-dí
e-pí-iš ¹²iš-tí áš-lá-ki-im-ma ¹³a-dí-ni ú-lá ú-še-li-/šu ¹⁴iš-tí ¹⁵wa-ar-ki-ú-
tim ¹⁶túg ša Šu-ur-bu-i-a-tim ¹⁷a-na li-ta-ab-ší-kà ¹⁸ú-še-lá-kum

^{1–3}Say to Pūšu-kēn: thus (says) Lamassī.

^{4–5}Aššur-bāsti is bringing you 2 textiles. ^{5–8}As for the textile (made of wool) from Šurbu, about which you wrote me as follows: ^{9–10}“Send me 1 garment for me to wear”; ^{11–13}the garment has indeed been made, but (it is) now with the washerman, so I have not yet sent (it) up to you. ^{14–18}I will send up to you by a later (caravan) the textile (made of wool) from Šurbu for you to wear.

Bibliography: Unpublished text in the possession of K. Rendell, lines 5–13 of which are cited by Michel and Veenhof (2010, 249); lines 1–5 and 14–18 given here by courtesy of Veenhof.

Comments: After the weaving was done by women, some textiles were finished by professionals (*ašlākum*, “washerman”) before being used as garments by merchants; this raised the cost of the textile.

SEPARATE ASSETS FOR MEN AND WOMEN

Assyrian women were paid for their textiles (128); they kept accounts of the pieces of cloth that they sent to Asia Minor and waited for what they were owed for them. The letters they exchanged with the merchants at Kaneš regularly refer to accounts maintained between spouses and among brothers and sisters or members of the same family. Assyrian women, in their letters, drew up detailed lists of the pieces of cloth they had sent by different shippers, and asked for the prices realized for them (169, 172, 173). The merchants acknowledged receipt of the cloth, deducted the taxes paid on them, accounted for the pieces sold, and stated the sums of money being sent in return (162, 168). Some private accounts note small sums of silver paid to women, no doubt from the sale of their cloth (174). Even if they were not on the spot in the Anatolian markets, these women knew quite well what prices their textiles should fetch and had no scruples about bargaining, even at long range, over sale prices and even asking for more than the customary amount. Thus Tarām-Kūbi told her brother that he should not sell her *kutānum*-textiles for less than twenty shekels of silver each, though they usually went for about fifteen shekels apiece (170). With a dozen shekels of silver realized from the sale of a textile in Anatolia, a woman could buy at Aššur what was needed to weave six or seven new pieces, so one can easily imagine the margin of profit she could realize (171).

Assyrian women therefore had their own property, independent of her husband's or of their joint assets, and also distinct from her dowry. Husband and wife managed their own assets separately, as can be seen with other family matters.²⁸ In fact, family connections formed the basis for professional connections within family enterprises (*bēt abini*), but even there, ownership was strictly individual: there was no joint capital.²⁹ This is why one finds sale contracts or loans at interest between father and son or husband and wife (138).³⁰ Thus a father explains to his son the source of the capital that he gave him: “For each shekel of silver that I gave you,

28. Michel 2006b.

29. Larsen 2007.

30. Note that this text concerns an Anatolian couple.

as well as what I gave you that belongs to your mother, I gave the equivalent to your mother.”³¹ The assets belonging to each spouse were clearly identified, and if a third party erroneously used a wife’s funds to pay her husband’s debts, the matter could be brought to court (175). This did not prevent a husband from making a purchase in his wife’s name nor a wife from representing her husband in a transaction (176, and below).

168. Account of Textiles between Husband and Wife

Obv. ¹um-ma Pu-šu-ke-en₆-ma [a-na] ²La₁-ma-sí qí-bi-ma ší-i[m] ³túg^{hi-a-tí-ki} pá-ni-ú-ti[m] ⁴gám-ra-ki-im 20 túg^{hi-a} ša [a-na] ⁵Puzur₄-A-šúr ta-dí-ni-ni ⁶1 túg ni-is-ha-tum 2 túg ší-mu-um ⁷ší-tum 17 túg^{hi-a-tú-ki} 6 túg ⁸A-hu-qar : ub-lam 6 túg I-a-šar ⁹ub-lam 2 túg I-dí-Sú-en₆ ub-lam ¹⁰šà-ba 3 túg a-na Puzur₄-A-šúr ¹¹ú-ra-dí-ma 20 túg ú-pi-iq-šum-m[a] ¹²a-qá-tí-šu : a-dí-in ší-tí t[úg^{hi-a-ki}] ¹³11 túg i-li-bi-a : šà-[ba] ¹⁴1½ ma-na kù-babbar ni-is-[ha-sú] ¹⁵diri : ša-du-a-sú [ša-bu] lo.e. ¹⁶ku-nu-ki-a : Ku-lu-m[a-a] ¹⁷na-áš-a-ki-im ta-[áš-pu-ri-im] rev. ¹⁸um-ma a-tí-ma i-l[i-bi] ¹⁹túg^{hi-a} ša ú-šé-bi₄-l[á-ku-ni] ²⁰2 túg ša Šu-bu-ul-tim 1[½ ma-na] ²¹kù-babbar ša Ku-lu-ma-a na-áš-[a-ki-ni] ²²1 ma-na kù-babbar ku-wa-um ½ m[a-na] ²³a-na Šu-bu-ul-tim dí-ni-[im] ²⁴ší-im 1 túg kab-tim ša¹ Šu-b[u-ul-tim] ²⁵iš-tú Bu-ru-uš-ha-tim ²⁶ú-bu-lu-nim-ma* 7 gín kù-babbar ²⁷ša Il₅-ba-ni ša dumu Ku-za-ri ²⁸iš-qu-lá-ni ù i-na ší-i[m] ²⁹ší-tí túg^{hi-a-tí-ki} kù-babbar ³⁰uš-ta-ša-ba-at-ma ³¹I-dí-Sú-en₆ ú-šé-b[a-lá-ki-im] ³²a-na Lá-ma-sí qí-[bi-ma] ³³5-ta túg^{hi-a} sig₅^[tim] u.e. ³⁴a-ṣú-ha-ri dí-ni-[ma] ³⁵lu-ub-lu-nim-[ma] le.e. ³⁶li-ik-šu-du-ni mì-šu ša e-ma-am ³⁷ta-ah-tí-ri-ni : a-na-ku a-na-kam ³⁸ki-ma i-qá-bi₄-ú-ni i-šé-er^r ninda kaš!(KÀ) a-ku^{*}-lu[?] ³⁹e-na-a e-ra-ba ú-ší-a

¹⁻²Thus (says) Pūšu-kēn: say [to] Lamassī.

²⁻⁴The full pri[ce] of your previous textiles has been paid to you.
⁴⁻⁷Concerning the 20 textiles that you gave [to] Puzur-Aššur: 1 textile for the import tax, 2 textiles as purchase, 17 textiles of yours remain. ⁷⁻⁹Ahu-(wa)qar brought me 6 textiles; Ia-šar brought me 6 textiles; Iddin-Suen brought me 2 textiles; ¹⁰⁻¹¹to these, I added 3 textiles for Puzur-Aššur. ¹¹⁻¹²I made for him an *upqum*-load of 20 textiles, and I put (it) at his disposal.

31. KTS 1, 2b:7-10: *a-šu-mì kù-babbar 1 gín ša a-dí-na-ku-ni, lu ša um-mì-kà, a-dí-na-ku-ni me-eh-ra-tim, a-na um-mì-kà a-dí-in.*

^{12–13}The remainder of [your textiles], 11 textiles, are on my account.
^{13–17}[For] these, Kulumaya is bringing you under my seal 1½ minas of silver—its import [tax] added, its transport fee paid for.^{17–20}You w[rote me] as follows: “In[cluded with] the textiles that I sent [you] are 2 textiles from Šūbultum.”^{20–23}(So) of the 1½ minas] of silver that Kulumaya is bringing [to you], 1 mina of silver is yours, (and) give ½ m[in]a to Šūbultum.²⁴As payment of 1 heavy textile from Šūb[ultum],^{25–31}they brought me from Burušattum 7 shekels of silver from Ilī-bāni, which the son of Kuzari paid me, and the silver from the sale of the rest of your textiles, I will combine and send [(it) to you] by Iddin-Suen.

³²Sa[y] to Lamassī.^{34–36}Give to the servants good quality textiles in lots of 5 to carry so that they reach me.^{36–37}Why did you choose a son-in-law for me?^{37–39}As for me, here, as they say, “My eyes come (home) and go out again (still looking) at the bread (and) beer I (should have) eaten.”

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Garelli as CCT 6, 11a; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 300). Collated by Veenhof.

Comments: Lamassī entrusted textiles to several transporters, and her husband acknowledges their receipt. He sends back the price in silver for several pieces made both by Lamassī and Šūbultum.

The end of the letter concerns family matters. The expression used by Pūšu-kēn may refer to a proverb (“as we used to say”) that is not totally clear for us. Pūšu-kēn is overworked; he cannot keep an eye on everything and also think about eating, the expression “bread and beer” meaning “food and drink.”

Line 6: “two textiles as purchase” correspond to the preemption by the palace.

169. Asking for Payment for a Textile Sent to Anatolia

Obv. ¹a-na Pu-šu-ke-en₆ ²ú A-šūr-ma-lik qí-bi-ma ³um-ma Lá-ma-sí-ma
⁴a-na A-šur-ma-lik /qí-bi₄-ma túg kà-ab₁-/tá-am ⁵ša i-na ellat ⁶A-šur-iš-ta-ki-il₅ dumu Sú-kà-li-/a ⁷«ša» ú-še-bi-lu-kà ⁸i-li-kam-ma Pu-šu-ke-en₆ ⁹um-ma šu-ut-ma ¹⁰ú-lá i-dí-nam ¹¹(erasure) šu-ut a-ma-kam ¹²ku'-ta-i-na-ma ¹³kù-babbar ú ší-a-ma-tí'-šu ¹⁴ša iš-tù ma-al'-e* ¹⁵ša-na-tim šé-bi-lá-nim

^{1–4}Say to Pūšū-kēn and Aššur-malik: thus (says) Lamassī. Say to Aššur-malik.

^{4–8}Concerning the heavy textile that I made you bring with the caravan of Aššuriš-takil, son of Sukkalliya, it has arrived, ^{9–10}(but) Pūšū-kēn (said) as follows: “He did not give (it) to me!” ^{11–15}There, make him acknowledge it and send me silver or the (equivalent of the) merchandise that is (due since) for years!

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Smith as CCT 4, 21b; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 299).

Comments: Lamassī has entrusted a heavy textile to a transporter traveling with a caravan that arrived in Kaneš, but her husband has not acknowledged receipt of the textile and has not paid her for it.

170. Sister Protests the Low Price Paid by Her Brother for Her Textiles

Obv. ¹a-na Im-dí-lim qí-bi-ma ²um-ma Ta-ra-am-Ku-bi ³ù Ší-ma-at-A-šúr-ma ⁴(line erased) ⁵6 túg i-na šé-pí-šu ⁶pá-ni-tim Ku-tal-lá-num ⁷ub-lá-kum 1 ma-na 10 gín ⁸kù-babbar tù-šé-bi-lam ù [iš]-tù ⁹tù-uṣ-ú ma-tí-ma ¹⁰šé-bu-ul-tám ú-lá ¹¹tù-šé-bi-lam a-na-ku ¹²a-na ma-nim-ma a-na ¹³6 túg^{hi-a} 1 ma-na 10 gín ¹⁴kù-babbar tù-šé-bi-lam ¹⁵6 túg ku-ta-ni rev. ¹⁶Ku-tal-lá-num na-áš-a-kum ¹⁷šu-ma a-hi a-ta ¹⁸½ ma-na-ta lá ta-ba-ta-qám ¹⁹1 túg a-na Ištar-ba-áš-tí ²⁰1 é Ri-mì-i-lí-a ²¹a-na 20 ma-na kù-babbar ²²iš-ú-mu-ni-kum-ma ²³kù-babbar e-ri-šu-ni-ma ²⁴a-na ša ki-ma ku-a-tí ²⁵a-dí-in a-dí-ni ²⁶ú-lá ú-ta-e-ru-nim ²⁷um-ma šu-nu-ma ší-ma-am ²⁸ni-ša-am šu-ma a-hi a-ta ²⁹a-ma-nim a-da-kál ³⁰igi i-li-a a-kà-ra-/ba-kum ³¹Ku-tal-lá-num i-li-kam-ma ³²mì-ma ú-lá tÙ-šé-bi₄-lam ³³7 gín kù-babbar a-na Ku-tal-lá-nim ³⁴áš-qúl

^{1–3}Say to Imdī-ilum: thus (say) Tarām-Kūbi and Šimat-Aššur.

^{5–7}Kutallānum brought you 6 textiles in his previous transport. ^{7–8}You sent me 1 mina, 10 shekels of silver; ^{8–11}but [si]nce you left, you have never sent me any other consignment. ^{11–14}To whom else but me would you send (only) 1 mina, 10 shekels for 6 textiles? ^{15–16}(Now) Kutallānum is bringing you 6 *kutānum*-textiles. ^{17–18}If you are my brother, you should not send me (less) than $\frac{1}{3}$ mina per (textile)!

^{19–22}They bought for you 1 textile for Ištar-baštī (and) a house (belonging to) Rīm-iliya for 20 minas of silver, and ^{23–25}they asked me for the silver, so I gave (it) to your representatives. ^{25–28}Until now, they have not returned (it) to me, (saying) as follows: “We want to make purchases!” ^{28–29}If you (really are) my brother, whom else could I expect help from? ³⁰I will pray for you before my god! ^{31–32}Kutallānum came here, but you sent me nothing (by him). ^{33–34}I paid 7 shekels of silver to Kutallānum.

Bibliography: Text published and edited by Moren (1980, 101, as *Or* 50, 2); translated by Michel (2001a, no. 347).

Comments: Tarām-Kūbi was the sister of Imdī-ilum, and Šimat-Aššur was a relative. Even if both are mentioned as authors of the letter, it is written in the singular, and so only Tarām-Kūbi is speaking. She complains about the very low price paid by her brother for the 6 textiles she has sent: little more than 11½ shekels, and she asks for 20 shekels for each *kutānum*-textile she is sending. Tarām-Kūbi was rich enough to lend 20 minas of silver to Imdī-ilum’s representatives to buy a house for him.

171. Production of Seven Textiles from the Sale Price of One

Obv. ¹a-na A-šur-lá-ma-sí ²qí-bi-ma um-ma ³Ištar-lá-ma-sí-ma ⁴šú-ba-tám E-na-Sú-en₆ ⁵na-áš-a-kum 12 gín ⁶kù-babbar Šu-a-nim dumu Ha-nu ⁷ub-lam 12 gín kù-babbar ⁸E-na-Sú-en₆ ub-lam ⁹ù 5 gín a-ha-ma ¹⁰šu-ut-ma ub-lam ¹¹i-na kù-babbar ¹²ša dumu Ha-nu ub-lá-ni rev. ¹³1 A-ba-ar-ni-um ¹⁴2 qá-at-nu-tum ¹⁵4 ša qá-tim ¹⁶e-pu-uš-ma i-na ¹⁷DÍ-tim na-ad-ú ¹⁸mu-zí-zu ša a-hi-kà ¹⁹qú-a-tim ip-ta-na-té-ú-ma ²⁰ì-giš uš-té-né-bu-lu ²¹ù a-na-ku a-na ²²ša ki-ma ku-a-tí ²³aq-bi₄-ma u.e. ²⁴ša-pá-am ì-[giš] ²⁵ma-li-a-n[im] le.e. ²⁶lu-šé-bi₄-il₅ [...]

^{1–3}Say to Aššur-lamassī: thus (says) Ištar-lamassī.

^{4–5}Enna-Suen is bringing you a textile. ^{5–7}Šu-Anum, son of Hanu, brought me 12 shekels of silver. ^{7–10}Enna-Suen brought me 12 shekels of silver, and he also brought me another 5 shekels separately. ^{11–16}From the silver that the son of Hanu brought, I made 1 Abarnian-textile, 2 fine (textiles) and 4 standard-quality (textiles), ^{16–17}and they are deposited in the [...]

^{18–20}The representatives of your brother keep on opening *qûm*-vessels and sending off oil, ^{21–26}so I said to your representatives (as follows): “Fill for me a *šappum*-vessel with oil, let me send [...]”

Bibliography: Text edited by Böhl (1934, 41–43 [LB 1201]); translated by Michel (2001a, no. 363).

Comments: With the twelve shekels of silver presumably resulting from the sale of a textile in Anatolia, Ištar-lamassī managed to produce seven textiles of various qualities.

Line 17: *Dí-tim* is unknown in this context. The words *dittum*, “court of justice,” or *tidum*, “clay,” make no sense in this text.

172. A Woman Sends Textiles to Kaneš and Receives Various Amounts of Metal

Obv. ¹*a-na A-šur-na-da qí-bi₄-/ma* ²*um-ma Ša-ra-at-/Ištar-ma* ^{3[2?]} *túg!*
Zu-pá : na-áš-a-ku-um ⁴*iš-ra-am : ku-a-tí* ⁵¹*iš-ra-am : a-na [x (x)]-/a-[r]*
i-a** ⁶⁴*ša-ku-ká-tim* ⁷*iš-té-na dí-in* ⁸*sí-it^l(DA)-ra-am a-na am-tí-[kà]* ⁹*ša*
Kà-ne-eš ¹⁰*2 túg 37 ma-na urudu* ¹¹*it-bu-lu : i-na* ¹²[x tú]g *áš-a-am-šu-nu*
¹³*1 túg a-na k[ù-bab]bar mu?*-[x (x)] lo.e. ¹⁴*a-<dí>-in ma-lá im-tal-[x (x)]*
¹⁵*Kur-ub-Ištar pá na bi* [x] ¹⁶*iš-tí-kà : ša-ki-in* ¹⁷*mí-ma : lá aq-bi-šu-[ma]*
¹⁸*a-wi-lam₅ : ar-tí-bi₄* ¹⁹*tl^l(BE)-ib^l-a-ma : a-tal-kam* ²⁰*mí-ma a-nim : Zu-*
pá ²¹*na-áš-a-ku-um* ²²*½ ma-na* 5 gín kù-babbar ²³*En-nam-A-šur u[b-lam]*
²⁴*5 gín kù-babbar* 3 gín kù-[gi] ²⁵*Puzur₄-Ištar ub-lam* ²⁶*5 gín kù-babbar*
5 ma-na /urudu ²⁷*du₁₀-sí-lá-A-šur /ub-lam* le.e. ²⁸*a-ma-[a]t-kà ša <Kà>-*
ni-iš ²⁹*i-na [p]á-ni-kà lá^l-ar-ta^l(RI)-a-am*

^{1–2}Say to Aššur-nādā: thus (says) Šarrat-Ištar.

³Zupa is bringing you [2?] textiles. ^{4–51}1 belt for you, 1 belt for [X-x]-aria. ^{6–7}Sell the 4 metal belts one by one. ^{8–9}The shawl³ is for [your] *amtum*-wife of Kaneš. ^{10–11}2 textiles cost 37 minas of copper; ^{11–12}I bought them from the [x] textiles. ^{13–14}I sold 1 textile for s[ilver x x]. ^{14–16}As much as [x x] Kurub-Ištar [x x x] is deposited with you, ¹⁷I have told him nothing. ¹⁸I have [...] the man. ¹⁹Set out and come here. ^{20–21}All this, Zupa is bringing you. ^{22–23}Ennum-Aššur br[ought me] ½ mina, 5 shekels of silver. ^{24–25}Puzur-Ištar brought me 5 shekels of silver (and) 3 shekels of gol[d]. ^{26–27}Tāb-ṣilli-Aššur brought me 5 shekels of silver (and) 5 minas

of copper.^{28–29} Did I not always love your *amtum*-wife who is with you in Kaneš?

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Clay as BIN 4, 88; edited by Larsen (2002, no. 72).

Comments: According to Larsen (2002, xxv n. 35), for chronological reasons, Šarrat-Ištar could be a daughter of Aššur-nādā and of his Assyrian wife. She is living in Aššur and lists the textiles that she sent to her father. She also sent a shawl to the Anatolian *amtum*-wife of her father, Šišahšušar. She lists the amounts of metal that she received: forty-five shekels of silver, three shekels of gold, and five minas of copper.

Line 6: the word *šakkukum* probably refers to a belt made of metal, sometimes ornamented with precious stones; see Michel 2001a, 72a.

173. A Woman Waits for Payment for Her Textiles to Repay a Debt

Obv. ¹a-na Ma-nu-ki-A-šur qí-bi₄-/ma ²um-ma Ší-ma-Sú-en₆-ma ³1 ku-ta-nam sig₅ ⁴a-na ta-ad-mi-iq-/tim ⁵a-na Šu-^dEn-lil ⁶a-dí-in ½ ma-na kù-bab-bar ⁷iq-bi₄-am ra-qá-tám sig₅ ⁸A-šur-i-dí dumu A-mur-A-šur lo.e. ⁹ú-bi₄-il₅-šu-um túg rev. ¹⁰ša šú-uh-ri-im ¹¹Puzúr-e-na ú-bi₄-il₅-šu-um ¹²be-lí a-ta Šu-^dEn-lil ¹³ša-ba-at-ma kù-babbar ší-im ¹⁴túg^{hi-tí-a} : ša-dí-šu-ma šé-bi₄-/lam ¹⁵hu-bu-li ša a-ša-du-/uš-tim ¹⁶ah-bu-lu lá-ak-šu-ur

^{1–2}Say to Mannum-kī-Aššur: thus (says) Šimat-Suen.

^{3–6}I gave 1 fine *kutānum*-textile to Šu-Enlil as a *tadmiqum*-trust. ^{6–7}He promised me ½ mina of silver. ^{7–9}Aššur-idī, son of Amur-Aššur, brought him a thin and fine (textile). ^{9–11}Puzur-Enna brought to him a textile for a child.

^{12–14}You are my master; seize Šu-Enlil, make him pay the silver, price of my textiles, and send (it) to me! ^{15–16}I want to pay my debt that I incurred to the committee-of-six.

Bibliography: Text published by Bilgiç and Bayram as AKT 2, 52 (Kt n/k 588); collated May 2012.

Comments: Šimat-Suen sent three different textiles to Šu-Enlil and is waiting for payment for her textiles in order to pay her own debt.

Line 4: the word *tadmiqtum* corresponds to a consignment, often made by women, in which merchandise, often textiles, was entrusted to a relative to sell without guaranteed profit.

Line 15: *šaduštum* is used here for *šedištum*, “a group-of-six,” an ad hoc committee of six members set up for special legal matters; see Larsen 1976, 166.

174. Women in Aššur Receive Small Amounts of Silver

^{1'[1?]} *ri-ik-[sú x x x]* ^{2'}10 gín kù ší-im an-na ša [x x]-im ^{3'}1 *ri-ik-sú* 15 gín kù-babbar ^{4'}ší-im túg ša *Ma-nu-ba* gudu₄ ša *A-šur* ^{5'}1 *ri-ik-sú* 13 gín kù-babbar ^{6'}*a-Lá-ma-sí* ú *A-ha-ha* 1½ gín kù ^{7'}*a-Šu-bu-ul-tim* 1½ gín kù ^{8'}*a-Ta-ri-iš-ma-tim* ú *Be-lá-tim* ^{9'}1½ gín *a-Lá-ma-sí-tim* ^{10'}2 *né-pí-ša-an* 20 *ma-na* kù-babbar lo.e. ^{11'}ša *dam-gàr a-qá-ra-be-tim* /1 *ri-ik-sú* ^{12'}*a-ha-ma ni-is-ha-sú* ^{13'}1 *né-pí-šum* 15 *ma-na* kù-babbar rev. ^{14'}*ku-nu-ku-a* ú *ku-nu-uk Ás-qú-dim* ^{15'}*a-ru-ba-im* 1 *né-pí-šu-um* ^{16'}5 *ma-na* kù *ku-nu-ki-a* ší-im ^{17'}*an-na* ša *a-bi-šu a-ru-ba-im* ^{18'}1 *né-pí-šu-um* ^{19'}5 *ma-na* kù *ša-du-a-sú* ^{20'}*i-ra-mì-ni-a áš-qúl a-na* ^{21'}T[*a-ri-iš-ma-t*]im ú *Be-lá-tim* ^{22'}[...] na x (lacuna)

le.e. ^{1''}[... *Bu]-zu-ta-a* ú *Be-lá-nim* ^{2''}[...] ½ *ma-na a-wi-tum* ^{3''}[...]-a igi *Iš-ma-A-šur* dumu ^{4''}[*PN*₁ igi *PN*₂ dumu] *Bu-da-tim*

^{1'-2'}[1] pack[age ...] 10 shekels of silver, price of tin from [...]. ^{3'-4'}1 package of 15 shekels of silver, price of a textile from Manuba, priest of Aššur; ^{5'-6'}1 package of 13 shekels of silver for Lamassī and Ahaha; ^{6'-8'}1½ shekels of silver for Šubultum; 1½ shekels of silver for Tariš-mātum and Bēlātum, (and) ^{9'}1½ shekels for Lamassatum. ^{10'-11'}2 bags of 20 minas of silver belonging to the *tamkārum* for the storeroom; ^{11'-12'}1 package separately, its import tax; ^{12'-15'}1 bag of 15 minas of silver under my seal and the seal of Asquidum for the king (of Aššur); ^{15'-17'}1 bag of 5 minas of silver under my seal, price of his father's tin, for the king; ^{18'-20'}1 bag of 5 minas of silver; I personally paid its transport fee. ^{21'}For T[ariš-māt]um and Bēlātum [...]

^{1''-4''}[... *Bu]zutaya* and Bēlānum [...] ½ mina, the value of the caravan [...]. In the presence of Išme-Aššur, son of [*PN*₁, and *PN*₂, son of] Budatum.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Garelli as CCT 6, 27b; edited by Andrea Marie Ulshöfer (1995, no. 176).

Comments: Lamassī, wife of Pūšu-kēn, and her daughter Ahaha receive together 13 shekels of silver; the other ladies, Šubultum and Lamassatum, each received 1½ shekels; Tarīš-mātum and Bēlātum together received 1½ shekels. Such amounts of silver are inferior to the price of an exported textile.

Line 14': Asqudum is known as a servant of Aššur palace (*wardum ša ekallim*) according to KTS 1, 55b:3; see Michel 2015c.

175. Separate Accounts for Spouses

Envelope

Obv. ¹(seal A) ²a-na A-t[a]-ta dumu ³Ma-num-ba-lúm-A-šür ⁴ù Qá-nu-tim dumu-munus ⁵En-na-Sú-en₆ ⁶(seal A) ⁷kišib A-na-ah-i-lí lo.e. ⁸(seal A) rev. ⁹dumu du₁₀-sí-lá-A-šür ¹⁰(seal A) u.e. ¹¹(seal A) le.e. ¹²(seal A) r.e. ¹³(seal A)

¹⁻⁵To At[a]ta, son of Mannum-balum-Aššur and Qannuttum, daughter of Enna-Suen.

⁷⁻⁹Sealed by Ānah-ilī, son of Tāb-ṣilli-Aššur.

Tablet

Obv. ¹a-na A-ta-ta ù Qá-nu-tim ²qí-bi₄-ma um-[ma] A-na-ah-i-lí-/ma ³½ ma-na kù-[ki] ù ½ ma-na ⁴kù-babbar ša Qá-nu-tim ša ⁵Il₅-ba-ni ki-ma Qá-nu-tim ⁶kù-babbar ip-qí-da-ni : a-na-/kam* ⁷A-lá-bu-um ú-ni-hi-ma ⁸ kù-babbar 1 ma-na ú-ša-ag-me-/er ⁹a-na A-lim^{ki} im-ta-ša-ra-ni-/ma ¹⁰i-na dí-in A-lim^{ki} ¹¹kù-babbar ú kù-ki : A-lá-bu-um ¹²i-lá-qé-ma a-na a-wa-at ¹³Qá-nu-tim A-lá-bu-um ¹⁴i-za-az šu-ma Qá-nu-tum ¹⁵a-[na A-n]a-ah-i-lí lo.e. ¹⁶ta-t[ù]-wa-ar A-lá-bu-/um rev. ¹⁷ú-ša-ha-sú-ú ¹⁸ kù-babbar ú kù-ki šu-ut a-na ¹⁹é A-lim^{ki} a-na hu-bu-ul ²⁰Il₅-ba-ni i-sí-qí-il₅ ²¹a-ma-kam : a-li : té-er-tí ²²Il₅-ba-ni i-ba-sí-ú ²³ša ½ ma-na kù-ki pá-ša-lam₅ ²⁴ù ½ ma-na kù-babbar ²⁵ú ší-a-ma-tí-šu ša-áb-ta-/ma ²⁶mí-sí-a-ma le-qé-a ²⁷túp-pá-am ša A-lim^{ki} da-nam ²⁸ša ki-ma kù-ki ú kù-babbar ²⁹ša Qá-nu-tí-ni ³⁰ú-kà-al ú šu-ma u.e. ³¹Ku-li-a i-lá-kà*-ma ³²a-wa-tim ú-ga-mar ³³a-dí a-lá-kà-ni le.e. ³⁴i-ta-ba-lá-šu a-[w]a-tim lá tú-ga-/ma-ra

¹⁻²Say to Atata and Qannuttum: thus (says) Ānah-ilī.

³⁻⁶(Concerning) ½ mina of gold and 1½ minas of silver, belonging to Qannuttum; Ilī-bāni, representing Qannuttum, entrusted the silver to

me.^{6–8} Here Ali-abum has troubled me and caused me to spend silver, up to 1 mina!⁹ He has then dragged me before the city (of Aššur), and^{10–12} according to the verdict of the city (of Aššur), Ali-abum can take that silver and gold, and^{12–14} Ali-abum shall be responsible for Qannuttum's interests.^{14–16} Should Qannuttum raise a claim again[st An]ah-ilī,^{16–17} then Ali-abum shall clear him.^{18–20} That silver and gold have been paid to the City Hall for Ili-bāni's debt.^{21–22} There, wherever goods ordered by Ili-bāni are available,^{23–25} (then) seize to an amount of ½ mina of *pašallum*-gold and 1½ minas of silver or goods bought for (that amount), and^{26–26} take them under your own responsibility.^{27–30} I hold a binding tablet from the city (of Aššur) stating that the silver and gold belong to Qannuttum.^{30–32} And if Kuliya comes in order to settle the affair,^{33–34} until I arrive, string him along, you should not settle the affair!

Bibliography: Text published by Veenhof as AKT 5, 30 (Kt 92/k 191); collated May 2012.

Comments: Qannuttum, daughter of Enna-Suen, was the wife of Ili-bāni (AKT 5, 28a:4–5; 51:13; 62:2; 63:16). According to Veenhof (AKT 5, 19), her husband might have been an older brother of Kuliya, messenger of the *kārum* and owner of the archives published in AKT 5. For the writing of her name, see Sturm 1995. Another possible reading is Kannūtum, from *kunnūm*, “to honor.”

Qannuttum owned substantial amounts of gold and silver personally; some of the silver has been used in Aššur by Ānah-ilī to pay a debt of her husband. But the silver belonged to her and not to her husband, so she had to be indemnified by the sale of Ili-bāni's goods. This implies that Qannuttum had her own capital separate from her husband's, and so husband and wife had separate accounts.

Line 34: Veenhof takes the form *i-ta-ba-lá-šu* as an imperative Gtn of *wabālum*.

176. A Man Buys Goods for His Wife with Her Own Silver

Obv. ¹um-ma ²Im-dí-dingir-ma : a-na ²Ištar-ba-áš-tí : ù A-mur-dingir ³qíbi-ma : a-ma-lá : té-er-tí-a ⁴tup-pí-a : sí-ta¹-me-a-ma ⁵lu an-na^{ki} : lu túgtí-a : lu e-ma-ri ⁶dí-na-ma : lu ba-áb-tí : ma-[l]á¹ ⁷qá-at-ku-nu : ik-šu-du ⁸lu ša ki-ma : i-a-tí : me-eh-ra-tim ⁹i-na-dí-ú : ù a-dí : 10 ma-na kù-babbar ¹⁰ša

ta-áš-pu-ri-ni : um-ma a-tí-ma¹¹ša ki-ma : ku-a-tí : ú-lá i-mu-ú¹²še-bi-lim-ma : ša kù-babbar^{pí}-ki¹³ší-ma-am : a-ša-a-ma¹⁴A-mur-dingir : ú-še-ṣa-a-ki-im¹⁵A-mur-dingir : a-ma-kam : lá i-sà-hu-ur¹⁶ší-ma-am : áš-a-ma lu an-na^{kam} 17lu túg^{hi-a} : i-ba-ší¹⁸ù a-na-ku : lá kà-ṣú-da-ku rev.¹⁹A-mur-dingir : u₄-ma-kál^l : lá i-bi-a-at²⁰li-it-bé-a-ma²¹li-tal-kam : maš-kà-tám²²ú-lá a-ša-kà-nam : A-mur-dingir²³ú-qá-a : a-dí : A-mur-dingir²⁴i-lá-kà-ni : lá ta-ha-dí-ri²⁵ki-ma : A-mur-dingir : e-ru-ba-ni-ni²⁶u₄-ma-kál : lá uš-bi-a-sú²⁷i-tù-a-ri-šu : a-tí : al-ki-im²⁸1 tún A-bar-ni-am : ½ ma-na kù-babbar²⁹áš-qúl : a-na Ištar-ba-áš-tí³⁰E-lá : na-ší : ú-za-an³¹A-mur-dingir : pí-tí : pá-lá-ha-am³²lu i-de₈ : a-na ninda : ù kaš³³lá i-da-gal lu a-wi-il₅³⁴ta ah-sí-is-tum³⁵ša Ú-ṣur-ší-Ištar 10½ ma-na / 5½ gín kù-babbar le.e.³⁶ša igi E-na-Be-lim : ù A-ṣur-sig₅³⁷i-na li-bi : tup-pè-a-ma : li-ib-ší³⁸kù-babbar : a-na-kam : i-ta-aq-ra-ni³⁹i-ṭup-pí : tup-pí-ma : uš-tám-tí-ku-nu

¹⁻³Thus (says) Imdī-ilum: say to Ištar-baštī and Amur-ilī.

³⁻⁴According to my instructions, listen carefully to my tablet and ⁵⁻⁶sell my tin, my garments, and my donkeys, and ⁶⁻⁷all that you have obtained from my outstanding deliveries, ⁸⁻⁹or what my representatives will deposit as equivalent. ⁹⁻¹¹And, as for the 10 minas of silver, about which you (fem.) wrote to me as follows: "Your representatives refuse!" ¹²⁻¹³Send it to me, and for the silver (which is) yours (fem.), I will make a purchase and ¹⁴will let Amur-ilī export it to you. ¹⁵Amur-ilī should not stay over there! ¹⁶⁻¹⁷I already made a purchase, and the tin and textiles are (already) available (for shipment). ¹⁸For my part, I will not be delayed. ¹⁹⁻²¹(Therefore) Amur-ilī should not stay overnight; let him set out and come! ²¹⁻²²I will not make (another) deposit. ²²⁻²³I am waiting for Amur-ilī. ²³⁻²⁴Do not be worried concerning the fact that Amur-ilī has to travel. ²⁵⁻²⁷When Amur-ilī arrives here, I will not let him stay overnight. Come yourself here as soon as he returns!

²⁸⁻²⁹I paid ½ mina of silver for one Abarnian-textile; ²⁹⁻³⁰Ela is bringing (it) to Ištar-baštī.

³⁰⁻³³Tell Amur-ilī that he should know how to respect (people); he should not be looking (only) at bread and beer! He must (be) a gentleman!

³⁴⁻³⁷The memorandum of Uṣur-ṣa-Ištar (concerning) the 10½ minas, 5½ shekels of silver, witnessed by Ennam-Bēlum and Aššur-damiq, should stay with my tablets. ³⁸⁻³⁹Here, silver is now difficult for me to obtain, (this is why) letter after letter I have warned you!

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Smith as CCT 4, 28a; edited by Ichisar (1981, 229–31); translated by Michel (2001a, no. 354).

Comments: Imdī-ilum writes from Aššur to his wife and his son in Kaneš. Ištar-baštī owns ten minas of silver; her husband intends to make purchases for her, and their son Amur-ilī will transport her goods to Kaneš for sale. Meanwhile, they are asked to sell Imdī-ilum's tin and textiles, and to send him his silver. Ištar-baštī is supposed to travel back to Aššur. Letter TC 3, 57, is sent to the same recipients but is mainly addressed to Amur-ilī.

Lines 31–32: literally, “he should look for bread and beer.”

WOMEN LEND, BUY, AND INVEST

With the money gained from their work, Assyrian women took part in all sorts of transactions in their own names, such as sales or purchases of slaves, and put their money to work by making interest-bearing loans. Numerous women drew up contracts in which they were creditors. The amounts loaned by women were generally smaller than those loaned by men, often a few shekels, though occasionally much more. Some women's loans exceeded a mina of silver (1 mina, or 500 g: 183; 1½ minas, or 750 g: 177; 1½ minas, 3½ shekels; or 780 g: 187). Women, whether Assyrian or Anatolian, made loans to men as well as to women; practically every combination is attested. One Assyrian woman made a loan to an Assyrian man (Ahattum: 177, 178; Musa: 182), another, Šat-Anna, made several loans to men, both Assyrian and Anatolian (179–181). An Assyrian women could make a loan to another Assyrian woman (80; Šat-Ea: 183, 184) or to an Anatolian woman (185). An Anatolian woman could loan money to another Anatolian woman (189). A woman could also loan a substantial sum of money to several men (Zizizi: 186, 187; Kušan: 188).

Some women's personal circumstances allowed them to stand as guarantors for debtors, especially for members of their own family; they were thus executors for creditors (193). An Assyrian woman stood as guarantor for her brother for a debt of fifteen shekels of silver. When he was unable to repay, he gave a small piece of land to the creditor and to his sister; perhaps it was she who paid her brother's debt to the creditor (194)? Women could also stand as guarantors for commercial transactions of various kinds (138).

Like men, women used their resources to buy slaves or real estate (see above, chapter 3).³² Various slave sales, often of women and girls, were ini-

32. Kienast 1984; Michel 2008a, 2016d.

tiated by women; these records documented the payment of the price and the transfer of the slave to the buyer. They belonged to Assyrian women (103), such as Ahattum, who bought in several instances a girl from her parents (94, 107); to Ištar-baštī (103); or to Anatolian women, such as Zaza (108), Waliwali (143) or Nakilwišwe (144). Women such as Ummī-nara (149, 150) likewise became owners of houses. These contracts were found in their archives at Kaneš; most likely similar documents were kept in women's residences at Aššur.

Women invested, just as men, in long-distance trade, buying goods that they sent to sell in Anatolia (195, 217). Text 196, which lists a woman's goods—silver, textiles, wool, slaves, copper, and donkeys—shows her involvement in international trade. As owners of merchandise brought by caravans to Asia Minor, they, just as men, could be obliged to declare under oath any losses they had incurred (243; see chapter 5). And Assyrian women tried to increase their wealth through financial activities of various kinds, by investing in a trader's joint-stock company (282, 284); the details of these transactions are known from letters they sent to members of their families at Kaneš.³³

Women's involvement in commerce sometimes compelled them to travel. Some made the long journey from Aššur to Kaneš; others visited different commercial settlements in Asia Minor.³⁴ Their letters explain the reasons, family or business, that took them away from home.³⁵ Ennum-Ištar, widow of Šalim-Aššur, wrote to her eldest son reminding him of transactions she had carried out at Burušattum and Kaneš (198). Other women made journeys at the request of their husbands in order to transact business (see 200, and below).

177. An Assyrian Woman Lends Silver to an Assyrian Merchant for Three Months

Obv. ¹1½ *ma-na kù-babbar ṣa-ru-pá-/am* ²*i-ṣé-er Šu-Ku-bi₄-/im* ³*A-ha-tum tí-ṣu* ⁴*iš-tù ha-mu-uš-/tim* ⁵*Im-dí-lim ú A-ṣur-ṣú-lu-/li* ⁶*a-na 3 iti-*

33. Michel 2014f.

34. Michel 2008d.

35. For example, the journey of Kunnaniya from Kaneš to Aššur (chapter 6; Michel 1997e; 2001a, 493–99), or that of Šalimma from Aššur to Kaneš (chapter 5; Veenhof 2007).

kam ⁷*i-ša-qal šu-ma* ⁸*lá iš-qú-ul* rev. ⁹*ki-ma a-wa-at* ¹⁰*kà-ri-im ú-ša-áb*
¹¹[igi] *Lu-lu* ¹²[dumu] *A-ra-na-áp-šu*

¹⁻³Ahattum has loaned 1½ minas of refined silver to Šu-Kūbum. ⁴⁻⁷From the week of Imdī-ilum and Aššur-ṣululī, he shall pay in 3 months. ⁷⁻¹⁰If he has not paid, he shall add (interest) according to the rate of the *kārum*.

¹¹⁻¹²In the presence of Lulu, [son] of Aranapšu.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Clay as BIN 4, 153; edited by Eisser and Lewy (1930, no. 75); Ichisar (1981, 94).

Comments: The amount of silver object of the loan is substantial, 1½ minas, and the debtor, Šu-Kūbum, bears a quite well-known name. If it is the same lady, Ahattum is also creditor in 178. There is only one witness.

178. An Assyrian Woman Lends Silver to an Assyrian Merchant for One Month

Envelope

Ov. ¹kišib *A-la₁-hi-[im]* ²(seal A) ³dumu *Du^l-dí-ki* kišib Šu-Ku-*bi₄-im*
⁴dumu *Nu-ur^l(NI)-Ištar* ^{5½}*ma-na* kù-babbar *ṣa-ru-pá-am* ⁶(seal B) ⁷*i-sé-er*
 Šu-Ku-*bi₄-im* lo.e. ⁸(seal B) ⁹*A-ha-tum tí-šu* rev. ¹⁰*iš-tù ha-mu-uš-tim* ¹¹(seal B)
¹²*ša l-lí-iš-tí-kál* ¹³ù *Puzur₄-sa-tu* ¹⁴*a-na* iti-1-kam *i-ša-qal* ¹⁵*šu-ma* *lá iš-qú-ul* ¹⁶(seal A) ¹⁷1½ *gín-ta a-na ma-na-/im* u.e. ¹⁸*ṣí-ib-tám ú-ša-áb* ¹⁹(seal A) ²⁰iti-kam *A-lá-na-tim* ²¹*li-mu-um* le.e. ²²*Bu-zu-zu* ²³(seal B) r.e. ²⁴(seal A)

¹⁻⁴Sealed by Ali-ahu[m], son of Dudiki; sealed by Šu-Kūbum, son of Nūr-Ištar.

⁵⁻⁹Ahattum has loaned ½ mina of refined silver to Šu-Kūbum.
¹⁰⁻¹⁴From the week of Iliš-tikal and Puzur-ṣadu'e, he shall pay in one month. ¹⁵⁻¹⁸If he has not paid, he shall add interest of 1½ shekels per mina.
²⁰⁻²²Month Allānātūm (xii), eponym Buzuzu (REL 87).

Tablet

Ov. ^{1½}*ma-na* kù-babbar ²*ṣa-ru-pá-am* ³*i-sé-er* Šu-Ku-*bi-im* ⁴*A-ha-tum*
tí-šu-ú ⁵*iš-tù ha-mu-uš-tim* ⁶*ša l-lí-iš-tí-kál* ⁷ù *Puzur₄-ṣa-du-e* ⁸*a-na* iti-1-kam
⁹*i-ša-qal šu-ma* lo.e. ¹⁰*lá iš-qúl* ¹¹1½ *gín-ta* ¹²*i-iti-kam^{im}* ¹³*a-na* 1 *ma-na-im* ¹⁴*ṣí-ib-tám ú-ša-áb* ¹⁵igi *A-la-hi-im*

^{1–4}Ahattum has loaned ½ mina of refined silver to Šu-Kūbum.^{5–9}From the week of Iliš-tikal and Puzur-šadu'e, he shall pay in one month.^{9–14}If he has not paid, he shall add interest of 1½ shekels per mina.

¹⁵In the presence of Ali-ahum.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Lewy as TC 3, 228; edited by Rosen (1977, 133).

Comments: Creditor and debtor are the same as those of the previous text; the amount of silver is less, as well as the length of the loan. It takes place during another week period, perhaps of the same year (ca. 1886).

179. An Assyrian Woman Lends a Small Amount of Silver to a Man for Three Weeks

Obv. ¹16 gín kù-babbar *ṣa-ru-pá-am* ²*i-ṣé-er* ³*Ha-nu* : *Ša-ta-na* ⁴*tí-šu iš-tù* *ha-mu-uš-/tim* ⁵*ša Kar-wa-a* ⁶*ù Kur-ub-Ištar* ⁷*a-na* ³ *ha-am-ṣa-/tim* ⁸*i-ṣa-qal* ⁹*šu-ma lá iš-qú-ul* ¹⁰*1 gín-ta sí-ib-/tám* ¹¹*i-iti-kam ú-ṣa-áb* ¹²*igi A-šur-dutu-ši* ¹³*igi Im-li-kà-a* ¹⁴*igi En-na-nim*

^{1–4}Sāt-Anna has loaned 16 shekels of refined silver to Hanu.^{4–8}From the week of Karwaya and Kurub-Ištar, he shall pay in 3 weeks.^{9–11}If he has not paid, he shall add interest of 1 shekel per (mina and) per month.

^{12–14}In the presence of Aššur-šamšī, Imlikaya, and Ennānum.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Smith and Wiseman as CCT 5, 20c; edited by Rosen (1977, 107–8).

Comments: The refined silver is loaned for a short period and an interest of 1 shekel per month—lower than the usual interest of 1½ shekels—is added. The witnesses are two men.

180. An Assyrian Woman Lends Silver to an Assyrian Merchant for Two Months

Obv. ¹*½ ma-na* ¹gín kù-babbar ²*ṣa-ru-pá-am* *i-ṣé-er* ³*Šál-mi-hi-im* dumu *Ma-áš-hi-li* *Ša-ta-na* ⁴*tí-šu* : *iš-tù* ⁵*ha-muš-tim* : *ša me-ra* ⁶*En-um-A-nim* *a-na* ⁷*iti-2-kam* *i-ṣa-qal* ⁸*šu-ma* : *lá iš-qú-ul* ⁹*ki-ma a-wa-at* ¹⁰*kà-ri-im* :

i-na iti-kam¹¹ ší-ib-tám ú-ša-ab iti-kam lo.e.¹² Ma-hu-ri-lu¹³ li-mu-um rev.¹⁴ ša qá-tí¹⁵ En-na-Sú-en₆ (erased sign)¹⁶ dumu Šu-A-šúr¹⁷ igi Ma-sà-A-šúr¹⁸ dumu A-al-du₁₀¹⁹ igi A-mur-Ištar dumu²⁰ Pí-lá-ah-Ištar

¹⁻⁴Šat-Anna has loaned $\frac{2}{3}$ mina, 1 shekel of refined silver to Šalim-ahum, son of Mašhi-ilī. ⁴⁻⁷From the week of the son of Ennam-Anum, he shall pay in 2 months. ⁸⁻¹¹If he has not paid, he shall add interest per month according to the rate of the *kārum*. ¹¹⁻¹⁶Month Mahhur-ilī (iv), the eponym who followed Enna-Suen, son of Šu-Aššur (REL 107 + 1).

¹⁷⁻²⁰In the presence of Massa-Aššur, son of Āl-ṭāb, and Amur-Ištar, son of Pilah-Ištar.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Lewy as TC 3, 235; edited by Rosen (1977, 141).

Comments: The creditor is the same woman as that of the previous text; she lends forty-one shekels of refined silver for two months to a merchant bearing an Assyrian name but whose father has an Anatolian name. The loan is dated to REL 107 + 1 (ca. 1865). The transaction is witnessed by two Assyrians.

181. An Assyrian Woman Lends Silver to a Man

Envelope

Rev. ^{1'}(seal A) ^{2' 1/2} *ma-na kù-babbar^{3'i-sé-er Zi-[ki-ki]}* ^{4'[Š]a-at-A-na} ^{5'[ti]-šu : iš-tù [ha-muš-tim]} ^{6'sa E-lá-m[a ù Šu-Ku-/bi-im]} ^{7'1 gín-t[a i-iti-kam]}
^{8'ú-ša-áb} ^{9'(seal B)} u.e. ^{10'(seal B?)} le.e. ^{11'(seal C?)}

^{2'-5'}[Š]at-Anna has loaned $\frac{1}{2}$ mina of silver to Zi[kiki]. ^{5'-8'}From the [week] of Elamm[a and Šu-Kūbum], he shall add 1 shekel (of interest) [per month].

Tablet

Obv. ^{1 1/2} *ma-na kù-babbar^{2'i-sé-er} ³Zi-ki-ki* ⁴Ša-at-A-na ⁵tí-šu iš-tù ⁶ha-mu-uš-tim ^{7'sa E-la-ma} lo.e. ^{8'ù Šu-Ku-/bi-im} rev. ^{9'1} gín-ta *i-na* ¹⁰iti-kam : *ú-ša-áb* ¹¹igi *La₁-ma-sí* ¹²igi Šu-Ku-bi₄-im

¹⁻⁵Šat-Anna has loaned $\frac{1}{2}$ mina of silver to Zikiki. ⁵⁻¹⁰From the week of Elamma and Šu-Kūbum, he shall add 1 shekel per month (as interest).

¹¹⁻¹²In the presence of Lamassī and Šu-Kūbum.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Lewy as TC 3, 220; edited by Rosen (1977, 126–27).

Comments: The text is concise; no due date is mentioned. Interest of 1 shekel per month—lower than the usual interest of 1½ shekels—is added. The *hamuštum* of Elamma and Šu-Kūbum is attested during month four (iv) of year REL 85 (Kt c/k 799).

182. An Assyrian Woman Lends Silver to an Assyrian Merchant

Envelope

Obv. ¹kišib [A-šu]r-i-dí ²dumu [A]-šur-ma-lik ³(seal A) ⁴[kišib] Ás-qú-dim dumu ⁵[A-šur]-re-sí ⁶[3½ g]ín 15 še kù-babbar ⁷li-tí i-sé-er ⁸(seal A) ⁹Ás-qú-dim dumu A-šur-re-sí ¹⁰Mu-sà tí-šu iš-tù lo.e. ¹¹(seal B) ¹²ha-muš-tim ša ¹³Ú-şú-ur-şa-Ištar lo.e. ¹⁴(seal B) ¹⁵iti-kam Śí-pí-im li-mu*-um ¹⁶I-dí-a-hu-um a-na ¹⁷iti-2-kam i-şa-qal ¹⁸šu-ma lá iš-qúl ¹⁹i-iti-kam^{im} ¼ gín-ta ²⁰[s]í-b-tám ²¹ú-şa-áb u.e. ²²(seal A) le.e. ²³(seal A) r.e. ²⁴(seal B)

¹⁻⁵Sealed by [Aššu]r-idī, son of [A]ššur-malik; [sealed by] Asqudum, son of [Aššur]-rēšī.

⁶⁻¹⁰Musa has loaned [3½ sh]ekels, 15 grains of *litum*-silver to Asqudum, son of Aššur-rēšī. ¹⁰⁻¹⁷From the week of Ušur-şa-Ištar, month Śip'um (vii), eponym Iddin-ahum (REL 110), he shall pay within 2 months. ¹⁸⁻²¹If he has not paid, he shall add interest of ¼ shekel per month.

Tablet

Obv. ¹3½ gín 15 še ²kù-babbar li-tí i-sé-/er ³Ás-qú-dim Mu-sà ⁴tí-šu iš-tù ha-muš-/tim ⁵sha Ú-şú-ur-şa-/Ištar ⁶iti-kam Śí-pí-im lo.e. ⁷li-mu-um rev. ⁸I-dí-a-hu-um ⁹a-na iti-2-kam i-şa-/qal ¹⁰šu-ma lá iš-qúl ¹¹¼ gín-ta śí-b-/tám ¹²i-iti-1-kam^{im} ¹³ú-şa-áb ¹⁴igi A-šur-i-dí

¹⁻⁴Musa has loaned 3½ shekels, 15 grains of *litum* silver to Asqudum.

⁴⁻⁹From the week of Ušur-şa-Ištar, month Śip'um (vii), eponym Iddin-ahum (REL 110), he shall pay within 2 months. ¹⁰⁻¹³If he has not paid, he shall add interest of ¼ shekel per month. ¹⁴In the presence of Aššur-idī.

Bibliography: Text published by Bilgiç, Sever, Günbattı, and Bayram as AKT 1, 46 (Kt a/k 895); collated May 2011.

Comments: Musa lent a small amount of silver to Asqudum for a short period; there is only one witness. The date REL 110 corresponds to circa 1863. The interest amounts to two shekels per year.

183. An Assyrian Woman Lends Silver at Interest to an Assyrian Woman

Envelope

Obv. ¹(seal A) ²ki[šib Zu-zu-a d]umu ³lí-dan ³kišib Šu-B[e-l]im dumu Zu-ur-zu-ur ⁴kišib Ša-té-a dumu-<munus> Sú-e-ta-ta ⁵1 ma-na kù-babbar li-tí ⁶(seal B) ⁷i-sé-er Ša-té-a dumu-<munus> lo.e. ⁸(seal B) rev. ⁹Sú-e-ta-ta Ištar-lá-ma-sí ¹⁰tí-šu iš-tú ¹¹(seal C) ¹²[ha]-mu-uš-tim ša ^dmar-tu-ba-ni ¹³ù A-šur-na-da 2 gín-ta ¹⁴[i]-na iti-kam sí-ib-tám tû-ṣa-áb ¹⁵[i]ti-kam A-lá-na-tim ¹⁶(seal C) u.e. ¹⁷[li-mu-um d]u₁₀-A-šur ¹⁸(seal A) r.e. ¹⁹(seal C)

¹⁻⁴Se[aled by Zuzua, s]on of Ilī-dān; sealed by Šu-B[ēl]um, son of Zurzur; sealed by Šāt-Ea, dau<ghter> of Su'etata.

⁵⁻¹⁰Ištar-lamassi has loaned 1 mina of *litum*-silver to Šāt-Ea, dau<ghter> of Su'etata. ¹⁰⁻¹⁴From the [w]eek of Amurru-bāni and Aššur-nādā, he shall add as interest 2 shekels [p]er month. ¹⁵⁻¹⁷[M]onth Allānātūm (xii), [eponym] Tāb-Aššur (REL 91).

Tablet

¹1 ma-na kù-babbar li-tí i-sé-/er ²Ša-té-a Ištar-lá-ma-sí ³tí-šu iš-tú ha-mu-uš-tim ⁴ša ^dmar-tu-ba-ni ⁵ù A-šur-na-da ⁶2 gín-ta i-na ⁷iti-kam sí-ib-tám ⁸ú-ṣa-áb iti-kam lo.e. ⁹A-lá-na-tim rev. ¹⁰li-mu-um ¹¹du₁₀-A-šur ¹²igi Zu-zu-a ¹³igi Šu-be-lim

¹⁻³Ištar-lamassī has loaned 1 mina of *litum*-silver to Šāt-Ea. ³⁻⁸From the week of Amurru-bāni and Aššur-nādā, he shall add as interest 2 shekels per month. ⁸⁻¹¹Month Allānātūm (xii), eponym Tāb-Aššur (REL 91).

¹²⁻¹³In the presence of Zuzua and Šu-Bēlum.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Matouš as ICK 2, 11; edited by Rosen (1977, 155).

Comments: A woman lends 1 mina of silver to a woman; the transaction is witnessed by two men. No date is indicated for repayment; an interest of 2 shekels per month—higher than the usual interest of 1½ shekels—is added. The two witnesses and the debtor have sealed the envelope, which gives the names of their fathers. The contract is dated to circa 1882.

Lines 4 and 7 of the envelope: the writer wrote “dumu,” “son,” instead of “dumu-munus,” “daughter.”

Line 8 of the tablet: the writer has used by mistake the masculine form *uṣṣab* instead of the feminine *tuṣṣab* (line 14 of the envelope).

184. An Assyrian Woman Lends Silver to Another Assyrian Woman

Obv. ¹12 gín kù-babbar ²i-šé-er ³Lá-ma-sí-tim ⁴Ša-at-E-a ⁵tí-šu iš-tù ⁶ha-mu-uš-tim ⁷[š]a ⁸[ú Šá]l-ma-A-šur lo.e. ⁹[x gín-ta] rev. ¹⁰[kù-babbar sí-ib-t]ám ¹¹[i]-na iti-kam ¹²tù-ṣa-áb iti-kam ¹³Ma-hu-ri¹-li ¹⁴li-mu-um ¹⁵Šu-Hu-bu-ur ¹⁶igi Ku-ra ¹⁷[ig]i I-ku-pi-a¹(IM)

¹⁻⁵Šat-Ea has loaned 12 shekels of silver to Lamassatum. ⁵⁻¹²From the week of Amurru-bāni [and Ša]lim-Aššur, she shall add [as interest x shekels of silver per (mina) per month. ¹²⁻¹⁵Month Mahhur-ilī (iv), eponym Šu-Hubur (REL 88).

¹⁶⁻¹⁷In the presence of Kura [an]d Ikuppiya.

Bibliography: Text published by Bilgiç, Sever, Günbattı, and Bayram as AKT 1, 1 (Ank. 4669).

Comments: This loan of Šat-Ea is dated to REL 88 (ca. 1885); perhaps the same lady appears as indebted in several other documents, among them 74 and CCT 6, 1b.

185. An Assyrian Woman Lends a Small Amount of Silver to an Anatolian

Obv. ¹7½ gín kù-babbar ²i-šé-er A-ta-li ³Ištar-ba-áš-tí : tí-šu ⁴i-na ša Be-lim ⁵i-ša-qal šu-ma ⁶lá iš-qú-ul ⁷4 lá ^{1/4} gín kù-babbar ⁸sí-ib-t[ám] ⁹i-na iti-[kam] ¹⁰ú-s[a-áb] ¹¹igi Tù-[tù-pi-a-lá] ¹²igi Kà-pi-ú-m[a-an] ¹³igi Šu-pu-nu-ma-an ¹⁴igi I-lu-ra-ás ¹⁵igi Ha-ar-lá ¹⁶igi A-du-wa

¹⁻³Ištar-baštī has loaned 7½ shekels of silver to Atali. ⁴⁻⁵He shall pay at (the festival of) Bēlum. ⁵⁻¹⁰If he has not paid, he shall a[dd] intere[st] of 3¾ shekels of silver per month.

¹¹⁻¹⁶In the presence of Tu[tupiala], Kapium[an], Šuppunuman, Iluraš, Harla, and Aduwa.

Bibliography: Text published by Bayram (1990, 458 [Kt a/k 335]). Its envelope, Kt a/k 931, is unpublished; it is sealed by the six witnesses and the debtor; collated May 2011.

Comments: The amount of silver is small, but no fewer than six Anatolians witnessed the transaction. The due date is given by means of a religious event. The interest corresponds to 50 percent of the borrowed amount. The divine name Bēlum might be a translation in Akkadian of an Anatolian deity.

186. A Woman Lends Silver to Two Men

Envelope

Obv. ¹(seal A) ²kišib A-[zu]-ú* kišib Na-qí-[du] ³kišib Ištar-um-mi kišib ⁴Na-ki-le-ed ⁵(2 square stamp seals) lo.e. ⁶[kišib] Ma-na-ma-na ⁷(seal B) ⁸[ša] hu-bu-ul rev. ⁹(seal C) ¹⁰[N]a-ki-le-ed ù ¹¹Ma-na-ma-na ša ^{12 1/2} ma-na ^{4 1/2} gín kù-babbar ¹³i-sé-ri-šu-nu ¹⁴Zi-zi-zi tí-šu-ú ¹⁵(seal C) ¹⁶[a-n]a ša A-na u.e. ¹⁷(seal A) le.e. ¹⁸[i]-ša-qú-lu ¹⁹(seal B) r.e. ²⁰(seal D)

¹⁻⁶Sealed by A[z]u; sealed by Naqi[du]; sealed by Ištar-ummī; sealed by Nakile'ed; [sealed] by Manamana.

¹⁸⁻¹⁴[Concerning] the debt of [N]akile'ed and Manamana, which amounts to ½ mina, 4½ shekels of silver that Zizizi has loaned to them, ¹⁶⁻¹⁸[th]ey shall pay [at] the (festival) of Anna.

Tablet

Obv. ^{1 1/2}ma-na ^{4 1/2}gín ²kù-babbar i-sé-er ³Na-ki-le-ed ⁴ù Ma-na-ma-na ⁵Zi-zi-zi ⁶tí-šu a-na lo.e. ⁷ša A-na ⁸i-ša-qú-lu rev. ⁹igi A-zu-ú ¹⁰igi Na-qí-du ¹¹igi Ištar-um-mi

¹⁻⁶Zizizi has loaned ½ mina, 4½ shekels of silver to Nakile'ed and Manamana. ⁷⁻⁸They shall pay at the (festival) of Anna.

^{9–11}In the presence of Azu, Naqidu, and Ištar-ummī.

Bibliography: Text published by Bilgiç, Sever, Günbattı, and Bayram as AKT 1, 60 (Kt a/k 811); collated May 2011.

Comments: A woman lent silver to two men; the deadline of the loan is a religious festival. The document has been sealed by the two debtors and three witnesses; among these is an Assyrian woman, Ištar-ummī.

187. A Woman Lends an Important Amount of Silver to a Man

Envelope

Obv. ¹kišib Zu-mu kišib Ga-zu-ba ²(seal A) ³kišib Šu-ra-ma ⁴ša hu-bu-ul Šu-ra-/ma ⁵1½ ma-na ^{3½} gín ⁶kù-babbar i-sé-er ⁷Šu-ra-ma Zi-zí-zí /tí-šu-ú ⁸(seal A) ⁹2 tág^[hi-a] e-ru-ba-tú-šu lo.e. ¹⁰(seal B) rev. ¹¹i-n[a ha-a]r-pè ¹²i-š[a-qal] ¹³šu-ma lá iš-qú-ul ¹⁴3 gín-ta i-na ¹⁵iti-kam ú-ša-áb ¹⁶(seal B) u.e. ¹⁷(seal C) le.e. ¹⁸(seal B) r.e. ¹(seal D)

^{1–3}Sealed by Zumu; sealed by Gazuba; sealed by Šurama.

^{4–7}Concerning the debt of Šu-Rama, corresponding to 1½ minas, 3½ shekels of silver that Zizizi has loaned to Šu-Rama, ^{9–12}(and for which) 2 textiles are his pledge, he sha[ll pay] by the [summ]er. ^{13–15}If he has not paid, he shall add 3 shekels per (mina and) per month (as interest).

Bibliography: Text published by Bilgiç, Sever, Günbattı, and Bayram as AKT 1, 72 (Kt a/k 925a); collated May 2011. The tablet Kt a/k 925b (published as AKT 1, 71) does not match this envelope; there may have been an error while giving inventory numbers to these documents.

Comments: The same creditor as the previous text, Zizizi, lends 1 mina and 33½ shekels to a man, who deposited as pledge two textiles. The interest imposed on this loan is very high.

188. A Woman Lends Silver to Three People

Obv. ¹½ ma-na ⁵½ gín kù-babbar ²ša-ru-pá-am : i-sé-er ³A-ba-a : Lá-ma-sà-tim ⁴ù Ku-zi-a : Ku-ul-ša-/an ⁵tí-šu : iš-tù ha-muš-/tim ⁶ša A-šùr-i-dí ⁷ù Šu-Ištar lo.e. ⁸2 ha-ra-né-en₆ rev. ⁹ú-kà-šu-du-ma ¹⁰kù-babbar : i-ša-qú-lu

¹¹iti-kam *Áb-ša-ra-ni* ¹²*li-mu-um* *Ku-bi₄-a* ¹³*šu-ma lá iš-qú-lu* ¹⁴*2 gín-ta i-*
iti-kam^{im} ¹⁵*ú-ṣú-bu* : *ša-ba ša* ¹⁶*10 gín kù-babbar 6 ma-na-ta** ¹⁷*síghí-a na-*
ar-ba-tim /i-du-nu-nim le.e. ¹⁸*kù-babbar i-qá-qá-ad* ¹⁹*šál-me-šu-nu : ke-ni-*
šu-nu ²⁰*ra-ki-is* : *igi* ²¹*Da-lá-ás*

¹⁻⁵Kulšan has loaned $\frac{1}{3}$ mina, $5\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of refined silver to Abaya, Lamassatum, and Kuziya. ⁵⁻¹⁰From the week of Aššur-idī and Šu-Istar, they shall make 2 round trip caravans, and they shall pay the silver. ¹¹⁻¹²Month Ab-šarrāni (v), eponym Kubiya (REL 97). ¹³⁻¹⁵If they have not paid, they shall add 2 shekels per month (as interest). ¹⁵⁻¹⁷For it, for each 10 shekels of silver, they shall give 6 minas of soft wool. ¹⁸⁻²⁰The silver is charged to them as a joint responsibility.

²⁰⁻²¹In the presence of Dalaš.

Bibliography: Text published by Uzunalimoğlu (1992, 53–54 [Kt n/k 860]); collated May 2011.

Comments: Among the three debtors is the woman Lamassatum. The duration of the loan is based on two round trip caravans, but we do not know in which direction; perhaps inside Anatolia? The interest, which is made partly in wool, is very high. The contract is dated to REL 97 (ca. 1876).

189. An Anatolian Woman Lends Silver to Another Anatolian Woman

Envelope

Obv. ¹kišib *I-dí-Sú-en*₆ ²(seal A, four times) ³kišib *Mu-sà* (erasure) ⁴kišib *Ša-ta-ah-šu-ša-ar* ⁵*11 (sic)* gín kù-babbar *i-ṣé-er* ⁶*Ša-ta-ah-šu-ša-ar* ⁷*A-*
na-na : tí-šu ⁸(seal A, four times) ⁹*a-na ša Ha-ri-ha-ri* lo.e. ¹⁰(seal B) rev.
¹¹(seal C) ¹²*ta-ša-qal* u.e. ¹³(seal C)

¹⁻⁴Sealed by Iddin-Suen; sealed by Musa; sealed by Šatahšušar.

⁵⁻⁷Anna-anna has loaned 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ shekels of silver to Šatahšušar. ⁹⁻¹²She shall pay (at the festival of) Harihari.

Seal C Inscription

¹*En-na-na-tum* ²dumu-munus *Puzur₄-/ša-da*

Tablet

Obv. ¹11¼ gín kù-babbar ²i-šé-er ³Ša-tá-ah-šu-ša-ar ⁴A-na-na : tí-šu ⁵a-na
ša Ha-ri-ha-ri ⁶ta-ša-qal ⁷igi I-dí-Sú-en₆ lo.e. ⁸igi Mu-sà

¹⁻⁴Anna-anna has loaned 11¼ shekels of silver to of Šatahšušar. ⁵⁻⁶She shall pay (at the festival of) Harihari.

⁷⁻⁸In the presence of Iddin-Suen and Musa.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Hrozný as ICK 1, 24; edited by Rosen (1977, 48). The reverse is not inscribed.

Comments: Anna-anna is the creditor, and Šatahšušar will pay back the silver at the time of the festival of Harihari. This is the unique mention of this Anatolian deity; see Veenhof 2008a, 236, no. 4. The amount of the silver involved in this loan is not certain: 11¼ shekels on the tablet, and 11 shekels on the envelope. There are two witnesses, but the only sealing on the envelope bearing an inscription gives the name of a woman who is not attested in the transaction: Ennanatum, daughter of Puzur-šada; it is not possible to know who used this seal.

190. Witness Deposition Relating to a Debt Owed to a Woman

Obv. ¹i-Kà-ne-eš₁₅ ⁴nin-šubur-du-ni ²a-na a-ša-at Dam-qá-a ³iš-ba-at-ni-a-tí-ma um-ma ⁴nin-šubur-du-ni-ma a-na ⁵a-ša-at Dam-qá-a-ma ⁶am-tí a-na 17 gín kù-babbar ⁷iš-tí-ki wa-áš-ba-at ⁸li-bi₄ am-tí-a lá tū-lá-mì-ni ⁹iš-tū Wa-ah-šu-ša-na ¹⁰lá-tū-ra-ma tū-dí-tám lo.e. ¹¹i-na ir-tí-ki a-ša-kán rev. ¹²ù kù-babbar^{áp}-ki ú-ta-ra-ki-/im ¹³a-na a-wa-tim a-ni-a-tim ¹⁴kà-ru-um Wa-ah-šu-ša-na ¹⁵ša-he-er gal i-dí-na-ni-ma ¹⁶igi šu-ga-ri-a-im ša A-šur* ¹⁷ši-bu-tí a-dí-in ¹⁸igi dingir-re-ší dumu Ba-al-/tū-a ¹⁹Na-na-a dumu Ha-na-nim ²⁰tap-pá-i

¹⁻³In Kaneš, Ilabrat-dunnī seized us against the *aššutum*-wife of Damqaya, and ⁴⁻⁵Ilabrat-dunnī (said) as follows against the wife of Damqaya: ⁶⁻⁸“My female slave is staying with you (as security) for the 17 shekels of silver. You must not make her unhappy. ⁹⁻¹¹When I return from Wahšušana, I will fix a garment pin on your breast and ¹²give you back your silver.”

¹³⁻¹⁵For these proceedings, the *kārum* of Wahšušana, (the whole assembly) small and big, appointed me (as arbitrator), and ¹⁶⁻¹⁷I have

given my testimony before Aššur's sword.^{18–20} In the presence of Ilī-rēši, son of Balṭua; Nanaya, son of Hannānum was my partner.

Bibliography: Text published by Bilgiç and Günbattı as AKT 3, 51 (Kt v/k 135); collated May 2012.

Comments: The female slave of Ilabrat-dunnī has been taken as pledge by the wife of Damqaya for a loan of seventeen shekels of silver. He promises to repay his debt as soon as he comes back from Wahšušana, and, to be sure that in the interim his female slave is well treated, he promised his female creditor a jewel as gift.

191. A Woman Lent Silver at Interest to Another Woman, Who Contested It

Obv. ¹da-a-a-nu dí-nam ²i-dí-nu-ma 6 gín kù-babbar / ša ³Kà-á-p-sí-a : dam-munus ⁴A-lá-bí-im : a-na ⁵Bu-ší dumu-munus I-dí-dim ⁶ta-dí-nu iš-tú li-mi-im ⁷A-šür-i-mi-tí ma-lá-hi-im ⁸1 ma-na-um ½ ma-na ⁹i-na ša-tim ¹⁰šíib-tám tū-ṣú-bu ¹¹a-na kù-babbar ú ši-ba-tí-šu lo.e. ¹²Kà-á-p-sí-a rev. ¹³dam-munus A-lá-bi₄-im ¹⁴Bu-ší dumu-munus I-dí-dim ¹⁵ta-še-e'(ŠU)* : A-gi₅¹-a ¹⁶dumu Puzur₄-A-šür ¹⁷(erased sign)* ¹⁸dumu En-na-Sú-en₆ ¹⁹Ma-num*-ki-A-šür ²⁰dumu A-hu-wa-qar ²¹a-wi-lu a-ni-ú-tum ²²da-a-nu

^{1–2}The judges gave the following verdict: ^{2–6}concerning the 6 shekels of silver that Kapsiya, wife of Ali-abum, had given to Buši, daughter of Iddin-Adad, ^{6–10}and for which she was (supposed) to add an interest of ½ mina per mina per year, beginning with the eponym Aššur-imitti, the boatman (REL 106), ^{11–15}for the silver and its interest, Kapsiya, wife of Ali-abum may sue Buši, daughter of Iddin-Adad.

^{15–22}Agiya, son of Puzur-Aššur; Šamaš-bāni, son of Enna-Suen; Mannum-kī-Aššur, son of Ahu-waqar: these gentlemen (were) the judges.

Bibliography: Text published by Veenhof as AKT 5, 70 (Kt 92/k 210); collated May 2012.

Comments: This verdict, which is dated to circa 1867, confirms the loan of six shekels of silver, which the wife of Ali-abum made to the daughter of Iddin-Ištar, which the latter must have contested. Kapsiya has pre-

sented sufficient evidence for a formal proceeding resulting in a verdict that allows her to sue her debtor. According to the editor of the text, Ali-abum's wife, Kapsiya, was the mother of Kuliya, owner of a group of texts discovered in 1992 and messenger of the *kārum*.

192. Loan by a Woman Linked to the Departure of a Girl

Obv. ¹um-ma Ištar-ba-áš-tí-ma ²a-na A-nu-wa Puzur₄-Ištar ³Ištar-ba-áš-tí
 ù A-na-na ⁴qí-bi₄-ma a-na ⁵Ištar-ba-áš-tí ⁶ù A-nu-wa qí-bi₄-ma ⁷½ ma-na
 5 gín kù-babbar ⁸sa-ru-pá-am i-na ⁹še-ri-ku-nu iš-tù ¹⁰me-er-at-ku-nu lo.e.
¹¹té-kà-ma-ni i-šu ¹²kù-babbar^pi a-na rev. ¹³ší-ib-tim i-na ¹⁴qá-qá-ad mu-
 tí-ki^l(SU) ¹⁵ku-a-tí ù me-er-e-šu ¹⁶lá-pí-it šu-ma ¹⁷a-ha-tí a-tí ki-ma ¹⁸ṭup-
 pí ta-áš-me-ú-ni ¹⁹kù-babbar^pi ù sí-ba-sú ²⁰a-na Puzur₄-Ištar ²¹ù A-na-na
²²ša ki-ma i-a-tí u.e. ²³šu-uq-lá-ma ²⁴lu-še-bi₄-lu-nim le.e. ²⁵a-na Puzur₄-
 Ištar ù A-na-na ²⁶qí-bi₄-ma a-pu-tum ih-da-ma ²⁷kù-babbar^pi ú sí-ba-sú
²⁸ša-áš-qí-lá-šu-nu-tí

¹⁻⁶Thus (says) Ištar-baštī: say to Annuwa, Puzur-Ištar, Ištar-baštī, and Anna-anna; say in particular to Ištar-baštī and Annuwa.

⁷⁻¹¹I loaned you ½ mina, 5 shekels of refined silver, since (the time) you took your daughter away from me. ¹²⁻¹⁶My silver is recorded as interest-bearing on the head of your husband, yourself, and his children. ¹⁶⁻¹⁸If you are my sister, when you hear my tablet, ¹⁹⁻²⁴pay my silver and its interest to Puzur-Ištar and Anna-anna, my representatives, so they can send (it) to me.

²⁵⁻²⁸Say to Puzur-Ištar and Anna-anna. Urgent! Be sure to make them pay my silver and its interest!

Bibliography: Text published in transliteration by Lewy (1965, 273 n. 8) as LB 1217, and by Ichisar (1981, 23 n. 26); translated by Michel (2001a, no. 356).

Comments: Ištar-baštī, presumably the wife of Imdī-ilum, held, probably as pledge, the daughter of her homonym. But the parents of the girl took her back, though still indebted to Ištar-baštī for twenty-five shekels of refined silver.

Line 14: the pronoun might refer to the husband of the Ištar-baštī, addressee of this letter, and thus has to be corrected.

193. Woman Acts as Guarantor in a Loan Contract

Obv. ¹ma-na kù-babbar *şa-ru-pá-am* ²a-na dam-gàr^{ri-im} ³Šál-ma-A-şur
⁴ù A-ta-ta ⁵ha-bu-lu Ša-té-a ⁶qá-tá-tum ⁷A-na-na ù Şí-li-Ku-ba-ba-at ⁸é-tù-
 šu-nu ⁹[e-r]u-ba-tù-a lo.e. ¹⁰[iš-tù h]a-mu-uš-tim rev. ¹¹şa Lá-qé-pi-im ¹²ù
 Bu-zu-ta-a ¹³a-na ⁶ha-am-şa-tim ¹⁴i-şa-qú-lu ¹⁵şu-ma lá iš-qú-lu ¹⁶1½ gín
 kù-babbar a-1 ma-na ¹⁷şí-ib-tám ú-şú-bu ¹⁸iti-1-kam A-lá-na-tim ¹⁹li-mu-
 um ²⁰dingir-şu-gal u.e. ²¹igi A-şür-e-mu-qí ²²dumu E-dí-na-a le.e. ²³igi En-
 nam-A-şur ²⁴dumu ^{dim-re-ş[i]}

¹⁻⁶Şalim-Aşsur and Atata owe 3 minas of refined silver to the (Assyrian) creditor; Şät-Ea is the guarantor. ⁷⁻⁹Anna-anna and Şilli-Kubabat, (as well as) their houses are my pledges. ¹⁰⁻¹⁴[From the w]eek of Laqēpum and Buzutaya, they shall pay within 6 weeks. ¹⁵⁻¹⁷If they have not paid, they shall add 1½ shekels of silver per mina (and per month) as interest. ¹⁸⁻²⁰Month Allānātūm (xii), eponym Ilşu-rabi (REL 89, ca. 1884).

²¹⁻²⁴In the presence of Aşsur-emüqi, son of Edinaya, and Ennum-Aşsur, son of Adad-rēsi.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by J. Lewy as TC 3, 232; translated by Veenhof (2001, 99); discussed by Kienast (1976).

Comments: Şät-Ea is guarantor for a debt of a substantial amount of silver owed by two Assyrians to an anonymous creditor. Their presumed wives and houses are pledged. We do not know if there is any family link between the guarantor Şät-Ea and the two debtors.

194. A Woman, Guarantor in a Loan Contract, Receives a Plot of Land

Envelope

Obv. ¹kişib E[n-um-A-şür dumu Šál-ma-dim] ²kişib A-[dī-a dumu A-mur-
 dingir] ³kişib I-[dī-Sú-en₆] ⁴dumu [PN] ⁵15 [gín kù-babbar] ⁶şa [I-dī-Sú-
 en₆] lo.e. ⁷(seal A) ⁸a-na nu-a-em ha-bu-lu-ma rev. ⁹(seal A) (lacuna)
 le.e. ¹⁰[a]-na nu-a-em ù Mu-sà i-tù-a-a[r] ²¹(seal B) ³²[I]-dī-Sú-[en₆] ú-ba-
 áb-şu-nu

^{1'-4'}Sealed by E[nnum-Aššur], son of [Šalim-Adad]; sealed by A[diya, son of Amur-ilī]; sealed by I[ddin-Suen], son of [PN].

^{5'-8'}(Concerning the) 15 [shekels of silver] that [Iddin-Suen] owes to the Anatolian (creditor) and [for which Musa, his sister, is guarantor] (lacuna)

^{1"-3"}[...] raises a claim against the Anatolian (creditor) or Musa, [I]ddin-Su[en] shall clear them of financial claims.

Tablet

Obv. ¹15 gín kù-babbar ša *I-dí-/Sú-en₆* ²a-na nu-a-em ha-bu-/lu-ma ³Mu-sà : a-ha-sú ⁴qá-ta-tù-ni ki-ma ⁵15 gín kù-babbar qá-qí-ri-/šu-nu ⁶ša ur-ki bé-tim ⁷a-na nu-a-e-em «im» lo.e. ⁸ù Mu-sà *i-dí-in* rev. ⁹šu-ma ma-ma-an ¹⁰a-na qá-qí-ri a-na ¹¹nu-a-e ù Mu-sà *i-tù-ar* ¹²*I-dí-Sú-en₆* ú-ša-ha-sú-nu ¹³igi *En-um-A-šùr* ¹⁴dumu Šál-ma-dim ¹⁵igi *A-dí-a* dumu *A-mur-/dingir*

^{1-4'}(Concerning the) 15 shekels of silver that Iddin-Suen owes to the Anatolian (creditor and for which) Musa, his sister, is guarantor; ^{5-8'}as the equivalent of the 15 shekels of silver, he gave to the Anatolian (creditor) and Musa their plots of land behind the house. ⁹⁻¹¹If anyone raises a claim against the Anatolian (creditor) and Musa for the plots of land, ¹²Iddin-Suen shall clear them of liability.

¹³⁻¹⁵In the presence of Ennum-Aššur, son of Šalim-Adad, and Adiya, son of Amur-ilī.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Veenhof as VS 26, 97; edited by Eisser and Lewy (1930, no. 215).

Comments: Musa is the guarantor for her brother, who owes silver to an Anatolian creditor. She receives, together with the Anatolian creditor, a plot of land, which means that she had to pay the silver to the creditor on her brother's behalf.

Tablet, line 2: for the word *nuā'um*, see D. O. Edzard (1989).

Tablet, line 12: the verb *šahātum* II, “to clear of obligations,” of the tablet (line 12) is replaced on the envelope (line 3”) by the verb *ebābum* II, “to clear a person or property of legal or financial claims”; see Hecker 1980, 69.

195. A Woman Wishes to Recover Her Silver to Repay a Debt

Obv. ¹*a-na Pu-šu-ke-en*₆ ²*qí-bi-ma um-ma* ³*Šu-bu-ul-tum-ma* ⁴*l-lí-ba-ni* : *iš-tù* ⁵*iš-tí* : *Ú-ṣú-ur-ša-A-šúr* ⁶*uš₁₀-bu* : *ar-bi-i-šu* ⁷*ha-ra-nam* : *i-li-kam* ⁸⁵*gín kù-babbar i-na* ⁹*bé-ú-lá-tí-šu* ¹⁰*ú-lá al-qé* ¹¹*ú-lá šu-ut* : *i-na lá ma-/ší* ¹²*um-me-a-ni-šu* lo.e. ¹³*kù-babbar 1 gín ú-lá ir-/ší* ¹⁴*ú-lá a-na-ku* rev. ¹⁵*kù-babbar 5 gín* ¹⁶*ú-lá aš-<ba>-at šu-ma* ¹⁷*a-bi* : *a-ta* : *bé-ú-lá-/tí-šu* ¹⁸*ta-e-er-ma* ¹⁹*a-na sé-ri-kà* ²⁰*ṭá-hi-šu* : *ṣú-ha-ru-um* ²¹*li-il₅-qé ki'-ma* ²²*ṣú-ha-ri-kà* ²³*sí-ni-iq-šu* ²⁴*bé-ú-lá-tí-šu* ²⁵*a-na qá-tí-šu* ²⁶*lá tū-ša-ar* ²⁷*i-ga-ma-ar* ²⁸*a-dí* *qá-sú u.e.* ²⁹*ta-mu-ru-ni* ³⁰*šu-ma* : *da-mì-iq le.e.* ³¹*ú da-mì-iq-ma* : *a-na hu-bu-/li-a* ³²*bé-ú-lá-tù-šu* : *li-tù-ra*

¹⁻³Say to Pūšu-kēn: thus (says) Šūbultum.

⁴⁻⁶Since Ilī-bāni has been staying with Uṣur-ša-Aššur, ⁶⁻⁷he has come four times (to Aššur) with a caravan. ⁸⁻¹⁰I have not received (even) 5 shekels of silver from his working capital. ¹¹⁻¹³Nor did he, from sheer negligence, obtain any silver from his investors, not even 1 shekel. ¹⁴⁻¹⁶I myself also got no silver, not even 5 shekels.

¹⁷⁻¹⁸If you are my father, transfer his working capital and ¹⁹bring him (again) in contact with you yourself. ²⁰⁻²³Let a servant take (it), but check him just like your (other) servants. ²⁴⁻²⁷Do not release his working capital to him; it would be spent. ²⁸⁻³²Until you find out whether or not his business is really all right, his working capital should become part of my debt.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Lewy as TC 3, 27; edited by Łyczkowska (1978, 133–35); translated by Michel (2001a, no. 372).

Comments: Šūbultum gave some silver as working capital to Ilī-bāni, perhaps to pay the transport of some textiles or goods to Anatolia, thus investing in long-distance trade. She is waiting to get back silver from the sale of her merchandise. But it seems that Ilī-bāni was not reliable, and she did not receive any silver.

196. Consigned Merchandise Belonging to a Woman

Obv. ^{1 2/3*}*ma-na* 5 *gín kù-babbar* ²*6 túg^{hi-a}* *ku-ta-nu* ³*2 gú* 5 *ma-na ša-áptám* ⁴*1 am-tám* 4 *pi-ri-kà/-ni* ⁵*1 gú* 5 *ma-na urudu* ⁶*ma-sí-a-am* ⁷*3 e-ma-re-e* ⁸*sa-lá-«ma»-me-e* ⁹*mì-ma a-nim* ¹⁰*ša Ba-za-a* lo.e. ¹¹*me-er-a-at* rev.

¹²*Id-na-A-šur* ¹³*a-na* ^{dim-gal} ¹⁴dumu *Ki-ga-zu* ¹⁵*a-be-a-lim* *a-dí-in* ¹⁶igi
A-šur-ma-lik ¹⁷dumu *Li-pá-a* ¹⁸igi *Ú-şur-pá-kà* ¹⁹dumu *Puzur₂-Ištar* iki *Pé-rú-/wa* ²⁰igi* *A-šur-mì-tí*

1-8 2/3 minas, 5 shekels of silver; 6 *kutānum*-textiles; 2 talents, 5 minas of wool; 1 female slave; 4 *pirikannum*-textiles; 1 talent, 5 minas of refined copper; 3 black donkeys—⁹⁻¹⁵I put all those things belonging to Bazaya, daughter of Iddin-Aššur, at the disposal of Adad-rabi, son of Kigazu to manage (them).

¹⁶⁻²⁰In the presence of Aššur-malik, son of Lipaya; Uşur-pâka, son of Puzur-Ištar; Peruwa; and Aššur-imittî.

Bibliography: Text published by Bayram and Çeçen (1996, no. 5 [Kt 76/k 2]); collated May 2012.

Comments: Bazaya owns all these goods—Assyrian and Anatolian textiles, silver, wool, copper, a female slave, and donkeys—which are entrusted to Adad-rabi as consignment, or *tadmiqum*-trust. Thus, she participates in long-distance trade.

Line 4: the four wedges of the number four are written side by side.

197. Intense Business Activity and Mobility of a Woman but without Results

Obv. ¹*a-na A-šur-mu-ta-pì-il*₅ *qí-bi₄-ma* ²*um-ma* *Wa-qúr-tum-ma* ² *ṭup-pè* ³*şú-ha-ru-um ub-lá-kum* ⁴*a-ta mì-ma-şa-ma lá tù-ta-e-/ra-am* ⁵*mì-nam e-pu-uš-kà-ma* ⁶*a-ni-tám lá a-ni-tám úz-ni* ⁷*lá ta-pá-té : šu-ma a-hi a-ta* ⁸*a-ma-kam ki-ma i-a-tí ú şú-ha-ar-/tim* ⁹*a-ta i-zi-iz ú-za-ni* ¹⁰*i-na a-wa-tim pè-té* ¹¹*i-na kù-babbar* ¹⁰*ma-na* ¹²*e-ru-ub-ma u₄-ma-am e-ri-tum* ¹³(erasure) *ú-şa-am* ¹⁴*a-ma-kam a-tup-pì-im* ¹⁵*şa hu-bu-li-şu-nu* rev. ¹⁶*şa a-bu-ni ih-ri-mu* ¹⁷*ki-ma kù-babbar A-šur uš-ta-bi₄-ú* ¹⁸*a-ta ší-tám a-ṭup-pì-şu-nu* ¹⁹*ha-ar-mì-im şa-ba-at* ²⁰*be-lí a-ta iš-tù mu-1-še* ²¹*ki^l-da-tim ar-ta-na-pu-/ud* ²²*lá¹ me-er-um kù-babbar* ¹ *gín* ²³*şu-mì i-za-kàr lá a-hu-um* ²⁴*şa kù-babbar be-lí-a ú-sà-pu-/hu* ²⁵*şu-mì iz-ku-ur* ²⁶*şu-ma a-hi a-ta iš-tí* ²⁷*ba-tí-qí-im a-wa-at-/kà* ²⁸*li-li-kam-ma* ²⁹*úz-ni pè-té şu-ma a-t[a] le.e.* ³⁰*a-ma-kam lá ta-şa-ba-at a-wa-at-/kà* ³¹*li-li-kam-ma a-na-kam* ³²*şa e-pá-şí-im le-pu-uš*

^{1–2}Say to Aššur-mūtappil: thus (says) Waqqurtum.

^{2–3}A servant brought you 2 tablets, ⁴but you never returned anything to me. ^{5–7}What have I done to you that you do not inform me one way or the other? ^{8–10}If you are my brother, stand there as representative for me and the girl, (and) give us some word.

^{11–12}I went in (to the business) with 10 minas of silver, but ^{12–13}today I have come out empty-handed. ^{14–16}There, with respect to the tablet of their debt that our father certified, ¹⁷since the silver of the (god) Aššur has been paid back, ^{18–19}you must seize what remains (after paying the debt) on the basis of their certified tablet.

^{20–21}You are my master. For one year, I have been roaming back and forth through uninhabited territories. ^{22–23}One who is no son of mine invokes my name for every shekel of silver; ^{23–25}one who is no relative of mine, who squanders my master's silver, (also) invoked my name! ^{26–29}If you (truly are) my brother, let a word from you come to me by the (next) departing messenger to inform me. ^{29–33}If you, there, cannot take (the matter in hand), let (just) a word from you come to me, so that here I can do whatever is necessary.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Smith as CCT 3, 41b–42a; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 317).

Comments: Waqqurtum writes to her brother about unsuccessful financial activities. She has been moving a lot but could not recover the silver she invested. She asks her brother to intercede for her as a representative would do.

198. A Widow Traveling in Anatolia on Business

Obv. ¹um-ma En-nam-Ištar-ma ²a-na En-nam-A-šūr ³qí-bi-ma ma-ah-ri-kà-ma ⁴i-na Bu-ru-uš-ha-tim ⁵10 gín kù-babbar : a-na A-šùr-du₁₀ ⁶a-dí-in i-na Kà-ne-eš₁₅ ⁷iš-té-en₆ túg ku-ta-nam ⁸a-dí-šu-um 2 gín kù-babbar ⁹aš-ba-sú¹-ma : ma-lá ¹⁰ú 2 sí-ni-šu : um-ma šu-ut-ma ¹¹me-ra-ki : il₅-qé ¹²šu-ma : kù-babbar : tal-qé lo.e. ¹³lá tal-qé : té-er-ta-kà ¹⁴li-li-kam rev. ¹⁵ma-ah-ri-kà-ma ¹⁶a-na Be-lu-ba-ni géme ¹⁷lá e-zí-ib kù-babbar ¹⁸10 gín : a-hu-ur ¹⁹ša-ba-sú-ma : kù-babbar ²⁰ša-áš-qí-il₅-šu ²¹um-ma Na-hi-iš-tum-ma ²²a-na En-um-A-šùr ²³Ku-da-[tum] ra-qá-tám ²⁴na-áš-a-k[um] kù-babbar ²⁵da-mì-qá-am sí-im ²⁶ra-qí-tim : i-sí-ma-tim ²⁷ša a-bi-kà : a-ta u.e. ²⁸A-lá-

hu-um ú Lá-ma-/s[i] 29 a-dí : Lá-ma-sí 30 ba-al-tá-at-ni z[i-x-/x] 31 lá i-ša-ku-nu : túg ku-ta-nam 32 ú iš-té-et : iš-ra-am A-šúr-du₁₀ 33 ub-lá-kum*

¹⁻³Thus (says) Ennum-Ištar: say to Ennum-Aššur.

³⁻⁶In your presence, in Burušattum, I gave 10 shekels of silver to Aššur-ṭāb. ⁶⁻⁸(Then) in Kaneš, I gave him a single *kutānum*-textile. ⁸⁻⁹I managed to seize only 2 shekels of silver, and ⁹⁻¹¹at least twice, he replied as follows: “Your son took (it).” ¹²⁻¹⁴Let your report come whether or not you took the silver. ¹⁵⁻¹⁷(Also) in your presence, did I not leave a female slave with Bēlum-bāni? ¹⁷⁻²⁰But 10 shekels of silver are still to be paid; seize him and make him pay the silver.

²¹⁻²²Thus (says) Nahištum to Ennum-Aššur.

²³⁻²⁴Kudātum is bringing you a thin textile; ²⁴⁻²⁵do give me a good price (for it) in silver! ²⁵⁻³¹You, Ali-ahum, and Lamassī should not deposit! the price of the thin textile in your father’s estate during Lamassi’s lifetime. ³¹⁻³³Aššur-ṭāb has brought you a *kutānum*-textile and a single belt.

Bibliography: Text published by Larsen as AKT 6a, 223 (Kt 94/k 614). Lines 1-8 cited by Michel (2008d, 34). Collated 2016.

Comments: According to the editor of the text, Ennum-Ištar is the mother of Ennum-Aššur, son of the deceased Šalim-Aššur; she is a widow. She may live in Kaneš but happens to travel as far as Burušattum, to the west, for some commercial purposes.

Line 23: for *raqqatum*, a “thin (textile),” see Michel and Veenhof 2010, 239–40.

Line 31: according to Larsen (AKT 6a, 365), *išakkunū* could be an error for *tašakkanā*.

WOMEN REPRESENTING THEIR HUSBANDS

Besides managing their own personal property, women were involved in their husbands’ business and financial affairs. The Assyrian women who lived alone at Aššur represented their husbands’ interests while they were absent for long stays in Anatolia. So too wives at Kaneš represented their spouses when they were away at other commercial settlements in Asia Minor or if they had gone back to Aššur to take care of their interests there. They were expected to look after and protect the goods of absent merchants (199, 201). Since they were in regular contact with their hus-

bands' local agents, they sometimes got copies of letters addressed to them so they could follow ongoing transactions or check on how instructions were being carried out and were supposed to keep them informed about various matters going forward (129, 205, 220, 313). They stood up to the demands of their husbands' associates (128, 209), and turned down offers of help from them as well, to avoid laying themselves under any obligation to them (206, 207). In Anatolia, some wives were asked to go on journeys to settle business or family affairs, sometimes at the request of their husband (200).

Assyrian and Anatolian women were sometimes called upon to see that unpaid debts were collected and to send the amounts collected to their husbands (202, 203). In some instances they were asked to advance the necessary funds to pay off overdue debts (204, 205), in which case they made sure to note the amount to be repaid to them. Wives sometimes had to deal with their husbands' financial obligations to the authorities, such as unpaid taxes or fines (207, 208); they did not, however, always agree to take on this task. Some women, intimidated by the pressure put on them by the authorities, sold their slaves to pay their husbands' debts (313). Also, the eponym or another representative of the Assyrian government could sometimes take a female slave as collateral, thus forcing the woman to pay up (141). Other women objected strenuously, refusing to pay sums owed by their husbands. Many of these women were careful accountants, keeping accurate records, documenting their expenses and claiming what was due them (128). Women could also ask other women or merchants to represent their interests as intermediaries (210) or agents for their own affairs (211).

The archives of Kaneš show that Assyrian, and to a lesser extent Anatolian, women were bona fide businesswomen, eminently capable of managing their own affairs and routinely acting as agents or partners for their husbands.

199. Safekeeping of the House and Its Contents

Obv. ¹um-ma A-šùr-gal-ma a-na ²Ma-ga-ni-kà qí-bi-ma ³mì-šu : ša ta-áš-pu-ri-ni ⁴um-ma a-tí-i-ma : ma-ak-na-kam ⁵a-pá-té-ma ba-pì-ra-am a-na ⁶ší-mì-im a-da-an be-tum ⁷ša-áp-li-ú'-um e-li-ú*-um ⁸lá i-na ku-nu-ki-a kà-ni-ik ⁹a-pu-tum a-dí : a-lá-kà-ni ¹⁰be-tám mì-ma ku-nu-ki-a ¹¹lá ta-pá-té-ma ku-nu-ki-a lo.e. ¹²ša-sí-ri : e-mì-iq-tum ¹³ta-bu-tá-ni-ma rev. ¹⁴a-dí

u₄-mì-im a-nim sà-ah-ra-/ku¹⁵a-pu-tum ki-ma-ma ša-šú-ra-tí-/ni¹⁶lu ša-šú-ra-tí : a-dí¹⁷e-né-e-a : ta-me-ri-ni ki-ma lá¹⁸a-dí ma-lá ú šé-ni-šu an-na¹⁹ú-šé-bi₄-lá-ki-ni-ma i-dí-nu-ni-ki-/ni²⁰a-ší-a-tí mì-ma lá ú-šé-ba-lá-ki-im²¹i-š-tí Wa-ar-dí-im dumu I-ku-nim²²ú-šé-ba-lá-ki-im mì-šu : ša ú-ša-bi₄²³i-na be-tim tú-šé-ší-bi₄-ni²⁴ú a-na mu-tim ta-li-ki-ni²⁵šu-ma me-er-i-tí : a-tí-i u.e.²⁶be-tám ša-ší-ri : a-dí 10 u₄-me²⁷ni-ta-lá-kam mì-ma ša ta-ša-me-i-[ni]²⁸i-š-tí Ke-na-A-šur le.e.²⁹té-er-tí-ki li-li-ki-im³⁰qí-i-š-tám ú ša-hi-re-e[n₆]³¹ku-nu-ki-ma i-š-tí Ke-na-A-šur³⁴šé-bi₄-li-im

¹⁻²Thus (says) Aššur-rabi: say to Maganika.

³⁻⁶Why have you written me as follows: “I will open the storeroom and sell the beer bread”? ⁶⁻⁸Are the lower as well as the upper floors not sealed with my seal? ⁹⁻¹²Urgent! Until my arrival, do not open any of my seals in the house, and keep my sealings intact!

¹²⁻¹⁴The nanny ran away from me, and thus I have been delayed until today. ¹⁵⁻¹⁷Urgent! Until you have seen me personally, be as watchful as you always are. ¹⁷⁻²⁰It is not because I sent you tin several times but they did not give (it) to you that I do not send you any more? ²¹⁻²²I am (now) sending you (some) with Wardum, son of Ikūnum.

²²⁻²⁴Why did you let tenants live in the house while you went (to live) with a husband? ²⁵⁻²⁷If you are my daughter, keep watch on the house until we arrive in 10 days! ²⁷⁻²⁹Let your report come with Kēna-Aššur concerning all that you hear. ³⁰⁻³⁴Seal the gift and a pair of shoe straps, and send (them) with Kēna-Aššur.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Stephens as BIN 6, 20; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 334).

Comments: Aššur-rabi writes to his daughter, asking her to watch over his house and its contents while he is away. He forbids her to sell any goods from the house, and he is unhappy to hear that she has left it, presumably to rent it to others to earn some money, and has gone to live somewhere else.

200. Taking Care of Her Husband's Merchandise

Obv. ¹a-na Ha-šu-ša-ar-na ²qí-bi-ma um-ma ³A-šur-ták-lá-ku ù ⁴I-dí-d-u-tu-ma i-ša-am-ší ⁵na-ás-pé-er-tí-ni ⁶ta-ša-me-i-ni ⁷tí-ib-e-ma : a-na ⁸Té-

*ga-ra-ma a-ta-al-/ki-im⁹i-na Té-ga-ra-ma lo.e.¹⁰i-ša-ha-at rev.¹¹té-er-tí-a
lu uš*-ba*-tí¹²a-dí e-tí-qá-ni¹³i-ša-am-ší ta-ta-li-/ki-ni¹⁴té-er-tí-ki¹⁵li-li-
kam¹⁶a-ta-al-ki-im-ma¹⁷x[x-x]x : i-na Wa-ah-šu-ša-na¹⁸kà-i-li : a*-ma*-
sú* u.e.¹⁹I-dí-dutu i-ta-m[ar?]²⁰a-ki*-ma e*-na*-x-wa-am* le.e.²¹I-dí-dutu
dam-[gár]²²[x x]-ni*

¹⁻⁴Say to Hašušarna: thus (say) Aššur-taklāku and Iddin-Šamaš.

⁴⁻⁸The day you hear our letter, set out and come to Tegarama. ⁹⁻¹²In Tegarama, oversee my goods until I come through. ¹³⁻¹⁵Let a report come from you the very day you will leave. ¹⁶⁻¹⁸Then come and offer [...] in Wahšušana. ¹⁸⁻²²Iddin-Šamaš has seen his *amtum*-wife, and according to [...] Iddin-Šamaš, the cre[ditor ...]

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Lewy (1969–1970, 55 [L 29-586]); edited by Gwaltney as POAT, 27; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 395). Collated on photo online on the CDLI as P361140.

Comments: Hašušarna was first married to Taliya; after their divorce (40), she seems to have married Aššur-taklāku (Michel 2001a, 505), who asks her in this letter to travel to Tegarama in order to take care of his goods there while he is away, then to go to another town, Wahšušana, to fulfill an obligation.

201. A Woman Receives Silver for a Merchant in Her Family

Obv. ¹um-ma A-šur-gal-ma a-na ²Ab-ša-lim qí-bi-ma ³1 ma-na kù-babbar ku-nu-ki-a ⁴a-na na-an-d[u]-im ⁵Šu-A-šur dumu Kur[!]-ub-Ištar ⁶igi A-lá-hu-um ⁷igi [En-na]-Sú-en₆ dumu I-dí-Ku-/bi-im ⁸a-dí-in-šu-ma ⁹na-ás-a-ki-im kù-babbar ¹⁰i-ku-nu-ki-a a-dí lo.e.¹¹a-lá-kà-ni li-bi-ší rev.¹²10 gín kù-babbar ku-nu-ki-a ¹³še-bu-ul-tí-ki šu-ut-ma ¹⁴na-ás-a-ki-im ¹⁵ri-ik-sà-am ša Lá-qé-ep ¹⁶šu-ma : an-na : ta-ás-a-ma ¹⁷tur₄-da-ni-šu : šu-ma : an-na ¹⁸lá ta-ás-a-ma ra-qá-ma ¹⁹tur₄-da-ni-šu : a-pá-ni-a ²⁰mì-ma : an-na : lá ta-ša-a-ma ²¹a-dí a-lá-kà-ni qé-mu-um ²²1 dug ù 2 dug ²³li-im-hu-ra-ni le.e. ²⁴ù še-a[m a]-ší-mì-im ²⁵dí-na

¹⁻²Thus (says) Aššur-rabi: say to Ab-šalim.

³⁻⁹In the presence of Ali-ahum and [Enna]-Suen, son of Iddin-Kübüm, I gave 1 mina of silver under my seal to Šu-A-šur, son of Kurub-Ištar, to be

deposited, and he is bringing (it) to you.^{9–11} Until I arrive, the silver should remain under my seal.^{12–14} He is (also) personally bringing you 10 shekels of silver under my seal, (representing) your consignment.

^{15–17}(Concerning) the package (with silver) of Laqēp(um), if you bought some tin, send him to me (with it);^{17–19} if you did not buy any tin, send him empty-handed to me;^{19–21} do not buy any (more) tin before my arrival.^{21–25} Let 1 or 2 *karpatum*-measures of flour be ready for me. And sell the barley.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Lewy as KTS 1, 2a; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 336).

Comments: Ab-šalim, who lives in Kaneš, must keep safe silver sent by Aššur-rabi; besides this mina of silver, she receives a small amount for herself. She undertakes purchases and sales of tin and barley.

202. Asking for the Payment of Silver Due Her Husband

Obv. ¹um-<ma> Lá-qé-pu-um-ma ²a-na Ha-ta-lá qí-bi₄-ma ³3 gín kù-babbar ú a-lá-num ⁴dub ku-nu-ki-a I-dí-Ku-bu-um ⁵na-áš-a-ki-im ⁶ša¹-al-ma-ku ⁷a-na-kam ša-am-n[a-am] ⁸du₁₀^{bu-um} lá-šu¹-«um»-ma lo.e. ⁹a-dí ki-a-am rev. ¹⁰wa-[áš-b]a-a-ku ¹¹a-ma-[kam k]ù-babbar ¹²ša dam-gàr^{ru-um} ¹³ha-bu-lu-ni ¹⁴kù-babbar ša-áš-qí-lá-áš* ¹⁵lá a-kà-ša-áš ¹⁶ú li-bi₄ (lá* erased) ¹⁷lá i-ma-ra¹-[aş] ¹⁸kù-babbar ša¹-áš-qí-li :*

^{1–2}Th<us> (says) Laqēpum: (say) to Hatala.

^{3–5}Iddin-Kūbum is bringing you 3 shekels of silver and hazelnuts, (as well as) a tablet under my seal. ⁶I am fine. ^{7–8}There is no good-quality oil here. ^{9–10}Until now, I am st[aying] (here) for the present. ^{11–15}As for the silver the merchant owes me there, make him pay the silver so that I will not be under pressure for debt and ^{16–17}be unhappy! ¹⁸Make (him) pay the silver!

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Clay as BIN 4, 228; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 388).

Comments: Hatala was married to Laqēpum (24). She receives goods from her husband and has to get back silver owed to him by a colleague because Laqēpum needs that silver to repay his own debt.

Line 3: for the translation of *allānum* as “hazelnut,” see Sturm 2008.

203. Recovering a Debt

Obv. ¹a-na Ha-tí-tim qí-bi₄-ma ²um-ma Šu-Sú-en₆-ma ³tup-pá-am ša ^½ ma-na ⁴kù-babbar ša dam-gàr e-zí-ba-/ki-im ⁵um-ma a-na-ku-ma ⁶kù-babbar ú sí-ba-sú ⁷li-iš-qú-lá-ki-ma ⁸ú tup-pá-am ú-šé-ri-šu-/[um] ⁹a-ha-tí a-tí a-ma-kam ¹⁰½ ma-na 5 gín ¹¹kù-babbar sa-ru-pá-am lo.e. ¹²li-iš-qú-lá-ki-m[a] rev. ¹³tup-pá-am ú-šé-r[i]-/šu-[um] ¹⁴šu-ma kù-babbar ¹⁵ša-qá-lam lá i-mu-a ¹⁶i-na na-áb-ší-i-šu ¹⁷ki-ma-ma i-ba-ší-ú ¹⁸li-ib-ší-ma ¹⁹ú té-er-tí-ki iš-tí ²⁰a-li-ki-im pá-ni-im-ma ²¹li-li-kam šu-ma ²²kù-babbar iš-qú-lá-ki-im ²³ki-lá-lá-ku-nu ku-un-ká-ma u.e. ²⁴kù-babbar a-Hu-ra-ma ²⁵li-ik-šu-da-ni le.e. ²⁶lá-ma ha-ra-ni ²⁷iš-ni-ú ih-dí

¹⁻²Say to Hattītum: thus (says) Šu-Suen.

³⁻⁴With respect to the tablet concerning (a debt of) ^½ mina of silver, which the agent left you, ⁵⁻⁸I (said) as follows: “Let him pay you the silver and its interest, then hand over the tablet to him.” ⁹⁻¹³You are my sister; there, let him pay you ^½ mina, 5 shekels of refined silver, and hand over the tablet to him.

¹⁴⁻¹⁵If he refuses to pay the silver, ¹⁶⁻¹⁸(the tablet) should remain in safekeeping as it has been (up to now), and ¹⁹⁻²¹let your report come to me by the next traveler. ²¹⁻²³If he does pay you the silver, seal (it), both of you, and ²⁴⁻²⁷let the silver reach me in Hurrama before I will travel elsewhere; see (to it)!

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Lewy as TC 3, 116; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 331).

Comments: An agent (*tamkārum*) bought a credit and issued a debt note. The tablet has been entrusted to Hattītum, and she is supposed to recover the debt and its interest and to send the silver to Šu-Suen in Hurrama.

204. Advancing Money to an Indebted Brother

Obv. ¹*a-na A-ha-tim* ²ù *Ma-nu-ki-e-ni-<a>* ³*qí-bi₄-ma um-ma* ⁴*Puzur₄-dingir-ma* ⁵*um-mì a-tí be-el-<tí> a-tí* ⁶*a-ma-kam kù-babbar* ⁷*ša Ma-nu-ki-a* ⁸*šu-qú-li-ma* ⁹*ma-lá ta-ša-/qí-li-ni* ¹⁰*kù-babbar* ¹¹*ša-áb-ta-ma* ¹²*šu-up-ra-ni-ma* ¹³*kù-babbar lu-šé-bi₄-lam* ¹⁴*½ ma-na lá 1 gín* ¹⁵*kù-babbar* ¹⁶*ku-nu-ki-a* ¹⁷*ší-im anše_{hi-a}* ¹⁸*Ma-nu-ki-a le.e.* ¹⁹*na-áš-a-ki-im* ¹⁹*a-ma-kam* *Ma-nu-ki-/e-ni-a* ²⁰*ša-i-li*

¹⁻⁴Say to Ahattum and Mannum-kī-ēnia: thus (says) Puzur-ilī.

⁵⁻⁸You are my mother; you are my mistress. There, pay the silver of Mannukkiya, and, ⁶⁻¹¹as much silver you pay, charge (to me) the silver and interest on it, ¹²⁻¹³(then) write me so I can send you (the equivalent) silver. ¹⁴⁻¹⁸Mannukkiya is bringing you $\frac{1}{3}$ mina minus 1 shekel of silver under my seal, price of the donkey. ¹⁹⁻²⁰Ask there Mannum-kī-ēnia (for it).

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Smith as CCT 4, 15a; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 394). Collated on photo online on the CDLI as P361142.

Comments: Puzur-ilī could be a younger brother of Ahattum, a consecrated woman, daughter of Ili-bāni (56). He asks her to repay his debt and to tell him the amount—silver and interest—that he owes her.

Line 7 and 17: Mannukkiya could be a nickname for the Mannum-kī-Aššur mentioned in the next text (205) as creditor of Puzur-ilī. However, in line 17 it might refer to the Mannum-kī-ēnia to whom the letter is also addressed.

205. Sister Pays a Debt for Her Brother

Obv. ¹*a-na A-ha-tim* ²*qí-bi₄-ma um-ma* *Puzur₄-/dingir-ma* ³*a-dí kù-babbar* *ša Ma-nu-/um-<ki>-A-šur* ⁴*um-mì a-tí be-el-tí a-tí* ⁵*a-na Ša-lá-du-wa-ar* ⁶*ú-lá ú-šu-ru* ⁷*a-wa-tum da-na* ⁸*kù-babbar šu-qú-li-ma* ⁹*a-wi-lam* ₅ *lam-na-am* lo.e. ¹⁰*i-šé-ri-a us₁₀-hi* rev. ¹¹*a-dí iti-kam iš-té-en* ₆ ¹²*a-wa-tum i-* *za-ku-a-ni* ¹³*i-nu-mì ša a-lá-kà-ni* ¹⁴*kù-babbar* ¹⁵*ša Ha-ṣa-áb-ṣí-li-im* ¹⁶*lá ta-ga-mì-li-ni* ¹⁷*i-šé-ri-a le-qé* ¹⁸*ší-im pi-ri-kà-ni* ¹⁹*a-na-kam ba-at-qu* ²⁰*ma-hi-ir Kà-ne-eš lá ma-/ší u.e.* ²¹*a-na «a» u₄-um / ma-lá-kà le.e.* ²²*a-šu-mì anše ta-áp-qí-da* ²³*lá ta-áp-qí-da* ²⁴*úz-ni pè-té té-er-tí-ki* ²⁵*a-ni-tum lá a-ni-tum* ²⁶*lí-lí-kam*

^{1–2}Say to Ahattum: thus (says) Puzur-ilī.

^{3–6}Concerning the silver of Mannum-kī-Aššur—you are my mother; you are my mistress—they should not deliver it to Šaladuwār,⁷things are difficult;⁸pay the silver and (so)^{9–10}deliver me from that evil man!^{11–12}In one month things will become clearer for me.^{13–17}When I come, you will not have to do me (another) favor for Hašabšillum's silver and its interest. Collect (it) at my expense.

^{18–20}Trade in *pirikannum*-textiles is slack here; the rate (for them) in the market of Kaneš is too low (to make them profitable);²¹so it is still time (for you) to save me!^{22–26}As for the donkey, inform me whether or not you consigned it; let your report come to me, one way or the other.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Lewy (1969–1970, 57–58 [L 29–588]); edited by Gwaltney as POAT, 29; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 393).

Comments: Puzur-ilī asks his sister to pay one of his debts, promising that he will be able to pay another one himself. She must inform him concerning another transaction dealing with a donkey.

206. Informing Her Husband and Awaiting a Verdict of the City Hall

Obv. ¹a-na *I-na-a qí-bi-ma* ²um-ma *I-ku-pí-a* ³«*I-ku-pí-a»* ù *Ta-ra-am-/K[u-bi-ma]* ⁴a-šu-mì : *ri-ik-sí* ⁵ša *ik-ri-bi* : ša *Ni-k[ā?-ra?-ak?]* ⁶ša *ta-áš-pu-ra-ni* ⁷A-šúr-dutu^{ši} dumu *Am-/r[a-a]* ⁸ni-iš-ba-at-ma ⁹um-ma šu-ut-ma : *ri-ik-[sí]* ¹⁰a-na-ku ù *A-šúr-šú-lu-[li]* ¹¹a-na *E-lá-lí* dumu *Šu-Ku-bi-[im]* ¹²ni-dí-in-ma : an-na ¹³iš-a-am-ma : na-ší-šum ¹⁴A-šúr-šú-lu-li ¹⁵i-na *A-lim^{ki}* : lá *wa-ša-/áb* lo.e. ¹⁶i-na *a-lá-ki-šu* ¹⁷ni-ša-ba-sú a-š[u]-mì rev. ¹⁸ša *hu-sà-ri-im* ¹⁹dí-nu : *na-ak-šu-ma* ²⁰a-dí-ni : *a-wa-at-ni* ²¹igi *A-lim^{ki}* : lá *i-ši-k[i-in]* ²²i-nu-mì : *dí-num* : *i-[dí-nu]* ²³ù né-nu : *nu-ta-ar^l-ma* ²⁴a-na sà-bi-tim : *n[i-da-an]* ²⁵ma-lá : *dí-num* : *i-[dí-nu]* ²⁶iš-tí : *bar^l-ki-ú-t[im]* ²⁷té-er-tí-ni : *za-k[u-tum]* ²⁸i-lá-kà-kum [(x-x)] ²⁹a-ma-kam : lá ta-[ha-da-ar] ³⁰ší-bi-kà : *da-[ni-in]* ³¹tup-pí-kà : *ha-[ri-ma]* ³²i-na pá-[ni-im-ma] ³³šé-bi-[lam iš-té-en₆] ³⁴i-na šú-ha-ri /tūr₄-dam ³⁵ébe-et!-kà ù šú-h[u-ur-kà ša-li-im]

^{1–3}Say to Innaya: thus (says) Ikuppiya and Tarām-K[ūbi].

^{4–6}Concerning the packages of votive offerings of Nik[karrak?] about which you wrote to me,^{7–9}we seized Aššur-šamšī, son of Amraya, and he

(said) as follows: ^{10–13}“Aššur-ṣululī and I, we gave the packages to Elālī, son of Šu-Kūbum, and he bought tin that he is bringing to him.” ^{14–17}Aššur-ṣululī is not in the city (of Aššur at the moment); we will seize him when he comes.

^{17–19}Concerning (the) lapis lazuli: The cases have been deferred (by court order), and ^{20–21}until now our case has not yet been brought before the city (assembly of Aššur). ^{22–24}When the verdict has been passed, we too will return (the lapis lazuli) and pay the *sab/pit(t)um*. ^{25–28}Our detailed report about which verdict was passed will come to you as soon as possible.

^{29–30}There, do not be im[patient]; re[inforce] your witnesses, ^{31–33}cer[tify] your tablets, and send (them) [to me] by the [very] ne[xt] caravan]. ^{33–35}Send me [one] of your servants. Your house and [your] chil-dren [are well].

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Clay as BIN 4, 91; edited by Michel (1991, no. 7); translated by Michel (2001a, no. 287).

Comments: Tarām-Kūbi, together with her son Ikuppiya, informs Innaya concerning several affairs in which he is involved in Aššur. She awaits the verdict of the City Hall concerning some irregularity in the trade of lapis lazuli by Innaya. The text CCT 4, 24a, sent by Tarām-Kūbi alone to her husband mentions the payment to the City Hall of the price of the lapis lazuli (lines 1’–4’; Michel 2001a, no. 346). It is also perhaps linked to the next letter (207).

Line 4: the restoration of the goddess Ninkarrak is suggested by Dercksen (1997, 88 n. 47).

Line 24: according to Veenhof (1995, 1730), *ina sab/pit(t)im* is “an expression describing a person’s ability to pay or to collect the money” (to take the silver from one’s *sabittum*); it would correspond to “assets on hand.” However, Dercksen (2004a, 22) notes that, in this text, the word *sab/pit(t)um* is preceded by *ana* and not *ina* and lacks a pronominal suffix; thus it should mean something else.

207. Paying Taxes for Her Husband to the City Hall

Obv. ¹a-na I-na-a q^f-b[i-ma] ²um-ma Ta-ra-am-Ku-b[i₄]-ma ³šé-bu-lá-tim : ki-a-ma ⁴tù-uš-té-né-ba-lam ⁵a-na-kam : túg^{hi-a} ša i-kà-bu-/tù ⁶lá uš-

té-né-ba-lá-ku-um⁷¹ ma-na kù-babbar : ša tû-šé-ba-lá-/ni⁸a-na 15 gín-ta
 kù-babbar⁹ša a-na é A-lim^{ki} ú-ša-/qú-lu¹⁰lá ma-sí ša ki-ma ku-a-/tí¹¹um-
 ma šu-nu-ma : né-nu¹²lu ni-iš-qúl¹³a-na-ku-ma : a-sí-i rev.¹⁴qá-tí-a : ú-lá-
 qí-it-ma¹⁵ ma-na kù-babbar : a-na¹⁶é A-lim^{ki} aš[!]-qúl¹⁷a-dí : ma-lá ù 2šé-
 ni-šu¹⁸áš-pu-ra-kum 5 ma-/na¹⁹kù-babbar šu[!]-qúl²⁰a-sé-er 1 túg* [x x-u]
 m²¹šé-bu-lá-[tim x x x]²²a-na [x x x]-ri²³be-tim [x x]-tám²⁴a-šu-mì [x x]
 x²⁵ša i-ba-[ší-ú x x]²⁶ša taš-pu-r[a-ni mi-ma] le.e.²⁷lá i-dí-nam : um-ma
 šu-ut-ma²⁸1 ma-na kù-ki : iš-tí²⁹um-me-a-ni : a-lá-pá-at[!]-ma¹

¹⁻²Say to Innaya: thus (says) Tarām-Kūbi.

³⁻⁶You keep just sending me consignments (of silver), but, here, I cannot send you (in return) each time textiles that are weighty. ⁷⁻¹⁰(Concerning) the mina of silver that you are sending me, it is not enough for each 15 shekels of silver that I have to pay to the City Hall. ¹⁰⁻¹²Your representatives (said) as follows: “We will certainly pay!” ¹³⁻¹⁶(But) for my part, I collected the *aši’um*-iron available to me, and I paid 5 minas of silver to the City Hall.

¹⁷⁻¹⁹I wrote to you at least twice: “Pay the(se) 5 minas of silver!”

²⁰⁻²⁵In addition to one textile [...] consignments [...] for [...] the house [...] concerning [...] that are [...] ²⁶⁻²⁷for which you wrot[e me], he gave me [nothing]. ²⁷⁻²⁹He (said) as follows: “I will register 1 mina of gold with the investors.”

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Smith as CCT 3, 23b; edited by Michel (1991, no. 2); translated by Michel (2001a, no. 343).

Comments: Innaya owed a substantial amount of silver to the City Hall. Tarām-Kūbi, his wife, did not get help from her husband’s representatives and paid the silver from her assets. She now asks Innaya to pay her back the five minas of silver.

Line 8: the word “each” might refer to a payment to the City Hall due in several installments.

208. Paying Her Husband’s Debts to the Eponyms

Obv. ¹a-na Pu-šu-ke-en²qí-bi-ma um-ma Lá-ma-sí-/ma³li-mu-um Šu-
 da-a⁴kù-babbar e-ri-ša-ni : um-ma šu-/ut[!](NU)-ma⁵ša wa-sí-tí-šu kù-
 babbar⁶1 ma-na ha-bu-ul⁷kù-babbar 1 ma-na 10 gín⁸ša a-na li-mì-im

lo.e. ⁹*Bu-zu-zu* : *tù-sé-bi-lá-ni* ¹⁰*a-na li-mì-im* rev. ¹¹*Šu-da-a* (erasure)
 1 *ma-na* ¹²*a-ša-qal* : 5 *gín kù-babbar* ¹³*ša tù-sé-bi-lá-ni* ¹⁴*Ú-ra-ni* : *ú-lá i-dí-/nam* ¹⁵*um-ma šu-ut-ma* 5 *gín* ¹⁶*kù-babbar i-dí-nam a-na* ¹⁷*pá-šu-ri-im* ¹⁸*pá-šu-ra-am ú-lá i-dí-nam*

¹⁻²Say to Pūšu-kēn: thus (says) Lamassī.

³⁻⁴The eponym Šudaya (REL 82) asked me for silver, (saying) as follows: ⁵⁻⁶“He owes 1 mina of silver as his export tax.” ⁷⁻¹²So I will pay 1 mina to the eponym Šudaya from the 1 mina and 10 shekels of silver that you sent me for the eponym Buzuzu (REL 87).

¹²⁻¹⁴Urāni did not give me the 5 shekels of silver that you sent me; ¹⁵⁻¹⁷he (said) as follows: “He gave me 5 shekels of silver, (but it is) for a table!” ¹⁸(But) he did not give me the table!

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Stephens as BIN 6, 3; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 308). Collated on photo.

Comments: Pūšu-kēn owes money to at least two eonyms. The eonym Šudaya, son of Ennānum, is REL 82 (ca. 1891), and eonym Buzuzu, son of Ibbi-Suen, is REL 87 (ca. 1886); Veenhof 2003d. His wife, Lamassī, had to use silver he had sent for the second eonym to pay the first one.

209. Leaving a Transaction to Her Husband's Representatives

Obv. ¹[*a*]-*na Pu-šu-ke-en*₆ *qí-bi*₄-*ma* ²*um-ma Lá-ma-sí-ma tup-pu-/um*
³*ta-ah-sí-is-tám* ⁴*ša ba-a-ba-tim* *ša i-na* ⁵*bé-tí-kà té-zí-bu* : *mu-zí-zu-/kà*
⁶*ú-sé-sí-ú-ma qá-sú-nu-ma* ⁷*ú-kà-al a-na-ku a-mì-ma ú-lá at-/hi* ⁸*ù a-na*
dam-gàrⁱ-kà iš-qú-lu ⁹*la iš-qú-lu mì-ma ú-lá i-de*₈ *a-ta* ¹⁰*ma-lá-kà* : *ù ki-*
ma áš-pu-ra-ku-ni ¹¹*mì-ma šu-mì lá ta-za-kár-šu-nu-tí* ¹²*6½ ma-na kù-*
babbar ki A-šur-^dutu^{/ši} ¹³*dumu Lá-qé-ep šà-ba* (erasure) rev. ¹⁴*ša-du-a-tám*
ù ni-is-ha-tim ¹⁵*ú-ša-hu-ru* ^{3½}*ma-na* 5 *gín* ¹⁶*kù-babbar ki Ú-šú-ur-ša-*
A-šur dumu l-lí-/a ^{17½}*ma-na* 5 *gín* *ki Ša-lím-A-šur* ¹⁸*šunigin* ^{8½}*ma-na*
kù-babbar a-na A-šur-i-/mì-tí ¹⁹*dumu En-na-nim i-ša-qal* ²⁰*i-na* 4 *ma-na*
kù ša a-na l-lí-/iš-tí-kál ²¹*ha-bu-lá-ku-ni* 2 *ma-na* ²²*kù-babbar ki l-ku-pí-*
a 2 *ma-na a-hu-/ur* ²³*9 gín Ur-da-Na-na* ²⁴*1½ ma¹-na kù-babbar ša din-*
gir-ma-lik ²⁵[*me*]-*he-er tup-pi-im* *ša té-zí-bu* ²⁶[*x*] *x gín a-na wa-sí-<tí>-im*
²⁷*šé-bi*₄-*lam*

¹⁻²Say to Pūšu-kēn: thus (says) Lamassī.

²⁻⁵The tablet that is the memorandum of the outstanding claims that you left in your house, ⁵⁻⁷your representatives removed (it), and they themselves are holding (it). ⁷As for me, I did not interfere in any way, and ⁸⁻⁹I do not know whether or not they paid something to your creditors. ⁹⁻¹¹It is up to you, and according to what I wrote you, do not mention my name to them at all!

¹²⁻¹⁵(There are) 6½ minas of silver (owed) by Aššur-šamšī, son of Laqēp; from it they will deduct the transport fee and the import tax.

¹⁵⁻¹⁷(There are) 3½ minas, 5 shekels of silver (owed) by Uṣur-ša-Aššur, son of Iliya, (and) ½ mina, 5 shekels (owed) by Šalim-Aššur. ¹⁸⁻¹⁹All together, he shall pay 8½ minas of silver to Aššur-imittī, son of Ennānum.

²⁰⁻²¹Of the 4 minas of silver that I owe to Iliš-tikal, ²¹⁻²²2 minas of silver are with Ikuppiya; 2 minas are still (to be paid). ²³⁻²⁴9 shekels: Urad-Nana, [x +] 1½ mina of silver from Ilī-malik. ²⁵⁻²⁷Send me a copy of the tablet that you left (and) [x]x shekels for an outgoing messenger.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Smith as CCT 3, 19b; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 309). Tablet collated on photo online on CDLI website as P358577.

Comments: Lamassī refuses to get involved in one of her husband's transactions and leaves that to his representatives, but she informs him secretly about the situation. Then she gives details about accounts that she and her husband have with other merchants; these involve several minas of silver.

Line 2: the word *tuppum*, as *tahsistam*, should be in the accusative.

210. Asking a Woman to Give Various Objects to a Merchant

Obv. ¹a-na Mu-sà ú Pu-šu-ke-en₆ ²a-na Mu-sà qí-bi-ma ³um-ma Lá-ma-ša-ma ⁴3 a-lu-na-tum ša sí-pá-ri ⁵a-ša-lá-ší-šu šu-ga-ri-a-ú ⁶a-ša-lá-ší-šu ma-az-lu-gu₅ ⁷ší-ta it-qu-rá-tum : ša sí-pá-ri ⁸2 sú-pá-nu 1 ma-mi-ri ⁹3 ha-ší-nu : 1 kà-lá-pu ¹⁰4 ar-za-lu : ú 1 zi-ru ¹¹ša 20 ma-na mi-ma ¹²a-nim a-dí-na-ki-im ¹³[a]-ha-tí : a-tí-i : a-ma-kam* rev. ¹⁴Pu-šu-ke-en₆ pí-qí-sú-nu ¹⁵a-šu-mi : ú-nu-tim a-mi-tim ¹⁶iš-tù 8-mu-še : iš-tí-a ¹⁷a¹-ni : a-ha-ma ⁷ú-kà-pu ¹⁸ša-pí-ú-tum šà 3 ú-kà-pu ¹⁹a-na Pé-ru-a : ta-dí-ni ²⁰ší-tí ú-kà-pì a-na Ar-na-[x] ²¹ú a-sé-ni-šu ta-ma-lá-ki ²²ku-nu-ki-a a-na Pu-šu-ke-en₆ ²³dí-in ú 1 zi-ru sà-he-er¹-tum ²⁴e-lá-nu-ma e-zí-ba-ki-šu ²⁵ú šu-a-tí :

dí-in²⁶ a-ha-t[i] a-tí-i mì-ma le.e.²⁷ ú-tù-up-tim ša ta-/du-nu-šu-ni²⁸ i-na-[áš-pe-e] r^l-tí-ki²⁹ lu-up-tí-im

¹⁻³Say to Musa and Pūšu-kēn; say to Musa: thus (says) Lamaša.

⁴⁻⁷3 bronze pincers, 3 knives, 3 forks, 2 bronze ladles,⁸⁻¹¹2 *supānum*-bowls, 1 *mamirum*, 3 *haşinnum*-axes, 1 *kalappum*-axe, 4 *arzallum*-implements, and 1 cauldron weighing 20 minas;¹¹⁻¹²all this I gave to you.
¹³⁻¹⁴You are my sister; entrust these items there to Pūšu-kēn.¹⁵⁻¹⁶Concerning these goods, (they have been) with me for 8 years.¹⁷⁻¹⁹Now, (there are) besides (these) seven thick saddlecloths, out of which you should give 3 saddlecloths to Peru(w)a;²⁰⁻²³give the rest of the saddlecloths to Arna[x], and to Pūšu-kēn the 2 *tamalakkum*-chests with my seal.²³⁻²⁵As for the 1 cauldron and small goods that I left you besides, give (them) to him as well.²⁶⁻²⁹You are my sister; write down for me whatever furniture you will give to him.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Smith as CCT 4, 20a; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 369).

Comments: We do not know if there is any family link between Musa and Pūšu-kēn, but we may note that Musa is mentioned first; they both live in Kaneš. Lamaša was married to Buzāzu, a son of Pūšu-kēn (Kt 87/k 314). She entrusted various objects to Musa intended for Pūšu-kēn, her father-in-law. Among these were two *tamalakkum*-chests sealed by her; such containers often contained tablets, but were sometimes used to hold silver and various objects. Text 232 deals with the same matter.

Line 8: the word *ma-mì-ri*, according to Bilgiç (1954, 69), could be “ein Kochgeschirr.”

Line 18: *ukāpum*, “saddlecloth,” is a blanket made of felt; see Dercksen 2004a, 272.

211. A Man Represents His Sisters’ Interests

Obv. ¹a-na *Pu-šu-ke-en*₆ *qí-bi-ma* ²um-ma *Ta-ri-iš-ma-tum* ³ú *Ištar-lá-ma-sí-ma* ⁴a-bu-ni *be-el-ni* a-ta ⁵ma-ma-an i-na *šú-ha-re-e* ⁶kù-babbar e *e-ri-iš-kà-ma* ⁷kù-babbar a-na *qá-tí-šu-nu* ⁸e *tù-ší-ir* kù-babbar *ku-nu-ki-kà* ⁹a-na *A-lim*^{ki} *lu-ub-lu-nim-ma* ¹⁰mì-ma *a-bi-ni* lá *i-ha-li-/iq* ¹¹a-ma-kam ki-ma ni-a-tí ¹²a-ta *e-ru-ma* *lu tup-pu-ú* ¹³ša *a-bi*₄-ni *i-ba-ší-ú* ¹⁴lu

kù-babbar *i-ba-ší* lo.e.¹⁵*lu na-ru-qám a-na ma-ma-/a[n]* rev.¹⁶*i-dí-in a-*
*ma-ka[m]*¹⁷*ša-il₅-ma* ù *té-er-ta-k[á]*¹⁸*li-li-kam-ma ú-za-ni pé-té*¹⁹*a-na-*
*kam kù-gi ša Hu-ra-ṣa-/nim*²⁰*nu-še-li-ma a-na sí-ib-/tim*²¹*i-ta-áb-lu-šu*
 ù *kù-babbar šu-ut*²²*uk-ta-al a-pu-tum*²³*i-hi-id-ma* *kù-babbar ša um-me-*
*a-nim*²⁴*še-bi-lam ku-a-tí ni-tá-kál*²⁵*2 ma-na* *kù-babbar a-na qá-qí-ri*²⁶*ša*
*I-dí-Ištar ni-iš-qú-ul*²⁷*a-ma-kam* *kù-babbar ša-áš-qí-il₅-šu-ma*²⁸*še-bi-lam*
a-šu-mì *Ú-sur-ṣa-A-šùr*²⁹*lá-šu-ú ni-iš-me-ma ku[?]-lu-kà*³⁰*na-áš-a-ni šu-ma*
a-bu-ni a-ta u.e.³¹*a-šar qá-qí-dí-šu ša-lá-hi-im*³²*mì-li-ik* le.e.³³*a-na a-bi-*
*šu«-ú» i-ta-kà-al ma-lá*³⁴*qá-qá-sú ta-ṣa-lá-ha-ni mì-li-ik*

¹⁻³Say to Pūšu-kēn: thus (say) Tarīš-mātum and Ištar-Lamassī.

⁴You are our father (and) master. ⁵⁻⁸None of the boys should ask you for any silver, and you must not hand over any silver over to them. ⁸⁻¹⁰Let them bring the silver to the city (of Aššur) under your seal, lest anything that belonged to our father be lost.¹¹⁻¹⁸You yourself must enter there on our behalf, make inquiries if either tablets of our father or silver are there, or he gave (silver for) a joint-stock company to someone there, then let your report come here and inform us.¹⁹⁻²²Here, we produced Hurašānum's gold, and they took it at interest, but he himself has retained the (principal in) silver.²²⁻²⁴Urgent! Be sure to send the investor's silver; we trust you!²⁵⁻²⁸We paid 2 minas of silver for Iddin-Ištar's plot of land; have him pay the silver there and send (it) to me.

²⁸⁻³⁰As for the fact that Uṣur-ṣa-Aššur was not present, we heard it, and we are bringing all your (merchandise). If you are our father,³¹⁻³⁴think of some way he can disengage. He trusts in his father, think of some way you can get him disengaged.

Bibliography: Text published by Garelli as *ArOr* 47, 42. Translated by Michel 2001a, no. 321.

Comments: Tarīš-mātum is the sister of Pūšu-kēn; Ištar-Lamassī cannot be identified because several women bear this name (Michel 2001a, 480-82). She could be another sister. This letter, sent from Aššur to Pūšu-kēn at Kaneš, seems to follow the death of their father, Sue'a. All the deceased's affairs have to be closed out and taken to Aššur.

Line 15: for *naruqqum*, a joint-stock company, see Larsen 1977, 1999, and Hecker 1999.

Line 29: the reading *ku[?]-lu-kà* is tentative because *našanim* implies a feminine plural subject (*luquātum*).

WOMEN, ARCHIVES, AND SEALS

The women of Aššur and Kaneš led a more sedentary life than their husbands, who were always on the road. One room in their house was set aside for storing merchandise and for archives. The tablets were arranged on wooden shelves along the walls or in wooden chests or in baskets, which have now disappeared, or sometimes in clay vessels. The size of these archives varied considerably. If some households had several dozen tablets, others have produced more than a thousand, so they had to be kept in some sort of order. The tablets were stored in groups, sometimes with clay labels (bullae) that could be inscribed or sealed. To judge from the labels, archives were arranged by the kind of document: letters, legal documents, and so on, or by their owner (addressee of letters, creditor), or comprised texts pertaining to the same matter.³⁶

As guardians of the house and its强room with the tablets, wives were sometimes directed to provide the men of the family with specific tablets that they needed. Nuhšatum, custodian of the tablets of her husband and their sons, received letters from the latter, in one instance asking her to retrieve specific sealed documents, in another requiring the summaries of expenses for outfitting a caravan (212, 213). Nuhšatum, however, does not seem to have looked for the documents herself; rather, business associates came to help her do this (214).³⁷ Some women found themselves entrusted with containers of tablets (169, 215–217, 219, 306) and supervised any access to the archives in their houses (323). The primary role of these women was to ensure that their husbands' colleagues did not make off with any other tablets (218).³⁸ When that did happen, they discreetly informed their husbands (209).

Women have their own part in the written record, being responsible for more than a hundred of the letters sent from Aššur. Women such as Lamassī, the wife of Pušu-kēn, Tarīš-mātum, the wife of Aššur-malik, and Tarām-Kūbi, the wife of Innayā, each are sender of more than fifteen

36. Michel 1998a, 2000b, 2008e; Veenhof 2003e; Larsen 2008.

37. Veenhof 2015c.

38. As shown by the texts translated below, there is good reason to modify the view of Larsen (2008), who thinks that when merchants needed documents retrieved from their archives, they generally turned to their male agents who could read texts. Wives gave access to room and monitored what happened.

letters to their husbands and brothers at Kaneš.³⁹ Their letters deal with the everyday matters of housewives, the concerns of business women, as well as right conduct and religion. They are cast in the vernacular, and their grammar and syntax are sometimes incorrect, but they exhibit strong feelings.⁴⁰ No doubt the houses at Aššur still hold many letters sent to these women in return.

The women at Kaneš received letters sent by their fathers, brothers, or husbands, which dealt with both everyday matters and business transactions. One such a woman was Tariša, sister of Aššur-taklāku, who belonged to a family whose archives were discovered in 1993 in two houses in the lower town (fig. 6); she kept there twenty-three letters that her brother sent her after their father's death. But when she was in Aššur, she herself sent various letters to her brother in Kaneš, which were kept in the same house as those she had received.⁴¹

Along with their correspondence, women kept various legal documents they had initiated or which recorded their transactions, including loans, purchases, sales, and investments. These files belonged to them, even if they were more modest in scope than those of men, and they were kept together with those belonging to other members of the family, sometimes in separate containers. Women's archives eventually contained documents of transactions they had witnessed, such as loans and purchases, especially those to which one or more women were party.⁴² For example, Ab-šalim, daughter of Aššur-rēši, witnessed a loan taken by an Anatolian woman, Nimahšušar, from an Anatolian couple.⁴³

Ištar-ummi, along with two men, witnessed an Anatolian couple's loan from a woman, Zizizi; the four sealings on its envelope cannot be identi-

39. Letters sent by Lamassī, wife of Pūšu-kēn: 67, 68, 147, 163–167, 169, 208–209, 211, 246, 259, 260; by Tariš-mātum, wife of Aššur-malik: 146, 211, 254–256; and by Tarām-Kūbi, wife of Innayā: 128–129, 170, 207, 252, 286–287, 289.

40. Larsen 2001; Michel 2010d.

41. Michel 2008e.

42. Women rarely witnessed legal documents. They did, however, seal such documents when they represented one of the parties or were personally involved. Women's seals occasionally appear on the envelopes of marriage contracts. Contract 19 was drawn up to certify the payment of the bridegift, a sum of fifteen shekels of silver, from the groom, Aššur-malik, to his mother-in-law, Šuppī-elka. She rolled her seal over the envelope of the contract. Unfortunately, only about half of the envelope, sealed by four people, is still extant.

43. Prag I, 584:15–16; the corresponding envelope is lost.

fied (186). Lamassī, daughter of Masaya, along with a man, witnessed a woman's debt to another woman, the daughter of Zupa (80).⁴⁴ Another Lamassī, daughter of Ah-šalim, witnessed a loan in which both creditor and debtor are men (AKT 6b, 472). And presumably a third Lamassī witnessed the loan contract of a woman (181), for which a fragment of an envelope is preserved. Ištar-lamassī, daughter of Elamma, sealed, presumably as a witness, a contract in which her sister Šalimma appears as buyer (Kt 94/k 181). Šat-Anna, daughter of Dadanum, witnessed her mother's sale of a slave.⁴⁵ It seems most likely that documents of this type were far more numerous in the archives of the merchant families at Aššur, but these have not yet been discovered. These women, like male witnesses, may have occasionally kept a copy of documents they witnessed in their own archives.

Whether they were parties to marriage contracts as wives or mothers, writing letters, incurring debts, selling property, or serving as witnesses (86), women certified the relevant documents by sealing the envelopes, either with their own seal or someone else's. Possession and use of a seal suggests that these women were regularly involved in matters that generated written documents.⁴⁶ In the case of loans, the debtor, together with the witnesses, sealed the envelope to acknowledge receipt of the sum indicated and the terms and conditions of the loan. Female debtors sealed the envelope of the creditor's copy of the debt note, using a seal or signet ring (76, 79, 81). Some women, writing letters to Kaneš, rolled their seals on the envelopes to show who had sent them.⁴⁷

Such cylinder and stamp seals as have been found in the lower town of Kaneš are of metal (gold, silver, bronze), stone (haematite, steatite, lapis lazuli, rock crystal), ivory, and bone. There are far fewer of them than the numerous impressions known from envelopes and envelope fragments, bullae, and other sealings. Some seals bear the names of their owners and their patronyms. This is the case, for example, with the seal of Ennanatum, daughter of Puzur-šada, impressed on envelope 189 (seal C; fig. 12). Yet, according to the text on the envelope, this seal was not used by its owner.

44. For this contract, only an uninscribed fragment of the envelope survived with a sealing.

45. Kt 88/k 1003:19–20 published by Bayram and Çeçen 1996, text no. 11. The text 106 indicates that it has been sealed by Ennum-Ištar, the concubine of Laqēpum.

46. Michel 2009c. See also McCarthy 2016.

47. Michel 2008g.

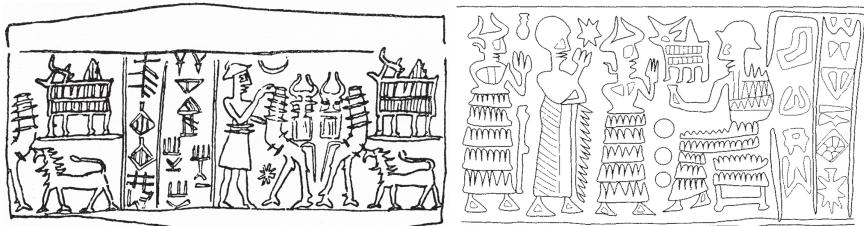


Fig. 12. Imprints of inscribed seals used by women: (left) Ennanatum, daughter of Puzur-šada (189, seal C; I. Cukr) and (right) Rubātum, daughter of Amur-ilī (N. Özgür 2006, CS 357).

The envelope for this document was actually sealed by two women, Musa and Šatahsušar, and one man, Iddin-Suen, whose seal is also inscribed with his name (seal A).⁴⁸ Enannatum's seal was therefore used either by the debtor, Šatahsušar, or by the female witness, Musa.

Rubātum, whose name means "queen," had a seal in her own name, which identifies her as daughter of Amur-ilī (fig. 12).⁴⁹ But it seems that this seal was regularly used by a man, Usānum, son of Amur-Ašsur, who may have inherited it.⁵⁰

Most seals, however, were not inscribed, which makes it difficult to identify the owners of seals impressed on envelopes, which normally carried three or more seal impressions. The placement of the seal impressions on an envelope did not necessarily follow the order of the people mentioned as having sealed the envelope, according to the expression "kišib PN₁ (dumu PN₂)," "sealed by PN₁ (son of PN₂)."⁵¹ Three people sealed the envelope of the woman's debt note 74, one of whom must be the debtor, Šat-Ea, daughter of Su'etata. But none of the three seal impressions on the envelope can be identified. The same is true for the debt note 75, which the debtor Ištar-Lamassī sealed, along with two other people. The contract for the sale of a house (150) has four seal impressions, of which the only

48. Seal ICK 1, Kultépé 24a, pl. 60; Teissier 1994, no. 247; the name of the lady has been erroneously read *Ha-na-na-tum*. See also the seal used by Ennum-Ištar (106) has her name inscribed on it.

49. Donbaz 2005; Veenhof 2008a, 109; see also N. Özgür 2006, 105, pl. 21 (CS 357); photo, pl. 128, seal on the envelope Kt n/k 1700, and other references. Rubātum sent the letter Kt 94/k 377 (courtesy Larsen) to Šalimma.

50. Hypothesis of Donbaz 2005.

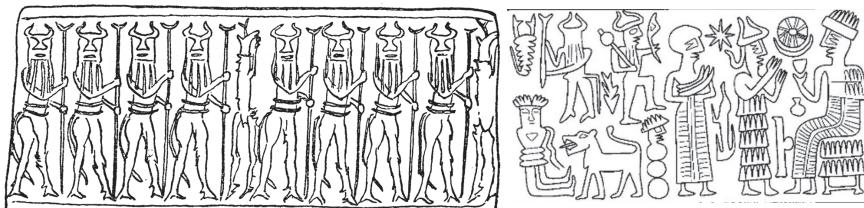


Fig. 13. Imprints of uninscribed seals used by women: (left) Seal of Ištar-baštī (241; I. Cukr) and (right) Seal of Waqqurtum (KKS, 46, seal no. 124; Marie Matoušová-Rajmová).

inscribed one identifies Šuppiahšu as seal owner. Two of the other three impressions were made by women: Šuiskana, who made the purchase on another woman's behalf, and Ab-šalim, one of the witnesses.

It sometimes happens that the number of seal impressions on an envelope does not always match the number of people listed as having sealed it (*kišib PN*). For example, text 97, concerning the possible redemption of a girl from distress, records the names of six Anatolians who were supposed to have sealed the document, among them Šuppianika, daughter of Kurukuru; but the envelope, fully preserved, has only five impressions. Likewise, the slave sale 98 has only five impressions, though six are mentioned as having sealed, last among them Šišawada, daughter of Maliahšu. Since this applies to other contracts as well, Veenhof concluded that mention of a woman after *kišib*, “sealed by,” need not mean that the woman's seal was in fact impressed on the envelope.⁵¹

Systematic analysis of envelopes with seal impressions does sometimes allow uninscribed seals owned by women to be identified, since the presence of the mention “*kišib PN*” on envelopes can indicate who used the seals.⁵²

For example, the impression of the seal used by Ištar-baštī appears twice on the envelope of a letter she addressed to two men (fig. 13; 241); the short note concerns a heavy textile that she sold and for which she is awaiting payment; the letter closes with a blessing. Waqqurtum's seal is also well known; it appears on the surviving half of an envelope for a letter,

51. Veenhof 2008a, 109.

52. In her book dated to 1994 (49–50), Beatrice Teissier listed very few seals used by women. The catalogue of Agneta Wisti Lassen's unpublished dissertation (Copenhagen, 2012) gives a few more (even if she does not specify the gender of seal owners).



Fig. 14. Imprint of the seal used by Tariša (photo by Cécile Michel).

now lost, addressed to Puzur-Aššur (fig. 13).⁵³ The same seal appears on a broken envelope on which various names can be partially deciphered, but not Waqqurtum's.⁵⁴ Walawala's seal has been identified on a fragment of an envelope for a letter addressed to Hanunu.⁵⁵ The envelope, however, is inscribed: "To Hanunu, seal of Tū'itu'i. I beg that you pay attention to the words of this tablet."⁵⁶ This means that Walawala borrowed the seal of a certain Tū'itu'i, unless this name was Walawala's nickname because she was a twin sister (*tū'imtum*). The seal of Tariša appears regularly on the fragments of envelopes addressed to her brother, Aššur-taklāku, whose archives were found in 1993 (figs. 6, 14).⁵⁷

Impressions of seals used by women are also found on the envelopes of contracts. The fully preserved envelope of a debt note (81) has four sealings.⁵⁸ The fourth is of a button-shaped stamp seal with four holes, which

53. ATHE 25:2–3: *a-na Puzur₄-A-šür, KIŠIB Wa-qúr-tim*; seal no. 12, Teissier 1994, no. 129. See also Kt n/k 1735A, the Old Assyrian style seal CS 397, published by N. Özgürç (2006, pl. 27, photo pl. 142).

54. KKS, 46, seal no. 124; identical to ICK 2, seal no. 494.

55. Pinches 1908, 13 (Michel 2001a, no. 387); Teissier 1994, no. 222.

56. Envelope of Pinches 1908, 13: *a-na Ha-nu-nu, KIŠIB Tū-ú-i-tū-ú-i, a-pu-tum a-na-wa-at, tup-pi-im i-hi-id*. See the commentary by Michel 2001a, 500, note.

57. Michel 2008e. Tariša's seal imprint is visible, for example, on the envelope Kt 93/k 372 + 380.

58. TC 3, 239 (Larsen 2002, no. 147) bears four seal imprints whose identification would be the following according to Teissier 1994, 47: KIŠIB *A-ta-ta* (seal TC 3, no. 64), KIŠIB *Me-zí-[ni]* (seal TC 3, no. 99).

must have been impressed by the debtor, Nini, who borrowed from an Assyrian sacks of wheat and barley to be paid back at harvest time.

Women's use of seals is confirmed by letters, in which they are asked to seal a document (220) or in which they state that they have sealed merchandise (221), silver (224), multiple documents (222), chests of tablets (223), or even a kitchen (311). Not all women who used seals to certify documents or goods necessarily owned the seals they used, but this is also true of men who sealed envelopes; they could, for instance, borrow the seal of a brother. Testaments show that women sometimes inherited a seal.⁵⁹ This was the case, for instance, with the consecrated daughter of Puzur-ilī. Her father, before he died, turned a lapis lazuli seal over to one of her brothers to give it to her (64, 65). So, too, the widow Ištar-lamassī willed to her consecrated daughter 2½ shekels of gold, 7½ shekels of silver, and a seal (59, 60). Besides being objects of value, these seals were useful for women to certify their letters and business transactions. Thus, women used seals just as men did. There was no special iconography for women's seals.

212. A Woman Is in Charge of Sealed Containers of Tablets

Obv. ¹*a-na A-šūr-ma-lik* ²Šu-A-nim ú *Nu-ùh-ša-/tim* ³ú Šu-Ištar *a-na*
⁴*Nu-ùh-ša-ti*-im** ⁵*qí-bi-ma um-ma* ⁶*A-ni-na-ma* ⁷*um-mi-«a» : a-tí-i* ⁸*i-na* ⁹*du-tu-ši* lo.e. ⁹*na-áš-pé-er-tí* ¹⁰*ta-ša-me-i-ni* rev. ¹¹*ta-ma-lá-ki* ¹²*ša tup-pé-e* ¹³*ha-ru-mu-tim* ¹⁴*ša A-šūr-gal e-zí-ba-ki-ni* ¹⁵*um-mi-i a-tí-i* ¹⁶*ha-ra-ni*
a-na ¹⁷*A-lim^{ki}* ¹⁸*ú-ha-re-re/e* ¹⁸*ú-qá-a a-ma-/kam* u.e. ¹⁹*ú-ma-kál lá tū-<ša>-as-/hi-ri* ²⁰*mi-ma tup-pé-e* le.e. ²¹*a-na Šu-A-nim Bu-bu-/a-ar* ²²*Áš-ha-a-ni*
ú Šu-Ištar ²³*pí-iq-dí-ma ar-hi-iš* ²⁴*tū-ur-da-šu-nu*

¹⁻⁶Say to Aššur-malik, Šu-Anum, Nuhšatum, and Šu-Ištar, (and) in particular to Nuhšatum: thus (says) Anīna.

⁷⁻¹⁴You are my mother. The very day you hear my letter, (send me) the *tamalakkum*-chests with certified tablets that Aššur-rabi left you. ¹⁵⁻¹⁹You are my mother. I (am) traveling to the city (of Aššur); I am waiting for the servants, (so) you should not delay them there one single day. Entrust all the tablets to Šu-Anum, Bubuar, Ašhāni, and Šu-Ištar, and send them quickly!

59. Michel 2009c.

Bibliography: Text published by Bilgiç and Günbattı as AKT 3, 106 (Kt v/k 55); translated by Michel (2001a, no. 290). Collated 2016.

Comments: Anīna, possibly the son of Nuhšatum, asks his mother to hand over to his servants the containers with tablets left behind by Aššur-rabi. This text is linked to TPAK 1, 63, in which Anīna asks merchants to enter his mother's house, break the seals on the tablet containers, and take out some tablets belonging to his father, Ennum-Aššur, then seal the containers again (Veenhof 2015c, 281–82).

213. A Woman Is to Seal Tablet Containers and Transfer Them

Obv. ¹a-na A-šur-ma-lik ²Nu-ùh-ša-tim ú Dan-A-šur ³a-na Nu-ùh-ša-tim
⁴qí-bi₄-ma um-ma Šál-mah-ma ⁵um-mì a-tí : i-nu-mì a-na A-lim^{'ki} ⁶a-ta-al-ku i-na ba-áb ⁷ha-ra-ni-a ta-ma-lá-ki ⁸ša tup-pì ra-bi₄-ú-tim ⁹ša ha-ra-nim (end of line erased) ¹⁰IGI A-mur-dingir ša e-zí-ba-ki-/ni ¹¹a-šé-er ku-nu-ki-a ¹²ú a-tù-nu ¹³ku-un-kà-ma ¹⁴a-na A-bu-qar lo.e. ¹⁵šú-ha-ri-a ¹⁶pì-iq-da-ma rev. ¹⁷a-šé-ri-a ¹⁸a-na Ša-mu-ha ¹⁹lu-ub-lam pá-na-ra-am ²⁰ku-nu-ki-a A-bu-qar ²¹na-áš-a-ki-im ²²a-na A-šur-ma-lik ú Dan-A-šur ²³qí-bi₄-ma a-na na-áš-pè-ra-tí-/a ²⁴ša a-šé-er ša-zu-za-tí-a ²⁵ú a-šé-ri-ku-nu ²⁶lá-pu-ta-ni ih-da ²⁷lá ta-ša-lá-tá ²⁸a-ha-ma 5 gu₅-ur-šu ²⁹ša a-śar ú-ṭù-up-tí ³⁰i-ba-śí-ú u.e. ³¹i-ku-nu-ki-a-ma ³²«a» li-bi₄ ší-ú (one sign erased)

^{1–4}Say to Aššur-malik, Nuhšatum, and Dān-Aššur, (and) in particular to Nuhšatum: thus (says) Šalim-ahum.

^{5–10}You are my mother. When I went to the city (of Aššur), I left to you, before my departure (and) in the presence of Amur-ilī, *tamalakkum*-chests with large tablets about caravan (journeys). ^{11–19}Add your seals to mine, and entrust (them) to Abu-(wa)qar, my servant, so that he may bring (them) to me to (the town of) Šamuha. ^{19–21}Abu-(wa)qar is bringing you a *pannurum*-utensil under my seal.

^{22–23}Say to Aššur-malik and Dān-Aššur.

^{23–27}Pay attention to my letters that have been written to my representatives and to you; do not act independently. ^{28–32}In addition, the five *guršum*-objects that are with my furniture, let them remain under my seal.

Bibliography: Text published by Bilgiç and Günbattı as AKT 3, 77 (Kt v/k 17); translated by Michel (2001a, no. 398). Lines 5–19 cited by Günbattı (1992, 233); collated May 2012.

Comments: Šalim-ahum asks his mother, Nuhšatum, to seal containers of caravan tablets that are in her house, and to send them to the town of Šamuha with his servant.

Line 21: for the word *pannurum*, see 136:7.

Line 28: the word *guršum* is unknown; it might correspond to a valuable object, perhaps in metal.

214. Man and Woman to Remove a Sealed Tablet from a Tablet Container at the Gate of the God

Obv. ¹a-na A-lá-ku ²ú Nu-ùh-ší-tim qí-bi₄-/ma ³um-ma En-um-A-šür-
ma ⁴tup-pá-am :* ša sí-bi₄-a ⁵ša A-šür-du₁₀ :* dumu Ki-i-ki ⁶ú En-na-Sú-
en₆ ⁷dumu I-lá-nim : i-na ⁸ká dingir ah-ri-im-ma ⁹i-na li-bi₄ sí-li-/a-nim
¹⁰a-śar : tup-pu-ú ¹¹ša ba-áb dingir ša-ak-/nu-ni ¹²am-ra-ma tup-pá-am
lo.e. ¹³ša ku-nu-uk : A-šür-du₁₀ ¹⁴ú En-na-Sú-en₆ ¹⁵še-li-a-ma rev. ¹⁶i-na
ma-áš-ki-im ¹⁷ki/qí-i-ša-šu-ma ¹⁸dá-ni-na-ma ¹⁹ku-un-kà-šu-ma ²⁰a-na
Ha-áš-ta-i-li ²¹ú-lá : a-na ²²utu-sipa ²²pí-iq-dá-šu-ma ²³lu-ub-lam : ih-da
²⁴a-šu-mi : dumu I-da-a ²⁵a-na a-wa-tí-a : lá-qá-im ²⁶ú-qá-a : sú-ha-ri
3 šu-nu-/tí ²⁷ṭu-ur-dá*-nim : a-na ²⁸sà-ra-dim : ú-qá-a-šu-/nu u.e. ²⁹áb-
nam sú-a-am sí-sí-/ni ³⁰ší-pá-ra-tim iš-ra-tim ³¹še-na-tim : i-giš ša i-é^{tim}
le.e. ³²ṭá-ú-bu : ub-lu-nim šu-ma Ša-lim-a-hu-um ³³a-ni-ša-am : e-ra-ba-
am-ma mi-ma ³⁴e-ri-iš-ku-nu : mi-ma lá ta-da-na-šu-um ³⁵um-ma a-tù-
nu-ma a-śe-er a-bi₄-kà ³⁶a-na A-lim^{ki} at-lá-ak a-na ³⁷ma-lá áš-pu-ra-ni-ni
ep-ša ³⁸ih-da

^{1–3}Say to Alaku and Nuhšatum: thus (says) Ennum-Aššur.

^{4–8}I have drawn up a certified tablet at the Gate of the God with the (names of) my witnesses: Aššur-ṭāb, son of Kīki, and Enna-Suen, son of Ilānum, and ^{9–11}it is placed in the *ṣiliānum*-container with the tablets of the Gate of the God. ^{12–14}Look for (this) tablet, sealed with the seal of Aššur-ṭāb and Enna-Suen. ¹⁵Take out it out (of it), ^{16–23}wrap it securely in leather, and seal it, then entrust it to Hašta’ili or to Šamaš-rē’i to bring (it) to me; take care (to do it)!

^{24–26}Concerning the son of Idaya, I am waiting for my case to be accepted. ^{26–28}Send me all three of the servants; I am waiting for them to pack (merchandise). ^{29–32}They brought me a *sûm*-stone, brooms, nails, belts, sandals, (and) oil that has been refined in the house. ^{32–34}If Šalim-ahum arrives there and asks you for something, you must not give him anything, ^{35–36}but (say) as follows: “Go to your father in the city (of Aššur)!” Take care to act according to what I wrote you.

Bibliography: Text published by Bilgiç and Günbattı as AKT 3, 84 (Kt v/k 29). Lines 4–23 cited by Günbattı (1992, 232–33) and Veenhof (2013a, 56); collated May 2012.

Comments: Ennum-Aššur asks a colleague Alaku and his (Ennum-Aššur's) wife to find a tablet that he sealed and is deposited in a container with other tablets that have been as well certified at the Gate of the God. It may be that Nuhšatum is supposed to assist Alaku. The second part of the letter is concerned with the couple's servants and their son Šalim-ahum, who has to go to his father's house at Aššur. For other letters addressed by Ennum-Aššur to his wife, see Veenhof 2015c.

Line 17: the verb *kīāšum* or *qīāšum* means “to wrap” (a tablet).

Line 29: the *sûm*-stone could be used as a millstone.

215. Two Women to Seal Tablet Containers

Obv. ¹*a-na Ha-tí-tim ú Ša-ša-/ma-a* ²*qí-bi-ma um-ma* ³*Šu-Sú-en₆-ma a-na*
⁴*Ha-tí-tim : qí-bi-ma* ⁵*ṭup-pá-am ha-ar-ma-am* ⁶*ša ½ ma-na kù-babbar*
⁷*ša dam-gàr ša i-na* ⁸*ší-li-a-ni ku-nu-ki-a* ⁹*igi Kur-ub-Ištar dumu I-dí-Ištar*
¹⁰*igi A-šúr-mu-ta-pí-il* ¹¹*kà*-sa-ar I-na-a* ¹²*ú I-dí-a-bi-im lo.e.* ¹³*áp-qí-da-*
ki-ni a-ma-/kam rev. ¹⁴*ší-li-a-ni* ¹⁵*ku-nu-ki-a a-na* ¹⁶*dutu-ub-lam ú Ku-zi*
¹⁷*dí-na-ma lu-ub-lu-nim* ¹⁸*ú té-er-tí-ki' li-li-kam* ¹⁹*a-ha-tí a-tí šu-ma* ²⁰*ší-li-*
a-nu ú ²¹*ku-nu-ku-a pá-at-ru* ²²*a-tí ú Ša-Ša-ma-áš u.e.* ²³*ku-un-kà-ma* ²⁴*še-*
bi-lá-nim ²⁵*a-pu-tum tup-pu-um* ²⁶*ša ta-hi*-tim*

^{1–4}Say to Hattitum and Ša-Šamaš: thus (says) Šu-Suen. Say in particular to Hattitum.

^{5–13}I have entrusted to you a certified tablet of the creditor concerning $\frac{1}{2}$ mina of silver, (which is) in one of the *ṣiliānum*-containers under my seal, in the presence of Kurub-Ištar, son of Iddin-Ištar, Aššur-mūtappil,

harnessor of Innaya and Iddin-abum.^{13–18} Give the *siliānum*-containers under my seal there to Šamaš-ublam and Kuzi to bring to me, and let your report come to me (that you have done this).

^{19–24}You are my sister. If the *siliānum*-containers and my seal (impressions) are open, seal (them), you and Ša-Šamaš, and send (them) to me.
^{25–26}Urgent! This tablet is an (urgent) message.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Clay as BIN 4, 55; edited by Michel (1991, no. 183); translated by Michel (2001a, no. 330).

Comments: This letter is addressed to two women but more specifically to Hattītum. The other woman, Ša-Šamaš, has her name abbreviated as Ša-Šama in line 1. They are both asked to reseal a container of tablets in case the original seals have been broken.

Lines 8 and 14: the *siliānum*-container, usually considered as a storage jar, seems to be smaller here since it can be transported.

216. A Woman Should Deny That She Has Been Entrusted with Tablets

Obv. ¹[*um-ma*] *A-šur-gal-/ma* ²*a-na Ha-tí-tim* ³*qí-bi-ma* ⁴*šu-ma tup-pé*
⁵*mí-ma Ma-num-ba-/lúm-A-šur* ⁶*e-zí-ba-/ki-im* lo.e. ⁷*ik-ri* rev. ⁸*a-na ma-*
ma-/an ⁹*lá tú-šé-ri* ¹⁰*a-dí a-hu-ki* ¹¹*i-lu-ku-ni-ni* ¹²*ú a-na-ku* u.e. ¹³*a-lá-ká-*
ni ¹⁴*hu-ša¹-e¹-ki* ¹⁵*ša-ší-ri* ¹⁶*šál-ma-ku*

^{1–3}Thus (says) Aššur-rabi: say to Hattītum.

^{4–6}If Mannum-balum-Aššur left you any tablet, ⁷deny it! ^{8–9}Do not release (anything) to anyone!
^{10–11}Until your brother arrives ^{12–13}or I arrive myself,
^{14–15}keep an eye (even) on your scraps!
¹⁶I am fine.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Lewy (1969–1970, 70a [L 29-607]); edited by Gwaltney (POAT, no. 43); translated by Michel (2001a, no. 328).

Comments: Hattītum gets an injunction not to give anything to anyone.

217. Archives to Be Kept Safe

Obv. ¹um-ma : Im-dí-lúm-ma a-na ²Ištar-ba-áš-tí qí-bi-ma ³a-pu-tum ba-ab-tí-ki ⁴za-ki-i : kù-gi ša dumu ⁵Li-mi[?]-šar[!] : ša-dí-ni-/ma ⁶šé-bi-lim ⁷A-mur-dingir ki-ma ⁸an-na ù túg^{hi-a} lo.e. ⁹i-na é-gal^{lim} ¹⁰ú-şa-ni rev. ¹¹a-n-a Bu-ru-uš-/ha-tim ¹²li-ta-lá-ak-/ma ¹³a-ma-kam : lá i-sà-hu-/ur ¹⁴na-hi-di-šu-ma ¹⁵a-ma-ma-an ¹⁶lá ú-šar ¹⁷i-giš du₁₀-ga ¹⁸šé-bi-lim u.e. ¹⁹a-pu-tum mì-ma ²⁰tup-pí-a lu ša dumu le.e. ²¹l-lí-dí-na-šu lu ša /Bu-ší-a ²²ša-ší-r[i]

¹⁻²Thus (says) Imdī-ilum: say to Ištar-baštī.

³⁻⁴Urgent! Clear your outstanding merchandise. ⁴⁻⁶Collect the gold of the son of Limiššar and send (it) to me. ⁷⁻¹²When tin and textiles leave the palace, let Amur-ilī go to Burušattum, ¹³but he should not linger there. ¹⁴⁻¹⁶Instruct him not to deliver (it) to anyone. ¹⁷⁻¹⁸Send me some good-quality oil.

¹⁹⁻²²Please, put all my tablets in safekeeping, both those concerning the son of Ilī-iddinaššu and those concerning Bušia.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Lewy as TC 3, 56; edited by Ichisar (1981, 251); translated by Michel (2001a, no. 353).

Comments: Ištar-baštī is asked to fulfill various tasks linked to the international trade and to send her husband good oil from Kaneš. She has to archive several important documents.

218. A Woman Is to Supervise Access to Tablets

Obv. ¹um-ma ⁴En-líl-ba-ni-ma ²a-na Áb-ša-lim qí-bi₄-/ma ³té-er-tí a-še-er ša ki-ma ⁴i-a-tí i-li-kam ⁵a-ma-kam tup-pè-a ⁶li-ip-té-ú-ma ⁷a-lá-an ²tup-pè-e ⁸ša ú-še-lu-ni ⁹mì-ma tup-pá-am ¹⁰ša-ni-am lá ú-še-lu ¹¹i-zi-zi ki-ma ¹²tup-pè-e ú-še-li-ú ¹³i-na ma-ah-ri-ki ¹⁴li-ik-nu-ku-ma ¹⁵ku-nu-ki-šu ša-sí-ri-i ¹⁶ki-ma pá-ni-ú-tí-ma ¹⁷tup-pè-e a-na k[à]-ri-im ¹⁸šé-li-i-šu-nu ¹⁹ha-ra-ni a-me-ša-am ²⁰5 gín kù-babbar ku-nu-ki ²¹Ištar-pá-li-il₅[!](LU) ub-lá-ki-im ²²5 gín kù-babbar le.e. ²³A-ta-a ub-lá-ki-im ²⁴3 gín kù-babbar Nu-ur-ki-ì-/lí ²⁵na-áš-a-ki-im

¹⁻³Thus (says) Enlil-bāni: say to Ab-šalim.

^{3–4}My instructions have gone to my representatives. ^{5–10}Let them open my tablets (container) there, and apart from the 2 tablets that they will take out, they should not take out any other tablet. ^{11–15}Stand (by them), and after they have taken out the tablets, have them (re)seal (the container) in your presence and keep its sealing intact. ^{16–19}In the same way as for the previous ones, take out the tablets for the *kārum*. I am traveling there.

^{20–21}Ištar-pālil brought you 5 shekels of sealed silver. ^{22–25}Ataya brought you 5 shekels of silver. Nūr-kī-ilī is bringing you 3 shekels of silver.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Smith as CCT 4, 13b; translated by Michel (2001, no. 342); collated 1987.

Comments: Ab-šalim was married to a member of the family of Enlil-bāni, Aššur-rabi, and Aššur-lamassī. She is in charge of the archives of Enlil-bāni and is asked to be sure that his representatives do not take any more tablets than they are allowed to.

219. A Woman Is to Place a Tablet in Safekeeping

Obv. ¹um-ma Ku-zu-um-ma ²a-na Šu-ma-a-bi₄-a ³ú Ma-kà qí-bi₄-ma ⁴1 túg tí-sà-ba-am ² na-ah!(HI)-lá-pá-té ⁵a-na šú-ha-ri ú šú-ha-ar-ti ⁶Sí-in-gal na-áš-a-ku-nu-tí ⁷1 túg a-na ší-mi-im : dí-na-ma ⁸i-na ší-im túg ³ gín kù-babbar ⁹a-na e-mi-iq-tim ¹⁰dí-na-ma šú-ha-ra-am ¹¹šé-ší-a-ni ² gín kù-babbar ¹²a-na Ma-kà dí-in lo.e. ¹³ší-tí kù-babbar sà-he-er-tám ¹⁴le-qé-a-ni rev. ¹⁵a-na Šu-ma-bi₄-a qí-bi₄-ma ¹⁶a-hi a-ta šú-ha-ra-am ¹⁷lá té-zi-ba-am šú-ha-ra-am ¹⁸i-na pá-ni-kà šé-ší-am ¹⁹a-na Ma-kà qí-bi₄-ma ²⁰tup-pá-am ša ší-im ébe-tí ²¹ša šu-um a-bi₄-a «tí» : ú-du-ú ²²um-mi a-tí tup-pá-am ²³šu-a-tí : a-tí ú Šu-ma-bi₄-a ²⁴tup-pé-e-a pè-té-a-ma ²⁵i-na li-bi₄ tup-pé-e-a ²⁶šu-uk-na-ma : Šu-ma-bi₄-a ²⁷li-ik-nu-uk u.e. ²⁸šu-ma tup-pá-am i-na ²⁹li-bi₄ tup-pé-e-a le.e. ³⁰lá ta-áš-ta-ak-ni : lá um-mi/-i «a» ³¹a-tí : pá-na-ra-am I-dingir-ku ³²na-áš-a-ki-<im> iš-tí Ha-du-a : lu-be-ri ³³ú ša-áp-ta-am ⁵ ma-na

^{1–3}Thus (says) Kuzum: say to Šumi-abiya and Maka.

^{4–6}Suen-rabi is bringing you a *tisābum*-textile and 2 tunics for the boy and the girl. ^{7–11}Sell 1 textile and give from the price of the textile 3 shekels of silver to the nanny, and get the boy free. ^{11–12}Give 2 shekels of

silver to Maka.^{13–14}(With) the remainder of the silver, take for me small wares.

¹⁵Say to Šumi-abiya.^{16–18}You are my brother; you must not abandon the boy, get the boy free personally.

¹⁹Say to Maka.^{20–26}Concerning the tablet of the house sale on which my father's name is written, as you are my mother, that very tablet, you yourself and Šumi-abiya open the tablet (container) and place (it) with my tablets, and^{26–27}have Šumi-abiya seal (the container).^{28–31}If you haven't put the tablet with my tablets, you are no longer my mother! Iluku is bringing you 1 *pannurum*.^{32–33}With Hadua, the *lubērū*-garments and the wool, 5 minas, [...]

Bibliography: Text published by Michel and Garelli as TPAK 1, 32 (Kt 90/k 236).

Comments: The woman Maka is asked by Kuzum to place a document of his father in his archives. Then Šumi-abiya must reseal the tablet container. This suggests that Maka had no seal of her own.

Line 4: for other references to the native Anatolian *tisābum*-textile, see Michel and Veenhof 2010, 245.

Line 32: the *lubērū*-garment would be of low quality according to CTMMA 1, 79:19–23; see Michel and Veenhof 2010, 234.

Line 33: the verb of the sentence is missing.

220. A Woman Is Asked to Seal a Document with Her Husband's Agents

Obv. ¹a-na Ku-li-a qí-bi-ma ²um-ma A-ba-ba-a-a-ma ³a-na-kam 1½ ma-na kù-babbar ⁴ša a-na mu-lá-e-i ⁵ša é Sá*-ba-sí-a ⁶ni-il₅-qé-ú : be-el⁷qá-tá-tí-a ša iš-tí-a ⁸i-zi-zu-i-ni 5-šu-nu ⁹i-na-zu-mu-ú ¹⁰um-ma šu-nu-ma ¹¹ṭup-pá-am ša ku-nu-ki-ki ¹²dí-ni-ni-a-tí ¹³ša kù-babbar a-na rev. ¹⁴ší-it : Ku-li-a ¹⁵i-ší-iq-lu-i-ni ¹⁶kù-babbar 1 ma-na-um ¹⁷gín ni-il₅-qé ¹⁸a-pu-tum 5 gín kù-babbar ¹⁹a-bu-kà : a-šu-ur ²⁰ù ni-ší-kà 1 gín kù-babbar-ta ²¹a-šu-ur ²²ù ta-zi-ma-tí-ší-na ²³lá áš-ta-na-me-e ²⁴a-pu-tum ša a-wi-lu-tí-/kà u.e. ²⁵e-pu-uš le.e. ²⁶a-pu-tum kù-babbar a-na A-šùr-/şú-lu-li ²⁷dí-in-ma lu-ub-lam ²⁸a-na-kam lá* ú-ša-ah-du-ru-ni

^{1–2}Say to Kuliya: thus (says) Ababaya.

^{3–10}Here, (concerning) the 1½ mina of silver which we took to supplement (the cost) of Sabasiya's house, my guarantors, who assisted me, all 5 of them are complaining as follows: ^{11–15}“Give us a tablet with your seal (showing) that the silver has been paid for Kuliya's expenses. ^{16–17}We have borrowed the silver (at an interest of) 7 shekels per mina.” ^{18–19}Urgent! Provide your father with 5 shekels of silver. ^{20–23}Also, provide each of your people with 1 shekel of silver so that I have no longer to listen to their complaints! ^{24–25}Urgent! Act as the gentleman you are! ^{26–27}Urgent! Give silver to Aššur-şululī so he can bring it to me. ²⁸Here they should not cause me anxiety.

Bibliography: Text published by Veenhof as AKT 5, 10 (Kt 92/k 214); collated May 2012.

Comments: Ababaya, an Assyrian lady, was married to Kuliya, messenger of the *kārum* of Kaneš.⁶⁰ She is living in Aššur and has had to deal with the complaints of guarantors asking her for a document bearing her seal confirming that the borrowed silver has been applied to Kuliya's expenses. They may have succeeded since we learn from another letter that “your wife has sealed (the debt-note) together with us” (AKT 5, 13:20–21). This matter is also mentioned in texts AKT 5, 14–15 and 30.

221. Various Textiles Shipped to Anatolia Are Sealed by the Writer and a Woman

Obv. ¹a-na Šu-pi-a-ah-šu-šar ²ù Ha-tí-tim qí-bi₄-ma um-ma ³Šu¹-Lá-ba¹-a[n ù] A-sà-a-ma ⁴1 túg ku-ta-nam qá-áb-li-am ⁵a-na Šu-pi¹-a¹-ah-šu-šar ⁶1 túg ší-it-ra-a[m] ša A-ki-dí-e ⁷a-na Um-mi-na-ra 1 ší*-it*-ra*-a[m]* ⁸ša¹ A-ki-dí-e a-na Ha-tí-tim ⁹ku-nu-ki-a-ma!(E) ù ku-nu-ki ¹⁰A-ni-ni : me¹-er-i-tí-ki-na ¹¹Ma¹-ší-li kà-şa-ar ¹²Ma-nu-ba-lu-um-A-na ¹³na-áš-a-ki-na-tí : ù a-na ¹⁴Wa-ar-dim ù Me-me-e ¹⁵iš-tí wa-ar-ki-ú-tim ¹⁶ú-şé-ba-lam kù-babbar ¹⁷a-ma-kam ša ub-lá-ni rev. ¹⁸a-wi-il₅-tum ta-ta-ba-al-ma ¹⁹ša ^{1/3} ma-na kù-babbar ²⁰tù-dí-tám té-pu-şa-am ²¹re-eh-tám ta-ta-ba-al ²²kù-ki mi-ma Šu-Ku-bu-um ²³lá i-dí-nam mu-tù-um ²⁴i-a-tù-ma : En-na-ma-num ²⁵mì-ma lá i-dí-nam ²⁶um-ma šu-ut-ma ^{2/3} ma-na kù-babbar ²⁷i-na wa-ar-ki-tí-a ²⁸a-da-na-ki-im 1½ gín kù-babbar ²⁹A-lá-hu-um ub-lam

60. Veenhof, AKT 5, pp. 20–21.

1 *mu-uš-tum*³⁰2! *ší-kà-tum*₈ i-giš *ma-al-a-/ší-na-ma*³¹ *ší-kà-tám šu-ma na ar?* *kù-gi*³² *i-qé-er-bi₄-im* *ša-ak-nu-ni**³³ *lá i-de₈* *i-be-tí-ni*³⁴ *ih-tí-li-iq* : *pá-ar-ší-gám*³⁵ *dumu Ha-na-na-ri-im ub-lá-ki-<im>* le.e.³⁶ *na-ah-lá-áp-tám En-um!¹-i-lí* : *ni-a-um**³⁷ *ub!(SÍ)-lá-ki-im* *ší-kà-tám ša kù-babbar* 2 *tù-dí-na*-tim**³⁸ *i-ṣa-ba-tim* : [x x x]-*ku-ur*-tám*³⁹ *mu-ṣa-am mì-ma e*-zi*-bu* *še-bi₄-lim*

¹⁻³Say to Šuppiahšušar and Hattītim: thus (say) Šu-Labā[n and] Asaya.

⁴⁻⁵1 middle-quality *kutānum*-textile for Šuppiahšušar,⁶⁻⁷1 Akkadian shawl for Umminara,⁷⁻⁸1 Akkadian shawl for Hattītim,⁹⁻¹⁰under my seal and the seal of Anini, your daughter,¹¹⁻¹³ Mannum-balum-Anna's harnessor, Maši-(i)lī, is bringing you.¹³⁻¹⁶Also, I will send (things) for Wardum and Memē by a later (caravan).

¹⁶⁻²¹The lady appropriated the silver that he brought there, and made me a garment pin for $\frac{1}{3}$ mina of silver.²¹She (also) appropriated the remainder (of the silver).²²⁻²⁵Šu-Kūbum did not give me any gold. Nor did my own husband, Ennam-Anum, give me any,²⁶⁻²⁸(saying) as follows: "I will give you $\frac{2}{3}$ mina of silver after my departure."²⁸⁻²⁹Ali-ahum brought me $1\frac{1}{2}$ shekels of silver.²⁹⁻³⁴1 comb, 2 *šikkatum*-bottles that have been filled of oil, and concerning the *šikkatum* in which a golden [...] was put inside, have (all) disappeared from our house; I don't know how.

³⁴⁻³⁷The son of Hannanārum brought you a sash. Our Ennum-ilī brought you a tunic.³⁷⁻³⁹A silver *šikkatum*-bottle, 2 garment pins, earrings [...], a *muššum*-jewel—send me all that I left.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Smith as CCT 3, 31; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 332).

Comments: This letter, addressed to two women, mentions the shipment of various textiles from Aššur sealed by a man and a woman, Anini; she is referred to as the "daughter" of the two recipients of the letter.

Line 30: *šikkatum* is not attested as a container but may here be a kind of bottle, since it is filled with oil.

Line 34: note that the verb *ihtiliq* is a singular, but it is translated by a plural form. For the *paršigum*, "a sash, often used as headdress," see Michel and Veenhof 2010, 238.

222. A Woman Sends a Document Bearing Her Seal

Obv. ¹*a-na Pu-šu-ke-en₆* ²*qí-bi-ma um-ma* ³*Šu-bu-ul-tum-ma* ⁴⁷ *túg ku-*
ta-ni ⁵*dub ku-nu-ki-a* ⁶*Dan-A-šur* ⁷*na-áš-a-kum* ⁸*da-tám* ⁹*ù ni-is-ha-tim*
¹⁰*ú-lá i-lá-mu-du¹(UD)* ¹¹*šu-ma a-bi a-ta* ¹²*iš-tí pá-ni-ú-tim* ¹³*šú-ha-ra-am*
¹⁴*tù-ur-da-šu*

¹⁻³Say to Pūšu-kēn: thus (says) Šūbultum.

⁴⁻⁷Dān-Aššur is bringing you ⁷*kutānum*-textiles (and) a tablet with my seal; ⁸⁻¹⁰they are not liable to *dātum*-toll and import tax. ¹¹⁻¹⁴If you are my father, send me the servant with the earliest (caravan).

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Clay as BIN 4, 85; edited by Łyczkowska (1978, 132–33); translated by Michel (2001a, no. 371).

Comments: A document bearing her seal impression is added to the textile consignment sent by Šūbultum to Kaneš. The identity of this woman remains unknown; she is also the sender of letter 195, addressed to Pūšu-kēn.

223. A Woman Seals Boxes of Tablets

Obv. ¹*a-na Mu-sà ú Pu-šu-ke-en₆* ²*qí-bi-ma um-ma Lá-ma-ša-ma* ³³ *ku-*
sí-a-tum : sí-ta sú-a-tum ⁴² *me-at ba-pí-<ri>* 20 *na-ru-uq* ⁵*ú-tá-tum :*
⁷*ar-ha-lu* ⁶*šá-ba* 2 *ba-du-tum* 2 *ba-áb-ru-/um* ⁷*15 e-sú-ú ša-áp-lá-nu-/um*
⁸*i-ba-sí-ú : 17 e-sí I-dí-Ku-<bu>-/um il₅-/qé* ⁹*a-ša-be-šu qá-áb-li-a-/um*
¹⁰*ša kú-babbar sí-ta* ¹¹*qá-áb-li-a-tum ša urudu lo.e.* ¹²*11 sà-ma¹-lá-tu[m] ú*
iš-té-/en₆ ¹³*ta-as-k[á-r]i-n[um]* ¹⁴*a-ša-lá-sí-šu rev.* ¹⁵*ta-ma-lá-ku ša tup-pè*
¹⁶*i-na sí-li-a-ni ká-an-ku* ¹⁷*ku-nu¹-ki-a* 1 *it-qú-ru-um* ¹⁸*a-na ki-sí-ni a-na*
ša-pár-tim ¹⁹*i-ni-dí-ma sí-im ki-sí-né-e* ²⁰*e-zi-ba-ki-ma it-qú-ru a-na (sic!)*
²¹*qá-tí-ki e-zi-ib-šu a-ha-tí* ²²*a-tí : a-ma-kam i-ša-ha-at* ²³*Pu-šu-ke-en₆* *i-*
zi-<zí>-ma ²⁴*a-na ébé-tim er-bi₄-ma* ²⁵*mì-ma a-nim ú-nu-tim u.e.* ²⁶*pá-qi-*
d[i-š]u¹-um šu-ma ²⁷*tup-p[i]* *ša li-bi₄* ²⁸*ší-li-a-nim* ²⁹*ša-ak¹-nu¹-ni a-na éti*
³⁰*tú-uš-té-sí tup-pi-ki* ³¹*a-na Pu-šu-ke-en₆ dí-n[i]*

¹⁻²Say to Musa and Pūšu-kēn: thus (says) Lamaša.

³⁻⁵3 *kusītum*-textiles, 2 *sūm*-stones, 2 hundred beer breads, 20 sacks of grain, 7 *arhalum*-utensils, ⁶⁻⁸including 2 *badutum*, 2 *babrum*, (and)

15 logs are still down there.⁸Iddin-Kūbum took 17 logs.^{9–17}*qablītum*-containers of silver, 2 *qablītum*-containers of copper, 11 cups, plus 1 piece of boxwood (and) a set of 3 *tamalakkum*-chests with tablets are in the *śilianū*-containers, sealed with my seal.^{17–19}A ladle was given as pledge for the vetch; I left you the price of the vetch, and I left the ladle at your disposal.^{21–23}You are my sister; assist there Pūšu-kēn;^{24–26}enter the house and entrust all these utensils to him.^{26–30}If you have removed the tablets that have been placed inside the *śilianum*-container to the house, give your tablets to Pūšu-kēn.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Clay as BIN 4, 90; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 368). Lines 9–16 cited by J. Lewy (1950, 4–5).

Comments: The letter has been sent by Lamaša from Aššur. As for the addressee, Musa is cited before Pūšu-kēn, perhaps because the letter is clearly addressed to her: all the second-person forms are feminine. Letter 210, which concerns the same correspondents and deals with the same topics, is specifically addressed to Musa. Lamaša has sealed three chests (*tamalakkum*) containing tablets that are kept inside *śilianū*-containers.

Lines 5–7: the *arhalum* and its two subcategories, *b/pad/tutum* and *b/pab/prum*, are unknown objects.

Lines 9, 11, 15–16, 28: if *qablītum* is some kind of metal container, the *tamalakkum* is a wooden chest, and the *śilianum* could be made of clay.

Note that this tablet expresses quantities both with numerals and by words (lines 3, 9–10, 12, 14).

224. A Female Servant Seals Silver

Obv. ¹še-bu--ta-am ²³gín kù-babbar *ku-nu-ki-a* ³a-na Áb-ša-lim ù
⁴Na-na-a a-na <Šu>-Hu-bur ⁵1 šé-bu-ul-ta-am ⁶3 gín kù-babbar lo.e. ⁷ku-
nu-ki-a rev. ⁸a-na A-ha-ha ⁹1 šé-bu-ul-ta-am ¹⁰1 gín kù-babbar *ku-nu-ki*
¹¹ša am-tim a-na ¹²Na-na-a dumu *Bu-du-/du* ¹³a-na *A-bi₄-a-a* ¹⁴dumu *En-*
na-nim u.e. ¹⁵áp-qí-id le.e. ¹⁶igi *A-du-da*

^{1–4}1 consignment of 3 shekels of silver under my seal for Ab-šalim and Nanaya (I have entrusted) to Šu-Hubur. ^{5–8}1 consignment of 3 shekels of silver under my seal for Ahaha, ^{9–12}1 consignment of 1 shekel of silver un-

der the seal of the maid for Nanaya, son of Bududu,^{13–15} I entrusted to Abiaya, son of Ennānum.

¹⁶In the presence of Aduda.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by J. Lewy as KTS 1, 50a; edited by Eisser and Lewy (1930, no. 117).

Comments: This short text refers to small consignments of silver sent from Kaneš for men and women (Ab-šalim, Ahaha) living in Aššur. Among these, a consignment of one shekel of silver has been sealed by a female servant or a wife (*amtum*).

Line 4: Donbaz (2015, 68) suggests to read after collation *Na-na-a* *du[mu P]u-šu-hu-šu*.

WOMEN AND WRITING

Considering the number of letters women at Aššur sent to their husbands at Kaneš, one may suppose that they in turn received as many or more letters from Kaneš and other Assyrian commercial settlements in Asia Minor. Likewise, women at Kaneš receive numerous letters sent either from Aššur or from other places in the Anatolian interior. When a merchant sent instructions to his agents, he sometimes sent a duplicate to his wife. Did she have to ask a scribe or a literate member of her family to read it to her? No scribe is ever mentioned whom she would have to employ to write her correspondence. While it is possible that some letters sent by women from Aššur were written by their eldest sons still at home, who, in some cases, got scribal training, the broader question of who wrote their tablets may be put this way: how many people, men or women, did it take to produce, in the span of some sixty years, the more than twenty-two thousand tablets so far found at the site of Kultepe?⁶¹

61. For a catalogue of Old Assyrian tablets, see Michel 2003a, 2006c, 2011a, 2015e. For the chronological distribution of the documentation, see Veenhof 2003d; Kryszat 2004; Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen 2012. Michel 2009c takes up the issue of how much women wrote. This topic is dealt with more generally for the ancient Near East in the work from which this section has been extracted, Briquel-Chatonnet et al. 2009, as well as Lion 2011.

The archives at Kaneš give the names of several scribes (dub-sar).⁶² Their tablets are well made and covered with careful writing, and they sometimes make use of unusual cuneiform signs. Most of these scribes' work was for the day-to-day administration of the trade bureau, and no doubt also for the larger business enterprises, and some of them hired out their services to the Anatolian chancelleries. Unlike Old Babylonian practice, scribes are rarely mentioned among the witnesses to contracts. No woman's name figures among those of a few dozen known scribes. These scribes, presumably paid for their secretarial work, produced documents that can be readily distinguished from those written by educated merchants who could write their own tablets. The merchants' tablets use a simplified syllabary containing somewhere between eighty and one hundred twenty syllabic signs, and a few dozen word signs.⁶³ The great mobility of the merchants and the sheer volume of the correspondence found at Kaneš strongly suggest that a substantial proportion of the Assyrian population were ready to take up a stylus without worrying too much about mistakes in syntax, grammar, or spelling.

Certain women evidently did learn to read. They were able to arrange documents in their archives and could write tablets. Although their grammar and syntax may sometimes be rather wobbly, as those of uneducated men, their choice of words sometimes reveals their personalities. Some Assyrian women's letters show their hopes for a harmonious and prosperous life in society. Their letters often have a high emotional content and seem to use everyday speech.⁶⁴ Certain expressions seem to be more typical of women than of men. For example, women's letters often refer to intemperate comments that they have heard or read; the expression used is (*awātim*) *himtātim*, literally, "heated words."⁶⁵ This phrase is generally used with the verb *šapārum*, "send (a tablet)," as in the letter of Tarām-Kūbi to her husband, Innaya: "Why do you always pay attention to slander and keep writing me angry words?" (128). In another instance, Aššur-taklāku's sister, Tariša, writes, "Why do you write me angry words?"⁶⁶ The expression occurs also sometimes in men's letters, directed at women (225).⁶⁷

62. Larsen 1976, 304–7; Dercksen 2004a, 74.

63. Michel 2008b.

64. Larsen 2001; Michel 2001a, ch. 7; 2010d.

65. Hirsch 1967; Larsen 1971, 2001.

66. Kt 93/k 198:3–4: *a-wa-tim, hi-im-tá-tim ta-áš-pu-ra-ni*.

67. ATHE 41:20; CCT 2, 6:7; VS 26, 4:7; VS 26, 52:5–6.

Sending a tablet need not mean, of course, that it was actually written out by the sender.⁶⁸ There is a verb, *lapātum*, which, in Old Assyrian, when used with the word *tuppum*, means to “write out” or “draw up” a tablet.⁶⁹ Its use may be significant; when someone says that he has sent a letter, that does not imply that he wrote it himself, unless he uses *lapātum*. Hence, the use of this verb in her letter to Zikri-elka should mean that Hattītum herself wrote her rather indignant message (226). And Abaya explains to her brother-in-law that she knows how to draw up the accounts that concern him (227).

A summons relating to a lawsuit between Hanunu, son of Šilli-Ištar, and Laqēp, son of Wardum, refers specifically to documents drawn up by a woman. Hanunu mentions certain measures he had taken previously, “Obtain for me the tablets concerning 1 mina of silver that Šāt-Ištar, the wife of Aššur-taklāku, drew up.”⁷⁰ Šāt-Ištar is unfortunately poorly attested elsewhere. She was the mother of Walawala, according to the latter’s divorce record (35), and the mother of Maruru (TC 3, 246). She may well be the same woman who, according to an anonymous account, sends small sums of silver from Kaneš to Aššur (BIN 6, 175).

Finally, among the rare Old Assyrian tablets found at Aššur is a letter from a woman to the goddess Tašmētum (242). Letters to gods, or letter-prayers, could, in the Old Babylonian period, be placed in front of a cult statue in a temple, with a gift. Such letters were generally written by kings or queens or members of the elite.⁷¹ The Old Assyrian letter to Tašmētum, of which only the opening line is preserved, came from a woman named Akatiya, well attested in documents found at Kaneš in 1962; she may well have been related to the Assyrian royal family (see chapter 6).⁷² This letter could have been written by Akatiya herself, since she was a member of the Assyrian nobility.

68. Veenhof 2008d. The recipient of the letter is aware of “someone who hears it” (*šēmūm*), cf. Wilcke 2000; Charpin 2008.

69. Its meaning corresponds to the Old Babylonian verb *šatārum*; see Wilcke 2000.

70. TC 3, 269:9–12: *tup-pí-i, ša 1 ma-na kù-babbar, ša Ša-at-Ištar dam A-šur-ták-lá-ku, tal-pu-ut^l(TÚ)-ni šé-sí-a-am.*

71. There is, for example, the draft of a letter sent by Zimrī-Lîm, king of Mari, to the river god (ARMT 26, 191). For this type of letters, see Hallo 1981.

72. Her brother, Ušur-ša-Ištar, son of Aššur-imitti, exchanged letters with the king of Aššur; see Michel 2015c and chapter 6, pp. 397–410.

225. A Man Answers Two Women Who Rebuked Him by Letter

Obv. ¹um-ma *E-ni-ba-áš-ma a-na* ²Ha-tí-tim ú *Ba-ba-ar-Ší-ma-lá* ³qí-bi-ma *mí-nam* ⁴hi-im-ṭa-tí-im *ta-áš-ta-na-pá-ra-n[im]* ⁵a-na-ku : *a-na-kam* ⁶a-na *ší-a-ma-tim* *wa-áš-ba-ku* ú ⁷kù-babbar *ša a-ma-kam* *a-na nu-a-im* ⁸a-hi-ib^l(BI)-lu-ni *a-na-nu-um* ⁹kù-babbar *ú-šé-bi-lá-ma* ¹⁰E-ri-ri-a : *iš-qú-ul-šu* ¹¹ba-pí-ra-am rev. ¹²ú *bu-qú-lá-am* ¹³ša *e-zí-ba-ki-na-tí-ni* ¹⁴a-na *ší-ta* : ¹⁵ki-na-tí : *lá ma-ṣf*^l ¹⁶ú 5 gín kù-babbar *še-bu-lá-tí-im* ¹⁷uš-té-bi-*lá-ki-na-tí* ¹⁸1½ gín kù-babbar *Tú-na* ¹⁹ir *ša A-hu-qar* ²⁰na-áš-a-ki-na-tí ²¹*Nu-ur-ki-li* *še-bu-ul-tám* ²²*mí-ma lá ub-lam*

¹⁻³Thus (says) Ē-nibāš: say to Hattītum and Babbar-Šimala.

³⁻⁴Why do you keep writing me angry words? ⁵⁻⁶As to me, I am here to make purchases, and ⁷⁻⁹I sent from here the silver that I came to owe there to the Anatolian (creditor), and ¹⁰Eririya paid it. ¹¹⁻¹⁵The beer bread and the malt that I left for you (fem. pl.) was not enough for the two of you, ¹⁶⁻¹⁷so I sent you, (in several) consignments, 5 shekels of silver. ¹⁸⁻²⁰Tuna, Ahu-(wa)qar's slave, is bringing you 1½ shekels of silver. ²¹⁻²²Nūr-kī-ilī has not brought me any consignment.

Bibliography: Text published by Jankovskaja as KTK, 67.

Comments: Ē-nibāš answers a letter that Hattītum and Babbar-Šimala, two women, wrote to him in which they rebuked him. He is aware that he did not leave them enough food and several times sent some silver.

Babbar-Šimala is attested here for the first time. Eririya occurs also in Kt o/k 113:17.

226. A Woman Writes Her Own Letter to Another Woman

Obv. ¹a-na *Ha-tí-tim* ²qí-bi-ma *um-ma* ³Zi-ik-ri-el-kà-ma ⁴li-lu-tí-i ⁵ta-áš-me-i-ma ⁶a-wa-tim (erasure) ⁷ha-am-ṭá-tim ⁸tù-lá-pí-tim lo.e. ⁹[m]a²-a *um-ma a-tí-/ma* ¹⁰[x x x-i/u]š-tum rev. ¹¹x [x x x x] ¹²ù *a-hi iš-tù* ¹³mu-5-še *lá-šu* ¹⁴a-ni-a-tim ¹⁵<tù>-lá-pí-tí-im ¹⁶iš-tù *a-na Wa-ah-šu-ša-/na* ¹⁷a-li-kà-ni *li-bi*₄ ¹⁸[a]-di *ha-am-ší-šu* u.e. ¹⁹im-[r]a-ṣ₂ ²⁰a-ma-kam *ša-il*₅-tám ²¹*ša-li-ma*¹ le.e. ²²té-er-tí-[ki] ²³li-l[i-kam]

¹⁻³Say to Hattītum: thus (says) Zikri-Elka.

⁴⁻⁸You heard of my foolishness and wrote me angry words! ⁹⁻¹³Indeed, you (wrote) as follows: “[...] and my brother has been absent for 5 years!” This is what you wrote out to me.

¹⁶⁻¹⁹Since I came to Wahšušana, I have had heartache 5 times over!
²⁰⁻²³Consult a female dream interpreter there and send me your report.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Stephens as BIN 6, 93; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 333).

Comments: Zikri-Elka answers a letter from Hattītum. She twice uses the verb *lapātum*, “to write down, write out,” with reference to her, implying that Hattītum wrote the letter herself. “Foolishness” may refer to irresponsible behavior.

227. A Woman Draws Up Some Accounts

Obv. ¹a-na *I-na-a qí-bi-ma* ²um-ma *A-ba-a-a-<ma>* 3 *ku-ta-nu* ³A-ba-ta-na-nu-um ⁴na-áš-a-kum 1 túg *kà-áb-tám* ⁵Šu-mì-a-bi-a na-áš-a-kum ⁶é a-hi-kà a-ta-ma ⁷tí-de₈-e : *ki-ma* 1 gín ⁸kù-babbar *a-śar lá-qá-im* ⁹lá i-ba-śí-ú : *mì-nam* ¹⁰a-na 10 *ma-na* kù-babbar ¹¹a-ni-śa-am *ta-áš-ta-na-pár* ¹²i-hi-id-ma kù-babbar ¹³a-ma-kam *le-qé* ¹⁴ma *i-na a-lá-ki-kà* ¹⁵šú-lu-um *pá-ni* ¹⁶lá *tù-kà-lá-ma-ni* rev. ¹⁷šu-ma *be-lí a-ta* ¹⁸kù-babbar *ša Puzur-Sú-en*₆ ¹⁹ša *il*₅ *qé-ú* ²⁰lá *i-ga-ma-ar-ma* ²¹i-hi-id kù-babbar^{áp}-kà ²²a-ma-kam-ma *le-qé* ²³i-na *ša iš-tí-śu* ²⁴ba-tí-iq-tám ²⁵ú *wa-ta-ar-tám* ²⁶a-lá-pá-ta-ku-ni ²⁷li-ba-kà *lá i-lá-mì-in!* ²⁸um-ma *a-na-ku-ma* ²⁹a-dí *li-hi-id-ma* ³⁰kù-babbar *li-dí-na-kum-ma* le.e. ³¹hi-im-tá-tim ú-lá-pí-tám ³²mì-nam *ša-zu-uz-tí-kà lá-áš-pu!* ³³a-ma-kam *a-ta-ma ša-il*₅

¹⁻²Say to Innaya: thus (says) Abaya.

²⁻⁴Abatanānum is bringing you 3 *kutānum*-textiles. ⁴⁻⁵Šumi-abiya is bringing you 1 heavy textile. ⁶⁻⁹(Concerning) your brother’s house, you know perfectly well that there is not a shekel, no silver to be had there. ⁹⁻¹¹Why do you keep writing me here for 10 minas of silver here? ¹²⁻¹³Be sure to get silver there. ¹⁴⁻¹⁶Also, when you do come, don’t show me a dark face!

¹⁷⁻²²If you are my lord, the silver that Puzur-Suen took, he should not spend it, so see to it that you get your silver there. ²³⁻²⁷Do not blame me for the fact that I might write down for you as owed by him more or less!

²⁸I (thought) as follows: ^{29–31}“Let him anyhow take care to give you the silver, although he wrote me angry words.” ³²Why should I *approach* your agents? ³³Ask (them) yourself there!

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Smith as CCT 4, 8a; edited by Michel (1991, no. 56); translated by Michel (2001a, no. 272).

Comments: Abaya was the wife of Šu-Kūbum, an older brother of Innaya. When she wrote this letter, she was presumably a widow.

Line 32: the translation of this sentence is very tentative.