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HOUSEWIVES

What the Assyrian male wanted in his marriage was primarily a helpmeet who would give him children, keep house, and cook for him (3). But the women who sent the letters found at Kaneš did not accompany their husbands to Anatolia; they remained at Aššur in charge of their households. The solitude of these women, left alone for many months by their husbands, was notorious, as shown by the remark of a merchant who reproaches his correspondent for having forgotten him entirely:¹ “Why have you kept me confined inside the city (of Aššur) for ten months, as if I were a woman?” At Aššur, besides representing their husbands in business transactions and producing textiles for export to Anatolia, these women were active in various capacities that reflect the daily life of women at home as well as their roles as heads of families.² At Kaneš, merchants’ wives had to contend with their husbands’ frequent absences. They received letters full of instructions about business matters in progress, in which they were expected to take part, as well as about proper upkeep of the household.

Both Assyrian and Anatolian women spent much of their time looking after and educating their children, though how many is seldom known. Prosopographical studies can give some indication of the number of children women had to raise, and the reconstructed family trees of several large Assyrian merchant families show at least how many sons reached adulthood. The wife of Aššur-idī had at least three sons active in business.³ One of them, Aššur-nādā, married an Assyrian woman, perhaps named Parrurtum, who presented him with a son and several daughters, although she could not bring them up, perhaps because she died in child-

1. See introduction, note 1.

2. See chapter 4.

3. Larsen 2002, xix.

birth or from the complications of a difficult delivery.⁴ The second wife of Aššur-nādā, an Anatolian woman, produced at least one daughter and a son who reached adulthood.⁵ Tarām-Kūbi, wife of Innaya, had five sons, all of whom joined the family business (fig. 19);⁶ likewise, Lamassī, wife of the well-known Pūšu-kēn, raised his five sons and at least one daughter, if not two (fig. 16).⁷ Nuhšatum, wife of Ennum-Aššur, gave birth to at least two sons and a daughter.⁸ Lamassatum, wife of Elamma, bore four or five sons and two daughters who reached adulthood.⁹ Daughters were not generally mentioned, and they remain rare in the reconstructed family trees. Also infant mortality was probably high. For the three to six children of a woman who reached adulthood, there were perhaps two or three additional ones who, if not stillborn, did not survive childhood diseases. Finally, wills and texts referring to division among heirs after the death of the head of a family give an indication of the number of children surviving their father, although such documents do not mention married daughters, who would already have received their portion as their dowry.¹⁰ More prosperous families, it seems, tended to have more children than less advantaged ones, because they could provide for them and leave an estate sufficiently large to be distributed among a fair number of people.

For household help, a woman could have a few or many slaves, depending on her standard of living. Estimating the number of persons per household in Aššur or Kaneš is difficult because two, even three, generations might live in the same house. Besides family members and domestics, traveling business associates were regularly accommodated, to the extent that some left their archives along with those of the head of the household in Kaneš.¹¹ In her husband's absence—the length of which is difficult to evaluate—the housewife had to keep up the family home and manage any other family real estate, as well as keep track of everything in the home: furnishings and utensils, documents, and merchandise.

4. Michel 2001a, 363–70.

5. Larsen 2002, xxv–xxix.

6. Michel 1991, 76–88, 126–40.

7. Michel 2001a, 426.

8. Michel 2001a, 507–11; according to Veenhof (2015c, 279), she was the mother of the girl Šazua.

9. Veenhof 2007.

10. See chapter 2 and Michel 2015b.

11. Michel and Garelli, TPAK 1, 27–34.

MOTHERHOOD

How old men or women tended to be at marriage or procreation is practically unknown for ancient Mesopotamia.¹² Although there are images of mothers or wet nurses, of indefinable age, nursing babies and children are rarely depicted, in contrast to ancient Egypt.¹³ Maternity is referred to in medical, divination, and magical texts, including conception, pregnancy, childbirth, and problems with nursing.¹⁴ Law codes are concerned with miscarriages and abortions, wet nursing, and adoptions.

Old Assyrian documentation is no exception to this: aside from the mention of a midwife (*šabsūtum*), mother of a merchant, maternity occurs only in magical texts, which are rare in the Kaneš archives.¹⁵ Three incantations of the ten now known are concerned with the pregnant woman and the infant. One of them is intended to ease the labor of a woman in childbirth, comparing her to the cow impregnated by the moon god Suen, as well as to the outlet of a watercourse (117). In fact, the child's watery surroundings were seen as something he had to be freed from. Because the moment of birth was particularly dangerous for both mother and child, incantations were recited that were supposed to help the mother give birth. This was done crouched over, with the knees braced on bricks.¹⁶

The other two incantations deal rather with childhood diseases: one is concerned with the jaundice that often affects newborns; the other is directed at the demon Lamaštum, who attacked mothers with puerperal fever, as well as babies (117, 118). Infants were particularly subject to

12. Roth (1987, 747) analyzed two population groups of the Neo-Babylonian period and proposed that "there is more than a decade age difference between spouses.... A bride will be in her middle or late teens, with a father in his fifties and a mother in her early to mid-forties. The bride's husband would be about thirty and her mother-in-law about fifty, almost the age of her own father."

13. Parayre 1997. Ancient Near Eastern iconography shows mainly queens, elite women, and high priestesses; see, for example, for the third millennium BCE, Asher-Greve 2006; Suter 2008.

14. Farber 1989; Stol 2000a; Lion, Michel, and Villard 1997. The more recent study by Couto-Ferreira 2016 on mothers does not take into account the Old Assyrian sources.

15. TC 3, 219a:8–9: *Šu-Ištar*, *dumu ša-ab-sú-tim*; and TC 3, 219b:11–13: *Šu-Ištar* (seal C), *dumu ša-áb-sú-tim*.

16. Stol 2000a.

digestive troubles or to fretfulness, as shown by crying and agitation.¹⁷ The demon Lamaštu was deemed responsible for most childhood illnesses, the crying of babies, and the death of newborns. Passing herself off as a midwife, she might strangle the baby or poison him with her milk. She was warded off by exorcistic rituals and the recitation of incantations, so it is no surprise that an incantation of this type was found in an Assyrian merchant's house in Kaneš.

Among the rare references to birth is that of a child of a king used to date a loan between Anatolians (119). Lack of children is more frequently referred to. Thus, certain marriage contracts provide for the case that the couple has not succeeded in having a child (23, 24). According to the world order established in the myth of Atra-hasis, there were in fact women who gave birth and women who did not, the latter including both barren and consecrated women, who were forbidden to bear children.¹⁸ Adoption of either babies or adults could remedy childlessness. A childless couple could adopt a man to maintain them in their old age and inherit their property at their death. The adopted child enjoyed the same rights as the biological one. The Kaneš archives have yielded several adoption contracts among Anatolians (22, 120), but only one among Assyrians has been discovered so far, clearly later than most of the documentation found at Kaneš and perhaps from Aššur.¹⁹ One may suppose that adoption contracts, like marriage contracts, were kept at Aššur.

In well-to-do families, the newborn could be turned over to a wet nurse. This practice is well attested among elites, for example at Ebla and Mari,²⁰ but must have been current among ordinary people as well, as shown by the Code of Hammurabi, where section 194 punishes a nurse who had several contracts at the same time with different families, to the detriment of the children in her care.²¹ Some Old Babylonian contracts do

17. Farber 1989; Cadelli 1997.

18. See chapter 5, pp. 376–93.

19. This text, preserved in Amsterdam and published by Veenhof (1982b), shows both Babylonian and Assyrian characteristics. The proper names it quotes are not attested in the Old Assyrian documentation but are well known from the Middle Assyrian onomastic. It is dated to the eponym Išme-Dagan, son of Šamši-Adad, who is not known as such in the Kültepe Eponym List.

20. See Biga 1997 and 2000; Ziegler 1997. At Urkeš, storeroom doors were sealed by Zamena, nurse of a royal child and employed by Uqnitum, queen of Urkeš; see Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2002, 132, fig. 9.

21. Roth 1997, 120.

show that children could be nursed two or three years. Only one text from Kaneš mentions a wet nurse, who received a small sum of money (121).

117. Incantation to Help a Woman in Labor; Incantation against Jaundice

Obv. ¹*ar-hu-um a-ra-ah* ²*a-ra-ah-tum ar-ha-at* ³*ar-hi-iš : ta-ri-i : ar-hi-iš*
⁴*tù-lá-ad ar-hi-iš : i-lu-ku* ⁵*ma-ú i-pí-ša : i-na* ⁶*a-pí-ša : qá-qá-ra-am : té-*
⁷*sú-uq* ⁷*i-zi-bi-tí-ša : ta-ša-bi-iṭ* ⁸*bé-tám ma-na-me : lá-áš-pur* ⁹*ú lu-wa-e-*
*er a-me-er*¹*-ú-at ša-sú-ra-tim* ¹⁰*7-ma : ma-ri-ki-/na* ¹¹*ú ta-áp-šu-kà-tí-*
ki-na ¹²*le-qé-a-nim-ma : ba-áb* ¹³*a-ra-ah-tim ha-ba-tum* lo.e. ¹⁴*hu-ub-ta :*
šu-ma : za-kàr ¹⁵*e-tù-da-ni šu-ma* rev. ¹⁶*sí-ni-ša-at ša-pá-ra-ni* ¹⁷*šu-ma :*
sà-ak-pu-um : sà-ki-ip ¹⁸*i-li-šu : li-ší-lá-ma : k[i]-i* ¹⁹*ša-ru-ú : ki-ra-nim : li-*
i[m-q]ú-tám ²⁰*qá-qá-ar-šu : ší-ip-tu[m]* ²¹*lá i-a-tum ší-pá-at Ni-ki-l[i-il₅]*
²²*be-el ší-pá-tim ù be-el tí-i-i[m]* ²³*be-lá-at ša-sú-ra-tim l[i-dí]* ²⁴*e-er-qú-*
um e-ri-iq ²⁵*e-ri-iq-tum e-er-qá-at* ²⁶*i-ší-li : mì-iṭ-ra-tim* ²⁷*e-ri-iq-tim e-zu-*
um ²⁸*ba-ru-ma-tum ta-ar-té-/e* u.e. ²⁹*a-dí-ší-im kà-kà-a-am* ³⁰*lá a-ba-ra-*
ší : a-dí-ší-im ³¹*ší-bi₄-r[a-a]m* lo.e. ³²*lá a-ša-áb-ta-ší : a-[d]í-ší-im ba-pi-ra-/*
am ³³*ha-šu-a-am ù [tá]-áb-tám i-na* ³⁴*[š]u-ur-ší-ša šu-ba-al-ku-tu[m]* ³⁵*uš-*
ba-al-k[i-s]í

¹A cow, O cow!

²The Arahtum-canal is rapid.

³Rapidly she becomes pregnant,

³⁻⁴Rapidly she gives birth,

⁴⁻⁵Rapidly water flows out of her “mouth,”

⁵⁻⁶She scrapes the ground with her nose,

⁶⁻⁸She brushes the house with her tail.

⁸⁻¹⁰Whom shall I send with orders to the twice seven daughters of the birth goddesses, (saying): ¹⁰⁻¹²“Take your spades and your baskets and ¹²⁻¹⁴clear quickly out the mouth of the Arahtum-canal”?

¹⁴⁻¹⁵If it is a male, like a wild ram,

¹⁵⁻¹⁶If it is a female, like a wild cow,

¹⁷⁻¹⁸If it is a stillborn child, one rejected by his god,

¹⁸⁻²⁰May (the baby) be brought forth, and may he drop towards to the ground like a snake (from) a vineyard.

²⁰⁻²²The spell is not mine. It is a spell of Ninkilil, master of spells and lord of incantation. ²³May the Mistress of the birth goddesses cast it!

24–25 Yellow one, O yellow one!

The yellow one is yellow!

26 In the shade of the green orchard,

27–28 The spotted goat has come to graze.

29–30 I cast a weapon at it (but) did not bag it,

30–32 I cast a shepherd's crook at it (but) did not catch it,

32–33 I cast beer bread, thyme, and salt at it:

34–35 Then did I surely make it move from where it stood.

Bibliography: Text published by Michel (2004 [Kt 90/k 178]); translated by Hecker (2008, 65–66). There are two fragmentary duplicates for the first incantation, see Kouwenberg and Fincke (2013 [CCT 5, 50e]) and Barjamovic (2015, 75 [Kt 94/k 429]).

Comments: This tablet contains two incantations, both starting with a pseudo-abracadabra formula using wordplays. The link between these two incantations is obvious since the first one is intended to help a woman in labor, while the second one is for a newborn baby suffering from jaundice.

The first two lines of the first incantation may be also translated: “The rapid male is (quite) rapid / The rapid female is (quite) rapid!” meaning that the baby can be of either sex and should come quickly. The two first lines of the second incantation refer first to the boy baby, then to the girl baby with the same construction: “The yellow male is (quite) yellow, the yellow female is (quite) yellow.”

Line 1: the word for “speedy male” (*arhum*) is a homonym of the word for “cow,” and this animal reminds of the moon god both because of its bull-like horns and of the word play with *warhum*, “month.” Moreover, the word for “speedy female” (*arhatum*) is also the name of the canal, which is a metaphor for the vagina of the woman giving birth; for a detailed analysis of these figures, see Michel 2004.

The badly preserved copy CCT 5, 50e, duplicates lines 5–12 with few variants (Kouwenberg and Fincke 2013); the most noticeable one is lines 3'–5': *i-na dī-im-a-té-š[a], ta-sà-ra-aq, é^{tām}*, “with her tears she sprinkles the house.” The last lines of the duplicate Kt 94/k 429 also differ; lines 21–24: *i-na še-er, ki-ra-nim : ki-i še-gig, a-ša-ar-šu, li-iš-ba-at*, “May it take place like barley on top of the vineyard” (Barjamovic 2015).

Line 26: note that “yellow” and “green” are the same word in Akkadian.

118. Incantation against Lamaštum

Obv. ¹*e-za-at pu-ul-ha-at* ²*i-lá-at na-ma-ra-at* ³*ba-ar-ba-ra-tum* ⁴*ma-ra-at*
A-ni-im ⁵*i-na sà-sí-im* ⁶*mu-ša-(erasure)-bu-ša* ⁷*i-na el-pé-tim* ⁸*ru-úṣ¹-pá¹-*
sà ⁹*eṭ-lá-am lá-sí-ma-am* l.o. ¹⁰*ta-kà-lá* ¹¹*ma¹-ra-am ar-ha-am* rev. ¹²*ta-na-*
sà-ha-am ¹³*zi-ba-sú ṣa-hu-ru-tim* ¹⁴*na-pu-ṣú-um tū-na-pi-is* ¹⁵*ši-bu-tum*
ta-ša-qí «a-me» ¹⁶*me-e bi-iš-ri-im* ¹⁷*ši-ip-tum lá i-a-tum* ¹⁸*ši-pá-at Ni-ki-li-*
il₅ ¹⁹*be-el ši-pá-tim* ²⁰*Ni-kà-ra-ak* ²¹*ta-dí-ši-ma* le.e. ²²*a-na-ku al-qé-ši*

¹She is furious, she is terrifying,

²She is evil, she has an awful glamour,

³⁻⁴(She is) a she-wolf, the daughter of Anum.

⁵⁻⁸Her dwelling is in grass, her lair is in weeds.

⁹⁻¹⁰She holds back the youthful runner,

¹¹⁻¹³She pulls out by his tail the rapid child.

¹³⁻¹⁴She brains little babies,

¹⁵⁻¹⁶She makes the old ones swallow the birth fluids.

¹⁷⁻¹⁹The spell is not mine; it is a spell of Ninkilil, master of spells.

²⁰⁻²²Ninkarrak casts it, so I took it up.

Bibliography: Text published by Michel (1997c [Kt 94/k 821]); translated by Foster (2005, 77) and Hecker (2008, 64). Lines 1–2 cited by Barjamovic and Larsen (2008, 147).

Comments: This incantation is written on a tablet with a clay handle by which to hang it in the house, perhaps near the baby's bed. The object was thus used both as an amulet and as an incantation to be recited by the exorcist.

Lamaštum weakens the young one and attacks both babies and the elderly, making them drink the amniotic fluids. The “rapid” child seems to be premature.

119. A Birth Used to Date a Document

Obv. ¹5/6 *ma-na* 1/2 *gín* ²*kù-babbar ší-im kù-gi* ³ù ⁴15 *gín kù-babbar* ⁵*ša i-ší-im kù-gi* ⁶*pá-[ni]-im i*-ší-ta-ni* ⁷*iš-tí Ta-ta-áš-mì-šu* lo.e. ⁸3 *gín kù-gi* rev. ⁹*i-nu-mi be-lá-at* ¹⁰*é^{be-tim} tù-ul-du** ¹¹*iš-tí Me-i-iš-mì-iš* ¹²ù *Ta-ta-áš-mì-iš* ¹³1/3 *ma-na* 1 *gín kù-babbar* ¹⁴*ší-im-šu*

¹⁻²5/6 mina, 1/2 shekel of silver, price of the gold, ³⁻⁵and 15 shekels of silver, which remained as due to me from the price of the previous gold, ⁶are on the account of Tattašmiš. ⁷⁻⁹3 shekels of gold (borrowed) when the Lady-of-the-House gave birth ¹⁰⁻¹¹are on the the account of Meišmiš and Tattašmiš; ¹²⁻¹³its price is 1/3 mina, 1 shekel of silver.

Bibliography: Text published by Balkan (1992, 20; photo, 39 [Kt a/k 851]); collated May 2012.

Comments: The Lady-of-the-House seems to be the queen of Kaneš, the “house” being interpreted here as the Anatolian palace.

120. Adoption among Anatolians

Obv. ¹*Ha-ba-ta-li ki-ma¹(LÁ) Na-ah-šu-/ša-r[a]* ²*Šé-li-a-ra me-ra-šu* ³*šu-ma Šé-li-a-ra* ⁴*šú¹(KI)-ha¹(IL₅)-ra¹(BA)-am* *mì-ma* <a>-a-kam-ma ⁵*i-kà-ša-du-ni a-na* ⁶*é^{be-et} Ha-ba-ta-li ú-ba-al* ⁷*šu-ma iš-tù Ha-ba-ta-li* ⁸*mì-ma ú-pá-za-ar* 2 *ma-na kù-babbar* ⁹*i-ša-qal šu-a-tí i-du-/ku-šu* lo.e. ¹⁰*e-sú-nu* rev. ¹¹*ma-sú-nu ša* 3 *šu-nu-tí* ¹²*šu-ma ša Ha-ba-ta-li* ¹³*šú-ha-ar-šu ú-lá-ad* ¹⁴6 *gín kù-babbar a-na e-le-e* ¹⁵*i-za-zu du-nam ša Ha-ba-ta-li* ¹⁶*Šé-li-a-ra il₅-qé šu-ma ki-ša¹-sú* ¹⁷*a-na ba-tim i-pá-nu* 2 *ma-na kù-babbar* ¹⁸*i-ša-qal ú šu-a-tí i-du-ku-šu šu-ma* ¹⁹*Ha-ba-ta-li i-lá-pì-in Šé-li-a-ra¹(ŠA)* ²⁰*a-na ší-mì-im i-dí-šu šu-ma* ²¹*Ha-ba-ta-li Ni-wa-ah-šu-ša-ar* ²²*i-mu-tù Šé-li-a-ra* ²³*i-lá-qé šu-ma šú-ha-ra-am ú-lá-ad* ²⁴*mì-ma é^{be-tim} i-[lá-qé]* le.e. ²⁵*igi Tù¹(MA)-hu-ší igi Wa-za-wa* ²⁶*igi Ša-áb-ta*

¹⁻²Habatali represents Nahšušara; Šeliara (is) his son. ³⁻⁵If Šeliara acquires any male slave anywhere, ⁵⁻⁶he shall bring him to the house of Habatali. ⁷⁻⁸If he conceals anything (he has acquired) from Habatali, ⁸⁻⁹he shall pay 2 minas of silver, or they will put him to death. ¹⁰⁻¹¹All their income belongs to the 3 of them. ¹²⁻¹³Should the (wife) of Habatali give birth to a boy,

¹⁴⁻¹⁵there will be 6 shekels of silver on top of it. ¹⁵⁻¹⁶Šeliara took the fortified house of Habatali. ¹⁶⁻¹⁸If he (the adoptive son) has gone elsewhere, he shall pay 2 minas of silver, or they will put him to death. ¹⁸⁻²⁰If Habatali becomes poor, he may sell Šeliara. ²⁰⁻²³When Habatali (and) Niwahšušar die, Šeliara shall take (everything). ²³⁻²⁴Even if she (the wife of Habatali) gives birth to a boy, he [shall take] all the household property.

²⁵⁻²⁶In the presence of Tuhuši, Wazawa, and Šabta.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Thureau-Dangin as TCL 1, 240; edited by Eisser and Lewy (1930, no. 8); Veenhof 2017a, 8–11.

Comments: Habatali and Nahšušara are husband and wife; they have no children and adopt Šeliara. Clauses refer to the status of the adoptive son in his new family and his rights of inheritance. He has to work for his parents' household and to share everything with them. He has already acquired part of the house and ultimately will obtain all their belongings, even if they have their own child. There are unclear penalties: the meaning of *e-le-e* is unknown.

If he becomes poor, the Anatolian father may sell his adopted son; this clause could have been inspired by Assyrian practice.

The literal translation of lines 16–17 is: “He has turned his neck to elsewhere.”

Line 20: the writing *i-dí-šu* is a mistake for *i-da-šu*.

121. Payment for a Wet Nurse

Obv. ¹1 *ma-na* 6½ gín kù-gi ²*pá-ša-lúm* 5 *ma-na* kù-babbar ³*ša ik-ri-bi-a* 2½ *ma-na* ⁴*ša ni-qí-im a-na um-mi-a-/ni-a* ⁵2 *ma-na* kù *ša Šu-Be-/lim* ⁶ù *i-a-tí ša ba-ri-ni* ⁷4 *ma-na* kù *ša é Ĭ-lí-/dan* ⁸1½ *ma-na* *ša ik-ri-bi-₄-šu-/nu* ⁹*i-pá-ni né-pí-ší-im* ¹⁰*na-dí* 1 *ma-na* *ša-wi-ru* ¹¹*ša šu-ha-ar-tim* ¹²*mì-ma a-nim ni-is-ha-sú* lo.e. ¹³*diri ša-du-a-sú* ¹⁴*ša-bu* ½ *ma-na* lá 1½ /gín rev. ¹⁵*ta-ad-mi-iq-tum* ¹⁶*ša I-li-a* 10 gín ¹⁷*šé-bu-ul-tum ša Ištar-um-/mì* ¹⁸2 gín *A-gi₅-a-a* 2 gín *Me-me* ¹⁹2 gín *I-li-a* 2 gín ²⁰*é Ĭ-lí-dan* 2 gín ²¹*Ší-ma-at-Ištar* ½ gín ²²*La-qé-ep* 1½ gín ²³*dim-sig₅* ²⁴1½ gín *Ší-la-ma-sí* ²⁵1½ gín *mu-šé-ni-iq-tum* ²⁶3 gín *ša La-ma-sí* ²⁷*a-na La-ma-sà-tim* ²⁸10 gín kù *ik-ri-bu* u.e. ²⁹*ša Be-lim a-na Bu-ší-/a* ³⁰*a-dí* 10 gín *ik-ri-bu* ³¹*ša Be-lim* 5 gín kù ³²*ik-ri-bu ša^dutu a-na A-šùr-dan* ³³*a-dí mì-ma a-nim a-na A-šùr-dan áp-qí-id* ³⁴*igi A-šùr-ba-ni igi Šu-lí dumu Me-ra-lí*

¹⁻³1 mina, 6½ shekels of *pašallum*-gold, 5 minas of silver from my votive offerings, ³⁻⁶2½ from the sacrifices for my investor, 2 minas of silver belonging to Šu-Bēlum and myself, it is ours in common; ⁷⁻¹⁰4 minas of silver from the house of Ilī-dān, ⅓ mina from their votive offerings, (which) is placed uppermost in the pack; ¹⁰⁻¹¹1 mina of bracelets belonging to the young girl: ¹²⁻¹⁴all this—its import tax added, its transport fee paid for. ¹⁴⁻¹⁶One-half mina minus 1½ shekels from the *tadmiqum*-trust of Iliya; ¹⁶⁻¹⁷10 shekels, consignment for Ištar-ummi; ¹⁸⁻²⁰2 shekels: Agiya; 2 shekels: Memē; 2 shekels: Iliya; 2 shekels: the house of Ilī-dān; ²⁰⁻²³2 shekels: Šimat-Ištar; ½ shekel: Laqēp; 1½ shekels: Adad-damiq; 1½ shekels: Šī-lamassī; ²⁴⁻²⁶1½ shekels: the wet nurse; 3 shekels from Lamassī to Lamassatum. ²⁷⁻²⁹I deposited 10 shekels of silver, votive offerings of Bēlum, for Bušia. ²⁹⁻³²I deposited 10 shekels, votive offerings of Bēlum; 5 shekels of silver, votive offerings of Šamaš for Aššur-dān.

³²All this, I entrusted to Aššur-dān.

³³In the presence of Aššur-bāni, and Šu-(i)li, son of Merali.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Lewy as TC 3, 207. Lines 1–10 and 14–33 cited by Hirsch (1961, 36–37 n. 191).

Comments: This text lists several amounts of gold and silver as expenses. Among these, a wet nurse receives 1½ shekels of silver. Other women are also recipients of small quantities of silver: Šimat-Ištar, Šī-lamassī, and Lamassatum.

Line 15: the word *tadmiqum* refers to merchandise entrusted in good faith to a relative to sell it for as favorable terms as possible, with the obligation to give the yield to the owner, and without guaranteed commission or profit (Veenhof 2008a, 131 n. 595).

Line 17: the *šēbultum* corresponds to small amounts of silver or gold meant for women, usually as payment for textiles they had sent to Kaneš for sale.

RAISING CHILDREN

There is very little iconography of women as mothers, although excavations at Kültepe have yielded depictions of Anatolian divine couples. A steatite mold dating to the eighteenth century BCE shows a couple with their two children: one standing, dressed like his parents, whereas the other,



Fig. 9. Mold for lead figurine showing an Anatolian divine couple with two children. Source: Kulakoğlu and Kangal 2010, 272, no. 240. © Archaeological Mission of Kültepe.

in his mother's arms, is entirely swaddled. The two children are shown as being approximately the same size (fig. 9).²²

The father, as legal guardian of his children, decided his daughters' futures; it was he who arranged for their marriages.²³ Nevertheless, at Aššur, in the absence of their husbands, women raised their youngest children, who grew up in an environment dominated by women. Some women made recourse to acts of piety to assure the well-being and prosperity of their families, especially their children; for example, by commissioning a votive inscription (122).

Besides the moral and intellectual upbringing of their children, women also had to see to their nurture (126). In letters exchanged with the male members of their family living in Anatolia, they commonly give

22. Emre 1971; T. Özgüç 2003, 274, no. 305.

23. Michel 1997g and chapter 1 in this book.

news of their offspring only in a brief formula: “Your household and (all) the children are fine.”²⁴

Lack of news of their wives and children could be worrisome to merchants, who could ask their associates and representatives to protect and advise their wives and to take care of them: “Look after the young woman and the children. Instruct the woman to make (others) pay the expenses.”²⁵ This implied making certain that women and children were not in need, to the extent of advancing money needed for their support (123).

A good part of women’s correspondence is taken up by material concerns about the rearing of the child: they had to be fed and clothed (142, 166). Children could go through a considerable amount of food, as Aššur-idī observed, when, in the absence of their father, he brought up his grandchildren and kept an account of what they consumed: “I spent one mina of silver to buy two oxen and grain to feed (your) sons.”²⁶

A husband had to provide for his wife and children, as some merchants were reminded by their representatives or by their wives: “Send to your kitchen enough food for your children and your wife so that we can give them their rations!”²⁷ One woman compared her food allowance to that for servants and considered herself particularly badly treated; indeed, servants received additional rations for their children (124). Lack of food was a major source of anxiety for mothers, and, in order to arouse the compassion of their correspondents for the fate awaiting their little ones as a consequence of paternal neglect, they could invoke their children’s death from malnourishment and even their own (125, 127).²⁸

24. 133, 206, 308. This expression can also be found in letters sent by representatives in Aššur in contact with the merchants’ wives; see, for example, VS 26, 9:23–25 (Michel 2001a, no. 199); CCT 2, 38:32–33; CCT 4, 28b:27.

25. TPAK 1, 22:23–28: *i-še-er* : [a]m-tim, ù šú-ùh-ri-im, e-k[u-n]u li-li-kam, dam na-hi-da-ma, a-na gam-ri-im, lu tù-uš-ta-dí-in. See also: “You are our brother. Look after our *amtum*-wives and your children”; ICK 1, 65:15–18, *a-hu-ni a-ta, a-še-er* : *a-ma-tí-ni* ; ù šú-ùh-ri-kà, e-kà : li-li-ik. Even if the two authors of this letter are in debt to their correspondent, they ask him to look after their wives, which could also mean to pay their expenses.

26. KUG 27:50–53: 1 *ma-na kù-babbar* [a]-ší-im 2 gu^{hi-a}, ù ú-ťi-tim, a-na me-er-e ša-ku-li-im, ag-mu-ur. See Michel 1997g, 98–101.

27. KTH 9:33–36: *a-na hu-ur-ší-kà še-bi₄-lam-/ma, ma-lá a-kà-al še-ri-kà, ù a-ší-tí-kà né-nu, ip-ri-šu-nu lu-ni-/dí-in₄*. Note that the word *tarbitum* corresponds to the payment for raising children (by others).

28. Men, too, could worry about not having the means to feed their children,

Besides food and shelter, women had to provide their children with a wardrobe, generally one or two garments of the right size. As children grew, their wardrobe had to be replaced regularly (166). Intensive production of cloth intended for export to Anatolia took its toll on weaving of textiles for home use.²⁹ Among the different types of cloth mentioned is “cloth for a child,” no doubt a piece of a size to make a child’s garment (173; 158; KTS 2, 31).³⁰ To judge from the steatite mold mentioned above (fig. 9), children of the Anatolian residents of Kaneš were dressed in the same style as their parents. Some children could receive finery such as golden earrings or copper crescents: “I will send gold for the girls’ ears. Urgent! Wait for me to send the gold and look after the children.”³¹

Besides material maintenance, the young were supposed to be provided with professional or academic training, a system of moral values, and the basis for a future.³² At Aššur, girls from a young age no doubt worked in the weaving establishment of their home, there learning the rudiments of the craft.³³ Training of boys is almost never mentioned in texts. The only known reference comes from the eldest son of Pūšu-kēn. While he was with his mother in Aššur, he learned writing and arithmetic with a teacher.³⁴ Several school texts used for scribal education have been discovered at Aššur and Kaneš.³⁵ These young boys presumably learned their future profession as merchants after they joined their fathers in Anatolia.

as in BIN 6, 183:10–13, 14–17, presumably sent to Puzur-Anna by Ir’am-Aššur (see BIN 6, 73): “What shall I give to the children? What shall I say to our mother about food?... My eyes have become bloodshot (trying to find) food for myself and the children!”; *a-na šú-ùh-ri-im, mi-nam lá-dí-in a-na um-mi-ni, a-na ú-ku-ul-tí-a mi-nam, lá-aq-bi ... a-na-kam-ma, a-na ú-ku-ul-tí-a ù ú-ku-ul-ti, šú-ùh-ri-im e-na-a, i-ta-na-ki-lá.*

29. Veenhof 1972, 103–23; Michel 1997g, 101–2; 2006b; in this book chapter 4, pp. 256–70.

30. Michel and Veenhof 2010, 36–37. See, for example, Kt 75/k 78:3–4: “I (gave) his daughter a garment for a child to wear”; 1 *túg ša šú-ùh-ri-im me-ra-sú, ú-lá-bi₄-iš.*

31. KTS 2, 23:13–18: *kù-gi a-na ú-za-an, ša-ha-ra-tim ú-šé-[ba-lam²], a-pu-tum i-hi-id-[ma], kù-gi šé-bi₄-la[m], ú-šé-ri-ká, a-šu-ur.* See also BIN 6, 175:16–18.

32. See chapter 5.

33. Michel 2006b and, in this book, chapter 4.

34. “As you know, we are learning the scribal art. Send me an *ēpattum*-garment for my teacher!”; CCT 4, 6e:4–8: *dub-sar-tám wa-dí, lá-am-da-ni, e-pá-tá-am, a-na um-me-a-ni-a, šu-bi-lam.* See Larsen 1976, 305 n. 47.

35. Michel 2008b and 2010b for an overview.

122. Votive Inscription of a Woman to Protect Her Family

Col. I. ¹*i-nu-ma* ^{2d}*lugal-gin* ³*ensí A-šūr* ⁴*a-na* ^d*inanna* ⁵*A-šu-ri-tim* ⁶*nin-a-ni* ⁷*Ha-ti-tum* ⁸*dam En-na-da-[gan]* ⁹*ta-ak-ru-ub* ¹⁰*a-na ba-lá-aṭ* ¹¹*mu-ti-ša* ¹²*ba-lá-ṭi-ša* col. II. ¹*ù* ²*ba-lá-aṭ* ³*šé-ri-ša* ⁴*téš* ⁵*tù-šé-ri-ib*

ⁱ¹⁻³When Sargon (was) the vice regent of Aššur, ⁱ⁴⁻⁶to Ištar Aššurītum, her mistress, ⁱ⁷⁻⁹Hattitum, wife of Enna-Dagan, made an offering (and) ⁱ¹⁰⁻ⁱⁱ⁵dedicated (this bronze) vulva for the life of her husband, her own life, and the life of her children.

Bibliography: Votive inscription written on a bronze plaque in the shape of a female sex organ, found during the excavations of the Ištar temple at Aššur, and published by Jakob-Rost and Freydank (1981 [VA Ass 4286]), and Grayson (1987, 46, no. 2001).

Comments: Written in the third-person, this votive inscription was commissioned by Hattitum, wife of Enna-Dagan, to protect her family. The text is dated to the reign of Sargon I (ca. 1917–1878), who belonged to the so-called Puzur-Aššur dynasty. As shown by his title, he was considered as governor appointed by the god of Aššur, the true king of the city of the same name.

Line 10: the various Assyrian votive inscriptions of the type *ana balāt*, “for the life of,” do rarely mention the children. Here, the word *šerrum* refers to all Hattitum’s children, boys and girls, which she already has or will give birth to in the future; thus it could also be translated “descendants.”³⁶

123. A Merchant’s Anxiety about His Wife and Daughter

¹*a-na Ni-mar-Ištar* ^{Šu}¹*-ma-bi₄-a* ²*I-dí-Sú-en* ⁶*Ha-nu qí-bi₄-ma* ³*a-hu-ú-a* ^{be-lu-ú-a} ^{a-tù-nu} ⁴*a-na šu-mì : ni-šé-e-a : a-na* ⁵*me-er-e I-dí-a-bi₄-im* ^{a-tí-ki-il₅-ma} ⁶*ma-tí-ma : lá áš-pu-ra-ku-nu-tí* ⁷*ma-ma-an : i-na ba-ri-ku-nu* ⁸*[p]á-ni-ú-ni : ni-šé-e : ⁹li-ir-de₈-a-ma : ga-mar-šu* ¹⁰*a-na-kam : a-da-šu-um* ¹¹*a-na-kam : I-dí-Sú-en* ¹²*a-wa-tim : sig₅^{qá-tim}* ¹³*a-šu-mì ni-šé-e-a : e-ta-wa-am* ¹⁴*šu-ma : a-na Kà-ni-iš lo.e.* ¹⁵*lá e-ru-ba-am* rev. ¹⁶*a-hu-ú-a* ^{be-lu-ú-a} ¹⁷*a-tù-nu : ki-ma šú-ha-ar-tum* ¹⁸*é Šu-ma-bi₄-a : wa-áš-ba-at-ni*

36. For another votive inscription written by a woman, see below, 377 n. 50.

¹⁹*I-tur₄-dingir iq-bi₄-a-am* ²⁰*a-na Šu-ma-bi₄-a qí-bi₄-ma* ²¹*iš-tí-kà : Mu-na-iš-kà-an* ²²*lá té-zi-ba-am : am-tí : ù šú-ha-ar-tum* ²³*sà-he-er-tum : mì-ta : ú ba-al-ťá* ²⁴*ú-lá i-de₈ : a-hu-ú-a* ²⁵*a-tù-nu : šu-ma : ba-al-ťá* ²⁶*ú ší-na-tí : ta-ru-a-am* ²⁷*ga-mar-ší-na : ta-da-na-am* ²⁸*a-le-e : a-hu-ú-a be-lu-a* ²⁹*a-tù-nu za-ku-sà : šu-up-ra-nim* u.e. ³⁰*šu-ma ba-al-ťá* le.e. ³¹*kù-babbar 1 gín a-na a-kà-li-ší-na* ³²*dí-na-ma : šu-up-ra-nim*

¹⁻²Say to Nimar-Ištar, Šumi-abiya, Iddin-Suen, (and) Hanu.

³You are my brothers and masters. ⁴⁻⁵I relied on the sons of Iddin-abum in the matter of my people, and ⁶I never wrote to you (about it). ⁷⁻⁹Whoever among you is first (to depart), let him take along my people, ⁹⁻¹⁰and here I will pay for his expenses. Here, Iddin-Suen spoke to me friendly about my people. ¹⁴⁻¹⁷If I am not back in Kaneš—you are my brothers and masters—¹⁷⁻¹⁹you (must know that) Itūr-ilī told me that the girl is living in the house of Šumi-abiya.

²⁰Say to Šumi-abiya.

²¹⁻²²You should not leave behind Muna'iškan in your place. ²²⁻²⁴I do not even know whether my *amtum*-wife and the little girl are dead or alive! ²⁴⁻²⁵You are my brothers. If they (fem.) are alive, ²⁶⁻²⁸then, take them along to me, I am able to pay for their expenses! ²⁸⁻²⁹You are my brothers and masters. Send me exact information ³⁰⁻³²whether they are alive. Give silver for their food, every shekel (you can), and send (them) to me!

Bibliography: Text published by Michel and Garelli as TPAK 1, 34.

Comments: The author of this letter is unknown. He has been away for a long time, either in Aššur or in another Anatolian town, without news from his wife and daughter left in Kaneš. During his absence, representatives had to take care both of his affairs and his family.

124. Complaints about Food Rations

Obv. ¹*um-ma Ša-at-A-šur-ma* ²*a-na Pu-šu-ke-en₆* ³*qí-bí-ma a-šu-mì* ⁴*mì-ih-ší-im ku-lu é^{tim}* ⁵*ma-sú-uh šu-ma pá-nu-kà* ⁶*a-na A-lim^{ki}!(LIM)* ⁷*ša-ak-nu* ⁸*a-na i-li ša-qí-i* ⁹*ú' a-bu ú-lá e-ta-áš'-ru-ni* ¹⁰*ú a-ta : a-ma-«nu»-kam¹(HI)* ¹¹*lá ta-ša-ra-ni* ¹²*a'(Ū)-lá-ku-a-ti ma-ma-an¹* ¹³*ša-ni-a-am lá i-šu* ¹⁴*a-dì kán-bar-ta lo.e.* ¹⁵*qú-ta-a-«da»-/tù-ni* ¹⁶*[x]-ma : rev.* ¹⁷*a-ni ur-ta-i-bu* ¹⁸*20 silà ma-da-dam* ¹⁹*iš-tí a-ma-tí-kà-ma*

²⁰lu¹(Ú)-uš-ta-am-he-ru-ni ²¹gemé 20 silà e-kà-lá ²²ú a-na-ku 20 silà a-kál
²³a-ni šu-mì šú-uh-ri-im ²⁴lá i-za-ku-ru a-na-nu-um ²⁵a-ta : lá ta-za-kár-
 šu-nu ²⁶a-li-ku i-li-ku¹-nim-ma ²⁷šu-mì lá ta-az-ku-ur ²⁸ma-nu-BA : šu-mì
 (erasure) ²⁹li-iz-ku-ur ³⁰a-lá-ku-a-tí ma-ma-an u.e. ³¹ša-ni-a-am ³²lá i-šu
 le.e. ³³ma²-lá iš-(erasure)-tù i-Na-ar-ma-ak-/A-šur ³⁴ni-qí-a-am i-dí-nu-
 nim ³⁵an²-na ší-[x]-tù-um x x

¹⁻³Thus (says) Šāt-Aššur: say to Pūšu-kēn.

³⁻⁵As for illness, the entire house is affected! ⁵⁻⁶If you intend to go to the city (of Aššur), ⁷have an offering made to the gods. ⁸⁻⁹The fathers have not taken care of me; neither do you, over there, ¹⁰⁻¹²take care of me, although I have no one but you!

¹³⁻¹⁵Because you kept waiting from month Bēlet-ekallim (i) until month Kanwarta (ix) [...] ¹⁷they now have made me tremble!

¹⁸⁻²⁰They have made me equal to your female slaves by measuring out (to me) a ration of only 20 silas. ²¹⁻²²If female slaves get (a monthly ration of) 20 silas, should I too get 20 silas only?

²³⁻²⁴Now, they do not even mention the names of the children; ²⁴⁻²⁵should you, over there, then not mention them? ²⁶⁻²⁷Travelers came, but you did not mention my name! ²⁸⁻²⁹Who else is there to mention my name? ³⁰⁻³²I have no one but you!

³³⁻³⁵All (I obtained) since (the month) Narmak-Aššur (ii or iii), (is) a sacrifice (that) they gave me! [...]

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Clay as BIN 4, 22; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 375).

Comments: Šāt-Aššur is the daughter of Šalim-ahum, a close colleague of Pūšu-kēn. She married Aššur-malik, son of Innaya, who travels to Anatolia. She is complaining that her food rations are no bigger than those of the female servants. According to her, the children of the female servant should not be taken into account in the rations.

Šāt-Aššur feels isolated and lonely; she is asking Pūšu-kēn to get news of him and her distant family members.

125. Children Dying of Hunger

Obv.^{1'}[x x x x x] *i-d[í x x]* ^{2'}[a-na X-x]-*hu za ar [x]* ^{3'}[ù X x] *qí-bi₄-ma um-ma* ^{4'}[x x] *ma Ba-zi-tim-ma* ^{5'}[i-na] *kù-babbar^{pi}-a ša qá-bi₄-a-ni* ^{6'}[kù]-*bab-bar uš-ta-qí-[il₅]* ^{dim-dùl} ^{7'}[ša-zu-uz]-*tám i-zi-iz-ma ša é* ^{8'}[Pi-l] *á-ah-Ištar kù-babbar ša i-a-tí* ^{9'}*i-lá-kà-ni : a-na é Pi-lá-ah-Išt[ar]* ^{10'}*iš-ta-aq-lu-šu : ú qá-t[ám]* ^{11'}*ša A-šùr-na-da : a-na é* ^{12'}*A-lim^{ki} a-na hu-bu-li-šu* ^{13'}*iš-ta-aq-lu-šu a-na-kam : kù-babbar* ^{14'}1 *gín a-na ba-lá-ťí-ni : lá-šu-m[a]* ^{15'}*šú-ùh-ru-um i-na bu-bu-tim* ^{16'}*i-mu-a-at-ma lá ta-ša-ra* ^{17'}*a-dí : a-i-im : ú-mì-im : a-ba-[ri]* ^{18'}*lá t[ù]-ha-da-ar-ni-[a-tí]*
(the rest of the tablet is destroyed)

^{1'-4'}[...]: thus (say) [...] Bazītum.

^{5'-6'}[From] my silver that has been promised to me, I paid the [sil-] ver. ^{6'-7'}Adad-šululī acted as the [represent]ative, and concerning [Pil]ah-Ištar's house, ^{7'-10'}the silver that should come to me, they paid it to Pilah-Išt[ar]'s house; ^{10'-13'}but (as for) Aššur-nādaš's share, they paid it to the City Hall for his debts.

^{14'}Here there is not even a single shekel of silver for us to live from, and ^{15'-16'}the children are dying of hunger, and you are not taking care (of them). ^{17'}How long must I starve?

^{18'}You should not make us miserable!

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Stephens as BIN 6, 197.

Comments: The names of the correspondents of this letter are broken; the only name left among the senders belongs to a woman, Bazītum. She complains that she has no silver to buy food for the children.

126. A Man Urges a Woman Not to Let the Child Starve

Obv. ¹*u[m-m]a [Šu]-Ištar-ma a-na* ²*Zi-z[i]-zi-i : ù* ³*Ištar-lá-ma-sí qí-bi₄-ma* ⁴1[0[?] gí]n *an-na A-nu-pí-a* ⁵*na-[áš]-a-ku-nu-tí um-mì a-tí* ⁶*e-lá-nu-ki ma-ma-an* ⁷*lá i-šu šú-ùh-ra-am* ⁸*l[á t]ù-me-ší : a-šé-er* ⁹[X-x-x] *ú A-nu-pi-a* ¹⁰[x x] *kà [x-z]i-ik lo.e.* ¹¹[x dug a] *r-ša-tim rev.* ¹²[l] *i-dí-na-ki-na¹(UN)-ti* ¹³*ú-dí a-na-ma a-na-kam* ¹⁴*ú-ša-hi-[sú] ú a-ti* ¹⁴*a-wa-tim : ša nu-a-im* 3 *gín* ¹⁵*kù-babbar ša e-zi-bu kù-babbar* ¹⁶*lu a-na-ku á[š]-qúl lu A-bu-ša-/lim* ¹⁷*iš-qúl té-er-ta-ku-nu* ¹⁸*li-li-kam*

¹⁻³T[hu]s (say) [Šu]-Ištar: say to Ziz[i]zi and Ištar-lamassī.

⁴⁻⁵Anupiya is bringing you t[en shek]els of tin. You are my mother; ⁶⁻⁷I have no one but you! ⁷⁻⁸D[o n]ot let the child starve. ⁸⁻¹⁰To [X-x-x] and Anupiya [...]

¹¹⁻¹³I instructed (him) that he should give you (fem. pl.) [x jars of] wheat. ¹³⁻¹⁴And as for the matter of the Anatolian, ¹⁷⁻¹⁸let your message come here, ¹⁴⁻¹⁵about the 3 shekels of silver that I left, ¹⁵⁻¹⁷whether I myself paid the silver or whether Abu-šalim paid it.

Bibliography: Tablet published by Larsen as AKT 6c, 646 (kt 94 k 1405).

Comments: Zizizi was the nickname of the daughter of Imdī-ilum and his wife Ištar-baštī (see fig. 17 for her family tree); she was first married to Āl-tāb, and then to Annuwa. Ištar-lamassī was the wife of Ali-ahum, son of Šalim-Aššur, whose archives were excavated in 1994 (figs. 2-3). The letter is addressed to both women on lines 4-5, using the masculine *-kunūti* instead of the feminine *-kināti* (on line 17, there is *-kunu* instead of *-kina*), then presumably only to Zizizi on lines 5-8, then again to both women on the following lines.

127. Lack of Food for the Children

Obv. ¹a-n[a X-x-x-x] ²qí-bi-[ma um-ma] ³Ší-ma-S[ú-en₆-ma] ⁴a-šu-mì še-i[m x x (x)]-a-ni ⁵um-ma a-ta-[m]a a-[na] E-na-A-šur ⁶a-qá-bi₄-[m]a 10 dug še-im ⁷i-da¹-na-ki-im mì-ma ⁸ú-lá i-[d]í-nam lo.e. ⁹bé-lí a-ta ¹⁰du^{ti} ¹⁰a-ta qá-qú-ru-um rev. ¹¹dan^{an} šú-ha-ar-kà ¹²i-bu-bu-tim ¹³lá i-mu-a-at šu-ma ¹⁴a-ta : sà-ah-ra-at a-na ¹⁵ú-ku-ul-tí šú-ùh-ri-kà ¹⁶šé-bi₄-lam : a-ma-/kam ¹⁷Hu-du-ur-lá ¹⁸ša-[ba-at-ma] 12 gín u.e. ¹⁹k[ù-babbar x-n]i²-li

¹⁻³Say to [X-x-x-x: thus (says)] Šimat-S[uen].

⁴⁻⁶Concerning barley [...] you (said) as follows: “I will speak t[o] Enna(m)-Aššur, [an]d ⁶⁻⁷he will give you ten jars of barley.” ⁷⁻⁸He did not give me anything. ⁹⁻¹¹You are my lord; you are my sun. The situation is difficult. ¹¹⁻¹³Your children should not die of hunger! ¹³⁻¹⁶If you are delayed, send me (silver) for your children’s meals. ¹⁶⁻¹⁹There, s[eize] Hudurla [and ...] twelve shekels of s[ilver].

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Stephens as BIN 6, 124.

Comments: Šimat-Suen informs her correspondent—my lord, my sun—that she never received the promised jars of barley, and she asks him for food for their children's meals.

PROVISIONING AND FOOD

Women had to care for the members of the older generations living in their house, as well as their domestic staff. Lack of means to buy grain, the basic food item, was one of their principal worries. At Aššur, they could buy grain after the harvest with money sent by their husbands or with the proceeds from their sale of textiles. They had to estimate the quantities needed to feed all the members of their household and sometimes found themselves coming up short (127, 128, 129, 130).

Grain, ground into flour, was used to make various kinds of bread (131; CCT 3, 7b–8a; 201).³⁷ It was also the principal ingredient of beer: “Give it (the silver) to Tariš-mātum, and according to my instructions, let her buy barley and make malt and ‘beer bread.’”³⁸ This alcoholic beverage was made by the lady of the house using malt (*buqlum*) and beer bread (*bappirum*) as needed (129, 166).³⁹

Like the women at Aššur, Anatolian merchants' wives had the daily chore of preparing the beer for household consumption (132, 319). They got from their husbands the money and various commodities for cooking, such as lard, oil, nuts, and assorted condiments and spices (319, 202, 303). Women's diet included meat as well: mutton, beef, and pork were sold and dried, smoked, stewed, or conserved for long-term storage (133, 307).⁴⁰

For food preparation, the inhabitants of Kaneš had an impressive array of utensils. The merchants' houses in Kaneš have yielded a considerable assemblage of clay pots in many shapes.⁴¹ Some inventories as well give an idea of the equipment women used to store and prepare food. Since

37. Michel 1997f.

38. AKT 2, 26:14–18: *a-na, Ta-ri-iš-ma-tim dī-na-šu-ma, a-na ma-lá té-er-tí-a še-am, lu ta-áš-a-ma bu-uq-lam, u ba-pi-ra-am lu¹ té-pu-uš.*

39. For the preparation of beer, see Michel 2009d. See also AKT 2, 26, in which Tariš-mātum is supposed to buy barley with the proceeds of copper, and then to prepare the ingredients for brewing beer.

40. Michel 1997f; Dercksen 2008a.

41. See, for example, T. Özgüç 2003, 142–229, for the pottery, and 242–44 for some metal vessel.



Fig. 10. Bronze vessels excavated in 2003 in a Ib grave; from Kutlu Emre (2008): (left) bronze ladle with sieve; (top right) fruit stand; (bottom right) frying pan. © Archaeological Mission of Kültepe.

only metal objects were normally inventoried in texts, wooden objects are rarely and ceramics are almost never mentioned (135).⁴² Some cooking pots could be specially made according to very precise directions (134).

Even if these furnishings are Anatolian, one can suppose that women at Aššur used the same types of household utensils. In fact, an unpublished document shows that the wife of Hunniya, who lived at Aššur, owned at least forty minas worth of bronze objects, dishes, and pots and pans (fig. 10).⁴³ Also, merchants sent from Anatolia to their wives at Aššur all sorts of copper or bronze objects, including cups and bowls (134, 166, 210).

42. See also Kt c/k 1517, edited by Dercksen 1996, 76–77, which mention 1 talent, 17 minas of bronze objects belonging to Aššur-emūqī.

43. Kt n/k 212:11–14, cited by Dercksen 1996, 78 n. 261: “I (Hunia’s sister) handed over to her (Hunia’s wife), before your representatives, her belongings and bronze objects, weighing 40 minas, from your kitchen, and she took them out (of the house).”

128. Famine in Aššur and No Barley at Home

Obv. ¹*a-na I-na-a qí-bi-m[a]* ²*um-ma Ta-ra-am-Ku-bi-ma* ³*ta-áš-pu-ra-am um-ma a-ta-ma* ⁴*ša-wi-ru-ú : ú a-nu-qú-ú* ⁵*ša i-ba-ší-ú-ni : ša-ší-ri* ⁶*a-na a-kà-li-ki : li-ib-ší-ú* ⁷*ke-na¹-tim-ma : ½ ma-na kù-gi* ⁸*dingir-ba-ni : tù-še-bi-lam* ⁹*a-i-ú-tim [š]a-wi-ri* ¹⁰*ša té-zi-ba-ni i-nu-mì* ¹¹*tù-úš-ú kù-babbar* ¹ *gín* ¹²*ú-lá té-zi-ba-am : é^{tam} 13tù-lá-qí-it-[ma] : tù-še-ší* ¹⁴*iš-t[ù] t[ù]-úš-ú-ni* ¹⁵*da-nu-tum [bu-bu]-tum* ¹⁶*i-n[a] A-lim^{ki} : ú-lá še-am* ¹⁷*1 silà : té-zi-ba-am : še-am* ¹⁸*a-n[a] ú-kúl-tí-ni : áš-ta-na-am* ¹⁹*ú tap-hi¹-ra-am ša šu-ri-nim_x* ²⁰*i-na it-[x x x x]* ²¹*a-dí-in-ma [i-šu]-ú* ²²*qá-tí-a : ag-da-ma-ar rev.* ²³*ú a-na é A-lim^{ki} : a-na [ša]* ²⁴*é A-da-da i-šu-ú¹-ma áš-t[a]-/qá-al* ²⁵*mì-num : ri-ip-šu* ²⁶*ša ta-áš-ta-na-pá-ra-ni* ²⁷*a-na a-kà-li-ni-i* ²⁸*lá-šu : né-nu : ri-ib-ší* ²⁹*né-ta-na-pá-áš ša i-qá-tí-a* ³⁰*ib-ší-ú : ú-lá-qí-it-ma* ³¹*uš-té-bi₄-lá-kum : u₄-ma-am* ³²*i-bé-tim : e-ri-im : wa-áš-ba-ku* ³³*ša-tum : ša-na-at* ³⁴*i-hi-id-ma : me-eh-ra-at* ³⁵*[túg] šú-ba-tí-a : kù-babbar : i-na* ³⁶*[ša] i-qá-tí-kà-ma : i-ba-ší-ú* ³⁷*še-bi₄-lam-ma : še-am* ¹⁰ *baneš* ³⁸*lá-áš-am : a-šu-mì : tup-pí-im* ³⁹*ša A-šur-i-mì-tí dumu Ku-ra* ⁴⁰*ša ši-bi₄ : ša il₅-qé-ú* ⁴¹*é^{tam} : ú-ša-ah-dí-ir-ma* ⁴²*a-ma-tim : ú-kà-tí-ma* ⁴³*ša-zu-úz-ta-kà : a-wa-tám* ⁴⁴*ig-mu-ru-ma le.e.* ⁴⁵*⅔ ma-na kù-babbar áš-ta-qal : a-dí ta-lá-kà-/ni* ⁴⁶*lá¹ i-ra-ga-am : i-na a-lá-ki-kà* ⁴⁷*ta-ta-ú-wu : mì-šu-um : ta-ki-li* ⁴⁸*ta-áš¹-ta-na¹-me-ma hi-im-ṭá-tim /t[a-á]š-[ta-na-pá-ra-am]*

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

³You wrote me as follows: ⁴⁻⁶“Watch over the bracelets and rings that are there, so that they can serve to provide you with food.” ⁷⁻⁸Certainly, you had Ilī-bāni bringing me ½ mina of gold, ⁹⁻¹⁰but what bracelets did you leave me? ¹⁰⁻¹³When you left, you did not leave me silver, not even a single shekel! You emptied the house and took (everything) out! ¹⁴⁻¹⁷After you had gone, there was a severe famine in the city (of Aššur) while you had not left me barley, not even a single liter! ¹⁷⁻¹⁸I must try to buy barley for our sustenance. ¹⁹⁻²²And, as to the treasure for the temple collection, I gave an emblem in/among [...], and I spent what is at hand. ²³⁻²⁴Moreover, I just paid to the City Hall for [what] the house of Adada owed. ²⁵⁻²⁶What protests do you have to keep writing me about? ²⁷⁻²⁹There is nothing for our sustenance, so we are the ones to keep making complaints! ²⁹⁻³¹I scraped together what I had at my disposal and sent it to you. ³¹⁻³²Now, I am living in an empty house. ³³⁻³⁷The (harvest) season is now! Be sure to

send me the silver for my textiles from what you have as your share ³⁷⁻³⁸so that I can buy barley, about ten *šimdu* measures (ca. 300 liters).

³⁸⁻⁴¹Concerning the tablet giving (the list) of witnesses which Aššur-imitti, son of Kura, took, he caused the house much trouble, ⁴²took maids as collateral, then ⁴³⁻⁴⁴your representatives settled the matter. ⁴⁵But I finally had to pay $\frac{2}{3}$ mina of silver. ⁴⁵⁻⁴⁶He must not contest before you arrive. At your arrival, ⁴⁷⁻⁴⁸you will discuss it. Why do you keep listening to slander and sending me heated (letters)?

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Smith as CCT 3, 24; edited by Michel (1991, no. 3); translated by Michel (2001a, no. 348; 2014b, 206-7); lines 1-38 cited by Dercksen (2004a, 23-24).

Comments: Tarām-Kūbi writes to her husband, Innaya, stressing her critical financial situation (fig. 17). She accuses him of leaving nothing in the house and complains that she has no more money to buy barley. This letter belongs to a group of a dozen letters sent by this woman. Most of these are very emotional and give the image of a strong-minded person.

129. Management of Food Products

Obv. ¹*a-na I-na-a qí-bi-ma um-ma Ta-ra-<am>-Ku-<bi>-ma* ²*a-wa-tám* :
³*ša é Ku-ra ša ta-wa-tù-ú* ⁴*tá-bu-a-at* : *kù-babbar iš-tí pá-nim-ma* ⁵*šé-bi-lá-*
ma : *ṭup-pu-šu a-na é-tí-kà* ⁶*li-ip-hu-ru* ⁷*ú* : *ṭup-pu-um ša é* ⁸*En-na-Sú-en* ⁹*é*
¹⁰*Šu-Be-lim pá-qí-id* ¹¹*ú* *ṭup-pu-um ša é Ku-ra* : *Puzúr-A-šùr* ¹²*ù-kà-al* : *kù-*
babbar i-na pá-ni-kà ¹³*šé-bi-lá-ma* : *i-na é ku-nu-ki-kà* ¹⁴*li-ni-dí* *kù-babbar*
a-na šé-bu-li-im ¹⁵*mì-ma* : *lá ta-pá-lá-ah* : *kù-babbar* : *a-na* ¹⁶*é-bé-tí-kà-ma* :
e-ra-ab : *ša-tum* ¹⁷*ša-na-at* *kù-babbar šé-bi-lá-ma* ¹⁸*ú-tá-tám a-pá-ni-kà*
li-iš-pu-/ku-ni-kum ¹⁹*ba-pí-ra-am ša e-pu-ša-ku-ni* ²⁰*il-té-bi-ir* : *a-šu-mì*
²¹*ša é Ku-ra* ²²*Puzúr-A-šùr a-šu-mì-kà* : *ip-lá-ah-ma* ²³*um-ma né-nu-ma mì-*
ma lá ta-pá-lá-ah ²⁴*a-wa-tám* : *ku-bu-ús-ma ú a-wi-lúm* rev. ²⁵*šé-ep-šu* :
a-na A-lim^{ki} li-iq-ru-ba-/am ²⁶*ú-sá-li-šu-ma* : *a-wa-tám* ²⁷*ig-mu-ur a-pu-*
tum ki-ma ²⁸*ṭup-pá-am ta-áš-me-ú* : *al-kam-ma* ²⁹*e-en* : *A-šùr* : *dingir-kà*
³⁰*ù li-bi-4-/tí-ka* ³¹*a-mu-ur* : *ú a-dí* : *ba-al-ṭá¹-ku-ni* ³²*e-né-kà lá-mu-ur* : *du-*
lu-um¹(ZU) a-na li-bi-4-/ni ³³*e-ta-ra-ab* : *ki-ta-am* : *ú iš-ra-am¹* ³⁴*a-na* ³⁵*mar-*
tu-im ša dumu Šu-Ku-bi-im ³⁶*ub-lá-ni* : *i-na é-bé-tí-šu-ma* : *i-ba-ší* ³⁷*ṭup-pá-*
am : *šé-bi-lá-šu-ma* : *ki¹-ta-a-am* ³⁸*ù iš-ra-am* : *li-dí-in-ma* : *i-na* ³⁹*bé-tí-kà*
⁴⁰*li-bi-ší* : *a-šu-mì* : *am-tim* ⁴¹*A-šùr-ták-lá-ku iš-pu-ra-ma i-na ṭup-pi-šu*

³⁴ $\frac{1}{3}$ *ma-na* kù-babbar *a-na* *E-lá-lí* *dumu Šu-Ku-bi₄-im* ³⁵*a-dí-in* : *am-tám* : *šu-ub-ri-tám* *li-iš-/a-ma¹-ki-im* ³⁶*dumu Šu-Ku-bi₄-im* : *áš-al-ma* ³⁷*um-ma* *šu-ut-ma* kù-babbar *A-šūr-ták-lá-ku lá i-dí-/nam* ³⁸*tup-pá-am* *šé-bi₄-lá-šu-ma* : *am-tám* ³⁹*li-iš-a-am-ni-a-tí* *le.e.* ⁴⁰*bé-tám* *ša té-hi é^{ti}-ni* : *qá-ra-be-e* *Puzúr-A-šūr* ⁴²*iš-a-ma-kum* *ša é na-ga-ri-im* *kà¹(IK)-lá-šu* ⁴³*i-lá-qé¹-ma* : *iš-tí pá-nim-ma* : *ú-šé-ba¹-lá-kum*

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

²⁻³The matter concerning Kura's household, about which you spoke, is resolved. ³⁻⁵Send silver with the next (caravan) and let them bring together his tablets in your house. ⁵⁻⁶The tablet from the house of Enna-Suen has been entrusted (to) the house of Šu-Bēlum. ⁷⁻⁸As to the tablet of the house of Kura, Puzur-Aššur holds (it). ⁸⁻¹⁰Send me silver before your arrival, and let it be deposited in your sealed storehouse. ¹⁰⁻¹²Concerning all the silver to be sent, do not be afraid; the silver will indeed come to your house. ¹²⁻¹⁴Now is the (harvest) season! Send silver so they can store barley for you before your arrival. ¹⁵⁻¹⁶The beer bread I made for you has become too old.

¹⁶⁻¹⁷Concerning the house of Kura, Puzur-Aššur became afraid of you, so ¹⁸⁻²⁰we (said to him) as follows: "Do not be afraid, drop the case and let the man come to the city (of Aššur)." ²¹⁻²²I asked him and he settled the case.

²²⁻²³Urgent! When you hear (this) letter, come, ²⁴⁻²⁷look to Aššur, your god, and your home hearth, and let me see you in person while I am still alive! Misery has entered our minds.

²⁷⁻²⁹Concerning the linen and the belt for the god Amurru that the son of Šu-Kūbum brought here, they are in his house. ³⁰⁻³²Send him a tablet so he gives the linen and the belt: they must be in your house.

³²⁻³³Aššur-taklāku wrote to me about the servant, and in his tablet (he said as follows): ³⁴⁻³⁵"I gave $\frac{1}{3}$ mina of silver to Elālī, son of Šu-Kūbum. He should buy you a Subarean female slave." ³⁶⁻³⁷(So) I asked the son of Šu-Kūbum, and he (told me) as follows: "Aššur-taklāku did not give me silver!" ³⁸⁻³⁹Send him a tablet so he buys the female slave for us.

⁴⁰⁻⁴²Puzur-Aššur bought for you the house near to ours [...] ⁴²⁻⁴³As to the carpenter's house, he will take the whole complex and will send you by the next (caravan a tablet about it).

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Smith as CCT 3, 25; edited by Michel (1991, no. 3); translated by Michel (2001a, no. 345).

Comments: As in the previous letter, Tarām-Kūbi deals with various topics, acting as a representative of her husband in Aššur. She feels lonely and asks him to come back to Aššur. The beer bread she prepared to make beer for her husband got too old since Innaya did not come back to Aššur for a long time.

Line 2: the form *ta-wa-tù-ú* is an error for *ta-ta-wu-ú* (*tatawwû*).

130. Seasonal Purchase of Grain

Obv. ¹[a-na PN₁] qí-bi₄-ma ²[um-ma PN₂]-ma ³2 [x x x x] x ⁴a-h[a-ma[?] x x x] dam-gàr ⁵1 ma-na kù-babbar ú ⁶6 gín kù-ki mì-ma ⁷a-nim ša ta-áp-qí-/da-ni ⁸a-na-kam A-ha-/ha lo.e. ⁹ta-ša-ba-at-ma ¹⁰um-ma ší-it-ma rev. ¹¹a-na-kam ša-tum ¹²ša-na-at ú-ťá-tám ¹³a-ša-pá-ak ¹⁴a-dí ma-lá ú šé-ni-šu : <igi> ⁴ ¹⁵um-mi-a-ni aš-ba-sí-ma ¹⁶ú-šu-ra-am lá ta-mu-a ¹⁷Pì-lá-ha-a-a ú du₁₀-A-šur ¹⁸i-ma-li-ku-ší-im ¹⁹um-ma šu-nu-ma ša-áb-tí u.e. ²⁰a-bi₄ a-ta be-lí a-/ta ²¹[a-ta a-ma]-kam le.e. ²²ma-lá-kà

¹⁻²Say [to PN₁]: [thus (says) PN₂].

³⁻⁶[...] bes[ide...] the creditor, 1 mina of silver and 6 shekels of gold; ⁶⁻⁹all this that you have entrusted to me, Ahaha took it here, ¹⁰⁻¹³saying as follows: “Now is the (harvest) season. I will stock up on grain.” ¹⁴⁻¹⁶I took her to task several times in the presence of four investors, but she refused to release (it). ¹⁷⁻¹⁸Pilahaya and Ṭāb-Aššur gave advice to her, ¹⁹saying as follows: “Take (it).”

²⁰⁻²²You are my father and my master. [The]re, it is up [to you]!

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Stephens as BIN 6, 118.

Comments: Ahaha, daughter of Pušū-kēn, lived with her mother in Aššur. She became a consecrated woman, wrote letters to her brothers, and managed her own affairs. According to this letter, she took some gold and silver in order to buy grain and refused to give it back. It is not impossible that one of her brothers is the author of this letter.

131. Flour for a Woman

Obv. ¹1 dug *qé-ma-am* ²ù 1 gín kù-babbar ³*a-na am-tí-šu* ⁴*ša Be-lá-nim* ⁵*a-dí-in*

(the remainder of the tablet is not inscribed)

⁵I gave ¹⁻²1 jar of flour and 1 shekel of silver ³⁻⁴to the *amtum*-wife of Bēlānum.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Lewy as TC 3, 172.

132. Preparing Beer with Malt and Beer Bread

Obv. ¹*um-ma A-šūr-na-da-ma* ²*a-na A-šūr-ta-ak-/lá-ku* ³ù *Ší-ša-ah-šu-šar* ⁴*qí-bi-ma* ⁵*mì-šu ša um-ma a-tí-ma* ⁶*e-lá* 20 *na-ru-uq* ⁷*gig* ù 15 *na-ru-uq* ⁸*še-im ša Ku-du-bi₄-iš* ⁹*i-dí-na-ni mī-ma* ¹⁰*ša-ni-um lá-šu* ¹¹*a-li* 40 *ma-na* lo.e. ¹²*nī-ga-lu* 2½ *ma-/na* rev. ¹³*an-na ša a-na* ¹⁴*ša-na-a* ¹⁵*ī-lí-šar* ù *Hu-lu-/ba* ¹⁶*ub-lu-ni a-pu-tum* ¹⁷*kù-babbar ša Ha-lu-le* ¹⁸*A-zu* ù *Du-du-li* ¹⁹ù *Kà-ú-ba* ²⁰*ša¹-ah-dí-ra-ma* ²¹10 *na-ru-/uq* ²²*bu-uq-lúm* 10 *na-ru-/uq* ²³*ba-pi-ra-am* u.e. ²⁴*ší-pì-ma ep-ší* ²⁵*šu-ma ú-ťá-tám* ²⁶*ta-ha-ší-hi* le.e. ²⁷*ša-mì* *šu-ma a-ba-a-ba-/tim* ²⁸*lá na-ah-du té-er-tí-ki* ²⁹*li-li-kam ì-giš še-bi₄-lim*

¹⁻⁴Thus (says) Aššur-nādā: say to Aššur-taklāku and Šišahšušar.

⁵Why did you (say) as follows: ⁶⁻¹⁰“Apart from 20 sacks of wheat and 15 sacks of barley that Kudubiš gave me, there is nothing else!” ¹¹⁻¹⁶Where are the 40 minas in sickles and the 2½ minas of tin that Ilī-išar and Huluba brought to Šanā?

¹⁶⁻²⁰Urgent! Put pressure on Azu and Duduli, as well as Ka’uba, concerning the silver of Halule, and ²¹⁻²⁴soak 10 sacks of malt and 10 sacks of beer bread to prepare (beer). ²⁵⁻²⁷If you want any grain, then buy it. ²⁷⁻²⁸If they are not careful with the outstanding claims, ²⁸⁻²⁹let your report come to me. Send me some oil.

Bibliography: Text published as copy by Veenhof as VS 26, no. 19; edited by Larsen (2002, no. 54); translated by Michel (2001a, no. 359).

Comments: Šiṣahšušar is the Anatolian wife of Aššur-nādā living in Kaneš. This letter concerns domestic affairs, among which is the preparation of beer. In Aššur, malt was prepared from barley, but in Kaneš it could also be made from germinated wheat, dried and crushed. To prepare beer, malt was then thrown into hot water, and beer bread, made of barley, was added before fermentation with yeast; then it was brewed (see Michel 2009d).

133. Slaughtering an Ox for Meat

Obv. ¹*a-na Ku-li-a : qí-bi₄-ma* ²*um-ma A-ba-ba-a-ma* ³*šál-ma-ni šu-hu-ur-kà* ⁴*ša-lim ni-šu-kà šál-[m]u* ⁵*ki-ma ku-a-tí i-[x]* ⁶*a-bi₄-kà a-[x x x]* ⁷*a-wa-tí-kà* ⁸*i-šé-r[i-a x x x x]* ⁹*ma-num : [x x x x x]* ¹⁰*li-dí-n[am x x x x]* ¹¹*ša ta-x-[x x x x]* ¹²*té-tap-ša-n[i x x x]* ¹³*n[a-x x x x x x]* ¹⁴*lá i-x [x x x x x]* lo.e. ¹⁵*e tù-kà-x [x] t[a]* ú* [x]* rev. ¹⁶*iš-tù na-áš-pè-er-t[a-/k]à* ¹⁷*lá ta-lá-kà-ni* ¹⁸*mì-nam ša ta-áš-ta-n[a]-/pá-r[a-n]i* ¹⁹*um-ma a-ta-ma šú-ba-tí* ²⁰*ha-am-ša-at šé-bi₄-li-/i[m]* ²¹*mì-nam šú-ha-ar-kà* ²²*li-ku-ul : mì-nam* ²³*a-ší-tí-kà lá-áš-qú-ul* ²⁴*šu-ma a-na a-bi₄-kà* ²⁵*lá uš-té-ri-id um-ma šu-u[t]-/ma* ²⁶*ú-ha-lá-qú-nu* GA *ša-ni-a-tù* ²⁷*i-pì-šu ša-ak-na* ²⁸*me-er-a-at-[kà] iš-tí-a* ²⁹*ta-al-ta-[x x -u]m* u.e. ³⁰*wa-áš-ba-at [x x x (x)]* ³¹*ša é a-bi₄-ni tim [x x x]* ³²*áb e ta-hi-ri-/x* le.e. ³³*ta-áp-hi-ra-am a-dí-in-ma* gu₄ *aṭ-bu-ùh* ³⁴*ší-ru-um ša i-ri-hu ša-áp-lá-nu-um i-tab-ku* ³⁵*gú urudu ag-mur a^{1*}-na*-kam šú-ùh-[ur-kà]* ³⁶*lá i-mu-tù*

¹⁻²Say to Kuliya: thus (says) Ababaya.

³⁻⁴We are well, your children are well, and your people are well.

⁵⁻⁸Like/instead of you [...] of your father [...] your words [...] on me (?) [...]

⁹⁻¹²Who could give me [...] that you [...] you have treated me [...]

¹³⁻¹⁷[...] Do not [...] since no letter of yours arrives here.

¹⁸⁻¹⁹What is the purpose of constantly writing me as follows: ¹⁹⁻²⁰“Send me five textiles!” ²¹⁻²⁵What would your children eat, what would I (use to) pay your expenses if I had not *humbled myself* to your father?

He said: ²⁶⁻²⁷“He is destroying you [...]; he has evil intentions!”

²⁸⁻³¹Your daughter is/keeps [...] with me [...] she lives [...] of our paternal house [...] ³²⁻³³I have spent the savings and slaughtered the ox.

³⁴The meat that remained they have *stored* below. ³⁵⁻³⁶I have spent four talents of copper [...] (lest) your children die!

Bibliography: Text published by Veenhof as AKT 5, 9 (Kt 92/k 211). For philological comments, see AKT 5, 96–98; collated May 2012.

Comments: Ababaya is the Assyrian wife of Kuliya, messenger of the *kārum* Kaneš, whose archives were unearthed in 1992 and published by Veenhof in AKT 5. She was living in Aššur, together with her daughter and perhaps a younger son. In this letter, she gives good news of her children and household staff but, at the same time, asks urgently for money to buy food. Her situation is not so desperate, since she mentions that she has slaughtered an ox and stored—certainly dried or cooked—meat; for the consumption of meat, see Michel 1997f; Dercksen 2008a, 2010a.

Line 20: the number five is written in Akkadian.

134. Making a Kettle for the Kitchen

¹*um-ma Bu-za-zu-ma* ²*a-na Lá-ma-ša qí-bi-ma* ³¹⁰ *ma-na urudu sig₅ ⁴a-na ša-ni-im* ⁵*e-pá-ší-im* *Kà-as-ha-nu-el* ⁶*na-áš-a-ki-im* : urudu ⁷*a-dí a-lá-kà-ni* lo.e. ⁸*li-bi-ší i-na* rev. ⁹*a-lá-ki-a : mu-lá-e-šu* ¹⁰*ú-ba-lam-ma : ša-nam* ¹¹*ú-šé-pá-áš* : ¹ *ma-na urudu* ¹²*A-ni-na li-dí-in-ma* ¹³*i-ša-ad* : *ša-nim* ¹⁴*ša* ²⁰ *ma-na : ta-ba-kà-tám* ¹⁵*li-dí-ú-ma : a-dí* ¹⁶*a-lá-ki-a : kà-i-lá-ší* ¹⁷⁴ *ma-na urudu a-na lu-bu-uš* u.e. ¹⁸*Ša-ak-ri-ú-ma-an* ¹⁹*Kà-as-ha-nu-el* le.e. ²⁰*na-ší na-hi-dí-šu-ma* ²¹*qá-nu-e lu-pá-he-er* ²²*ù e-ší*

^{1–2}Thus (says) Buzāzu: say to Lamaša.

^{3–6}Kashunuel is bringing you 10 minas of fine copper to make a kettle.

^{6–8}The copper should be stored until I arrive. ^{8–11}When I arrive, I will bring (with me) what is missing for it, and I will have a kettle made. ^{11–12}Let Anīna give 1 mina of copper, and ^{13–16}let them deposit bit by bit 20 minas worth for a stand for the kettle, and keep it until I arrive.

^{17–20}Kashanuel is (also) bringing four minas of copper (to buy clothes) for Šakriuman. ^{20–22}Instruct him to collect reeds, also wood.

Bibliography: Text published as copy by Lewy as TC 3, 97; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 366). Lines 3–16 cited by Dercksen (1996, 74 n. 254).

Comments: Buzāzu sent to his wife, Lamaša, the metal necessary to make a kettle but instructs her to wait for his return so he can supervise the work.

Line 14: the word *tabākattam* would derive from the verb *tabākum*.

135. Inventory of Bronze Vessels in a Woman's House

Obv. ¹10 *ša-áp-lá-tum ša tí-ra-ni* ²1 *ša-pí-il₅-tum ša šu-ru-um* ³2 *ús-hi-ú : ša bi-ši-ni* ⁴1 *ša-pi-il₅-tum ša sà-pé-e* ⁵2 *šú-ur-šú-pá-tum* ⁶3 *zu-pá-nu : ša Kà-ni-iš^{ki*}* ⁷ *maš-qal-tum ša* ² *silá* ⁸ *maš-qal-tum ša* ¹ *silá* ⁹9 *ha-bu-ra-a-tum* ¹⁰ *ša-ba sà-pu-um ša na-aš-bi₄-tim* ¹¹18 *ša-ha-tum* ¹²4 *hu-ub-lu*-ú ra-bi₄-ú-tum* ¹³4 *hu-ub-lu*-ú ša-hu-ru-tum* ¹⁴6 *sà-pu-ú ša mu-sà-ri* lo.e. ¹⁵5 *ku-na-ki-ú* rev. ¹⁶2 *zu-ur-ša-tum* ¹⁷5 *hu-tù-lá-tum* ¹⁸2 *áš-hu-lu* ² *mu-ša*-lá-/tum* (sic) ¹⁹3 *sà-pu-ú* ²⁰ *ša-ah-tù-tum* ²¹1 *a-ga-nu-um* ^{1*} *ša-kà-nim** ²²1 *it-qú-ru-um ša qá-tim* ²³ *šunigin* ¹ *gú* ⁴⁰ *ma-na zabar* ²⁴14 *gú urudu ša ší-ib-tim* ²⁵14 *pá-šu-ru* ⁷ *ú-ru-za-na-tum* ²⁶6 *qá-áb-li-a-tum : 3 zi-ra-tum* ²⁷ *ša* ³⁰ *ma-na-ta mî-ši-it* ²⁸ *zi-ri-im ša hu-ur-ší-a* ²⁹1 *lu-ru-um* ² *qá-áb-li-a-/tum* ³⁰ *ša* ¹⁵ *ma-na-ta* u.e. ³¹3 *pá-šu-ru* ² *pî-it-nu* le.e. ³² *iš-tù A-a me-ta-at-ni tal*-qé** ³³ *mî-ma a-nim iš-tí Ša-at-A-šur*¹

¹⁻⁴ 10 grooved stands, 1 stand for a sieve, 2 duck-shaped figures with lamp wicks, 1 stand for *sappum*-bowls, ⁵⁻⁶ 2 *šuršuppum*-containers, 3 *supānum*-bowls of Kaneš-type, ⁷⁻¹⁰ a measuring cup of 2 sila, a measuring cup of 1 sila, 9 *haburum*-vessels, one among them is a *sappum*-bowl with a handle, ¹¹⁻¹³ 18 *šāhum*-pitchers, 4 large and 4 small *hublum*-vessels[?], ¹⁴⁻¹⁵ 6 *sappum*-bowls with metal bands, 5 *kunakkium*, ¹⁶⁻¹⁸ 2 *zuršum*-cups, 5 *hutulum*-vessels, 2 *ašhalum*-vessels, 2 mirrors[?], ¹⁹⁻²² 3 stripped *sappum*-bowls, 1 *agannum*-large bowl, 1 *šakanum*, 1 spoon; ²³ in total 1 talent, 40 minas of bronze (objects).

²⁴⁻²⁵ 14 talents of copper bearing interest, 14 tables, 7 *urunsannum*-tables, ²⁶⁻²⁸ 6 *qablītum*-containers, 3 cauldrons of 30 minas each (from) the stock of cauldrons in my kitchen. ²⁹⁻³¹ 1 *lurum*, 2 *qablītum*-containers of 15 minas each, 3 tables, 2 chests, ³²⁻³³ she received since Aya died.

All this is with Šāt-Aššur.

Bibliography: Unpublished text known as Kt h/k 87. Lines 1–28 and 30–33 cited by Dercksen (1996, 77); lines 1–2, 4–5, 7–11, 15–16, 18–19, 21–24 cited by Balkan (1965, 160); lines 6–14, 16, 19–20, 26–30 cited by Gökçek (2003, 74–75, 81, 84–86); collated May 2011.

Comments: This inventory lists predominantly the bronze and copper items in a woman's house in Kaneš (fig. 10). A few items, presumably made of wood, are mentioned at the end of the text: tables, chests, and

unknown objects. Most of these objects are still not identified. Among archaeological artifacts—predominantly consisting of pottery—metal objects are quite rare; they were often reused. On the contrary, vessels made of clay are usually not mentioned in the texts because they were less valuable.

Lines 4 and following: for the different uses of the *sappum*-bowl in the Mari texts, see Michaël Guichard (2005, 292–95).

Line 5: the *šuršuppum* could be a container provided with teat-shaped protuberances.

Line 11: the *šāhum* is a drinking vessel in Mari; see Guichard 2005, 301–2.

Line 18: the word *mušālum* is a mirror or a cosmetic vase according to Guichard (2005, 243–44), but it is a masculine word in Mari, while here we have a feminine plural form.

Line 21: the proposed reading of Dercksen (1996, 77): “one *agannum* *ša qātim*,” which he translates by “one a.-hand bowl,” needs correction.

The left edge is written upside down.

HEADS OF THE HOUSEHOLD

In the absence of their husbands, merchants' wives found themselves alone, at the head of their households, called simply “the house” (*bētum*; 136, 137). Besides children, this could sometimes include the young wife of a married son without his own house. Sharing of quarters by mothers- and daughters-in-law was not always harmonious, and Tariš-mātum complained bitterly about the conduct of her son's wife, who regularly took refuge with her own father at nightfall, behaved badly, and refused to obey her mother-in-law (146). Although we have no direct evidence, it is very probable that the women of Aššur also took care of aged family members.⁴⁴ These could, for their part, look after the children, and the Kaneš documentation shows that several generations could live together under one roof. At Kaneš too, and in the other Assyrian commercial settlements in Anatolia, the wives of the Assyrian merchants had to accommodate, for more or less extended stays, other members of the family and associates traveling from Aššur who had no other place to stay. Thus, certain households could provide shelter to more than a dozen people.

44. For the elderly, see Veenhof 1997b.

To help out with domestic tasks, especially meal preparation, a woman could have domestics, especially female slaves, who could be of different ethnic backgrounds: one letter mentions a Hurrian woman (129).⁴⁵ Such slaves were part of the household, so women had to see to their maintenance, both clothing and food, in the form of a ration entitlement (124). Some women complained in their letters of the high cost of keeping domestic help. However, these female slaves could be given important responsibilities; one took care of the children when her mistress was absent (303).

Even if they were sometimes purchased with money sent by their husbands (129), these slaves were the property of their mistress, whether they were Anatolian or Assyrian. Sometimes they were part of a wife's dowry or were inherited from deceased merchants or from daughters who were consecrated (139, 54); they could even be purchased by a wife from her own husband (138).⁴⁶ Their mistresses disposed of them as they wished, and could decide to sell certain of their domestics if they were no longer useful and keep the proceeds for themselves (140).

Several Assyrian wives defend, in their letters, their ownership of these slaves. It could happen that, when their husbands had neglected to pay certain taxes, the city authorities could put pressure on their wives by impounding their slaves. These women would then put pressure on their husbands to pay the amount due so they could get their slaves back (141, 142).

Assyrian merchants' wives, whether they were Assyrian or Anatolian, bought or sold slaves as they liked, as shown by numerous sale contracts for them found in their houses in Kaneš (144, 143). The purchase could also be made by their relatives, with property belonging to the women:

45. Food preparation: female slaves had, for example, to grind grain, see CCT 3, 7b + 8a:29–32: “Give instructions to the female slave, she should grind me the old barley for food”; *am-tám ša-hi-za-ma*, *gig la-bi₄-ra-tim*, *a-na ku-ru-ma-tim*, *li-té-na*. This was a hard job, and it was sometimes difficult to get slaves to do their work: “Forgive me, but you left a real female slave behind to work for me. The female slave quarrels with me. When I tell her, ‘Grind 5 liters,’ she refuses. Even as little as 2 liters she refuses to grind. Over there, you have 10 female slaves at your disposal. Here, I appeal to the whole city for a (single) female grinder!”; Kt c/k 266:25–34: *ki-ša-ma gemé ša ke-na-tim*, *i-na ma-ah-ri-a té-zi-ib*, *gemé iš-tí-a tù-uš-té-ša i-nu-mi*, *a-qá-bi-ú-ši-ni um-ma a-na-ku-ma*, 5 *silá té-ni lá ta-mu-a*, 2 *silá e-ša-am té-a-na-am lá ta-mu-a*, *a-tù-nu a-ma-kam 10 a-ma-tum*, *ma-ah-ri-ku-nu uš-ba a-na-ku a-na-kam*, *a-na té-i-tim A-lim^{ki}*, *ki-li-šu ú-sà-la*; unpublished text cited by Dercksen (2014, 105 n. 135).

46. See also text 61.

funds received from the sale of rings and garment pins of Kunnaniya were used to buy two female slaves, who then belonged to her (307).

It is difficult to estimate the number of slaves, men or women, per household at Aššur and Kaneš, but it is certain that well-to-do families could acquire and maintain a whole staff of them. Slaves were a public sign of wealth.⁴⁷

136. News from the Household

Obv. ¹*a-na* ²*ša-at-A-/šūr* ³*qí-bi-ma* ⁴*um-ma* ⁵*A-šūr-ma-lik* ⁶*šál-ma-ku* : ⁷*mì-ma* ⁸*li-bi-ki* ⁹*lā i-pá-ri-id* ¹⁰*2 pá-ni-ri* ¹¹*8ša al-pè-e* ¹²*9lī-ma-lik* ¹³*10na-áš-a-ki-im* ¹⁴*11a-pu-tum i-na* ¹⁵*12dutušī : na-áš-pár-tí* ¹⁶*13ta-ša-me-i-ni* ¹⁷*14šu-lu-um-ki* ¹⁸*15ú šu-lu-um* ¹⁹*16ébe-tim* ²⁰*17šé-bi₄-līm*

¹⁻³Say to Šāt-Aššur: thus (says) Aššur-malik.

⁴⁻⁶I am well; do not worry. ⁷⁻¹⁰Ilī-malik is bringing you 2 *pannurum* for/of oxen.

¹¹⁻¹³Urgent! The day you hear my letter, ¹⁴⁻¹⁷send me news about your well-being and about that of the household.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Smith as CCT 4, 15b; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 373).

Comments: Some lines duplicate text 137.

There are several women called Šāt-Aššur. In this text and the following, she is the daughter of Šalim-ahum and wife of Aššur-malik, son of Innaya.

Line 7: the word *pannurum* has been interpreted by Bilgiç (1954, 73) as a utensil for oxen and by the dictionaries as a “brush” or a “curry comb?”⁴⁸ Thomas Sturm (1999) proposed to translate it as a “Bürsten aus Dattelerispen” because it occurs very often with *sissinnum* “Dattelerispe(nbesen).” Dercksen (2010a) studied this word together with *umšum*, which, according to him, would correspond to “raw dried meat”; he then translates *pannurum* by “a piece of dried sheep or ox meat.” If this translation fits well in

47. Michel 2008a.

48. *AHw* 2:818b and *CAD* 15:326. In *CAD* 12:83 it has been interpreted as “a textile?”

the examples chosen by Dercksen, where other foodstuffs are mentioned, it does not in other texts where *pannurum* occurs with various utensils; for example, with wool, textiles, and brooms made of date spadices, such as 158.

137. News from the Household

Obv. ¹*a-na Ša-at-A-šūr* ²*qí-bi-ma um-ma A-šur-ma-lik-ma* ³*šál-ma-ku : li-bi-ki* ⁴*lá i-pá-ri-id* ⁵*a-pu-tum i-na* ⁶*utu^ši na-áš-pè-er-tí* ⁷*ta-ša-me-i-ni* ⁸*šu-lu-um-ki* lo.e. ⁹*ù^l šu-lu-um* rev. ¹⁰*é^{bé}-tim* ¹¹*še-bi₄-lím-ma* ¹²*ù li-bi-i* ¹³*lá pá-ri-id* ¹⁴*ší-it-ra-am ku-nu-ki-a* ¹⁵*I-dí-Sú-en* ⁶*na-áš-a-/ki-im* ¹⁶*2 pá-na-re-e* : ¹⁷*ša gu₄ u.e.* ¹⁸*l^l-ma-lik* le.e. ¹⁹*šú-ha-ru-um ša I-ku-pì-/a* ²⁰*na-áš-a-ki-im*

¹⁻²Say to Šāt-Aššur: thus (says) Aššur-malik.

³⁻⁴I am well; do not worry. ⁵⁻⁷Urgent! The day you hear my letter, ⁸⁻¹⁰send me news about your well-being and about that of the household, ¹²⁻¹³so that I do not worry.

¹⁴⁻¹⁵Iddin-Suen is bringing you one shawl under my seal. ¹⁶⁻²⁰Ilī-malik, the servant of Ikuppiya, is bringing you 2 *pannurum* for/of oxen.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Clay as BIN 4, 75; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 374).

Comments: Lines 1–11 and 16–20 duplicate 136, see Michel 2001a n. 373; both texts use the sign *lam* with the rare value *lim*. For *pannurum*, see comments on text 136.

138. A Woman Buys a Female Slave from Her Husband

Envelope

Obv. ¹*kišib Ma-ší-ì-lí dumu Bu-zu-zi-im* ²(seal A) ³*kišib Bu-ta dumu I-dí-A-šūr* ⁴*kišib Ta-mu-ri-a dumu Ha-pu-a-šu* ⁵*kišib Ša-ak-ri-ú-ma-an dumu A-lá-ri-/a* ⁶*kišib Tal-ha-ma kišib Hi-iš-ta-ah-šu* ⁷*me-er-i-ša kišib Ha-pu-a-lá* ⁸*ša ½ ma-na ¼ gín kù-babbar li-/tí* ⁹(seal B) ¹⁰*ší-im Šu-pí-a-ni-kà Wa-la-wa-/la* ¹¹*a-na Ha-pu-a-la mu-tí-ša* ¹²*ta-áš-qú-lu-ni-ma* ¹³(seal B) ¹⁴*am-tum a-ma-sà-ni a-na am-tim* lo.e. ¹⁵(seal C) rev. ¹⁶*ma-ma-an ú-lá i-tù-a-ar-ší-im* ¹⁷*a-na am-tim Tal-ha-ma ù Hi-iš-ta-/ah-šu* ¹⁸*me-ra-ša qá-ta-tum šu-ma a-šu-mì* ¹⁹*am-tim a-na Wa-la-wa-la ma-ma-an* ²⁰*i-tù-a-ar-ší-im Tal-*

ha-ma ²¹ù *Hi-iš-ta-ah-šu me-ra-ša am-tám* ²²*a-na Wa-la-wa-la ú-bu-bu-/ší-im* ²³*šu-ma* (seal D) *am-tám* (seal D) ²⁴*la ú-ta-bi-bu-ší-im* 1 *ma-na* u.e. ²⁵*kù-babbar li-tí Tal-ha-ma* ²⁶(seal E) le.e. ²⁷ù *Hi-iš-ta-ah-šu me-ra-ša a-na* ²⁸*Wa-la-wa-la* ²⁹(seal F) ³⁰*i-ša-qú-lu-ší-ma* ù *am-tám* ³¹*i-ta¹-ru-ú*

Inscription on Seal E

¹*dingir-ba-ni* ²*dumu Ištar-b[a-ni]*

Ili-bāni, son of Ištar-bāni.

¹⁻⁷Seal of Maši-ilī, son of Buzuzim; seal of Butaya, son of Iddin-Aššur; seal of Tamuriya, son of Happuašu; seal of Šakriuman, son of Alaria; seal of Talhama, seal of Hištahšu, her sons; seal of Happuala.

⁸⁻¹⁰(Contract) concerning $\frac{1}{3}$ mina, $\frac{1}{4}$ shekel of silver of *litum*-quality, price of Šuppianika, ¹⁰⁻¹²that Walawala paid to Happuala, her husband, and ¹⁴the female slave is her female slave. ¹⁴⁻¹⁶No one shall raise a claim against her concerning the female slave. ¹⁶⁻¹⁸For the female slave, Talhama and Hištahšu, her sons, are guarantors. ¹⁸⁻²⁰If anyone raises a claim against Walawala concerning the female slave, ²⁰⁻²²Talhama and Hištahšu, her sons, shall clear the female slave (from claims) for Walawala. ²³⁻²⁴If they do not clear the female slave (from claims), ²⁴⁻³⁰Talhama and Hištahšu, her sons, shall pay one mina of silver to Walawala, ³⁰⁻³¹and (they) shall take along the female slave.

Tablet

Obv. ¹ $\frac{1}{3}$ *ma-na* ¹ $\frac{1}{4}$ *gín kù-babbar* ²*li-tí ší-im* ³*Šu-pí-a-ni-kà* ³*Wa-la-wa-la a-na* ⁴*Ha-pu-a-la* : *mu-tí-ša* ⁵*ta-áš-qúl am-tum* ⁶*a-ma-sà a-na am-tim* ⁷*ma-ma-an lá i-tù-a-ar-ší-im* ⁸*a-na am-tim Tal-ha-ma* ⁹ù *Hi-iš-ta-ah-šu* ¹⁰*qá-ta-tum šu-ma a-šu-mì* ¹¹*am-tim a-na Wa-lá-wa-/lá* lo.e. ¹²*ma-ma-an i-tù-a-ar* rev. ¹³*Tal-ha-ma* ù *Hi-iš-ta-/ah-šu* ¹⁴*am-tám a-na* ¹⁵*Wa-lá-wa-lá* ¹⁶*ú-bu-bu-ší-im šu-ma* (erasure) ¹⁷*am-tám lá ú-ta-bi-bu-/ší-im* ¹⁸1 *ma-na kù-babbar* ¹⁹*li-tí Tal-ha-ma* ù *Hi-iš-ta-/ah-šu* ²⁰*a-na Wa-lá-wa-lá* ²¹*i-ša-qú-lu-ší-ma am-tám i-ta-ru-ú* u.e. ²²*igi Ma-ší-i-lí dumu Bu-zu-zi-/im* ²³*igi Bu-ta-a dumu* (erasure) ²⁴*I-dí-A-šùr igi Ta-mu-ri-a* le.e. ²⁵*dumu Ha-pu-a-šu igi Ša-ak-/ri-ú-ma-/an* ²⁶*dumu A-lá-ri-a*

¹⁻⁵Walawala paid to Happuala, her husband, $\frac{1}{3}$ mina, $\frac{1}{4}$ shekel of silver of *litum*-quality, (corresponding to) the price of Šuppianika. ⁵⁻⁷The female slave is her female slave. No one shall raise a claim against her con-

cerning the female slave. ⁸⁻¹⁰For the female slave, Talhama and Hištahšu are guarantors. ¹⁰⁻¹²If anyone raises a claim against Walawala concerning the female slave, ¹³⁻¹⁶Talhama and Hištahšu shall clear the female slave (from claims) for Walawala. ¹⁶⁻¹⁷If they do not clear the female slave (from claims), ¹⁸⁻²¹Talhama and Hištahšu shall pay one mina of silver to Walawala, and (the claimants) shall take away the female slave.

²²⁻²⁶In the presence of Maši-ilī, son of Buzuzim; Buta, son of Iddin-Aššur; Tamuriya, son of Happuašu; and Šakriuman, son of Alaria.

Bibliography: Text published by Hrozný as ICK 1, 19a + b; edited by Kienast (1984, no. 28).

Comments: The price of the female slave is 20¼ shekels of silver. One wonders why Walawala's husband sold his female slave to his wife, and why the sons are guarantors. There are several women called Walawala (see Michel 2001a, 499–500), and thus it is difficult to identify the one of our text. Since Talhama and Hištahšu are said to be the sons of Walawala and not of Happuala, we may imagine that she was married twice.

139. Getting Back Slaves from the Husband's Household in Kaneš

Obv. ¹*a-na Pu-šu-ke-en*₆ ²*Zu-pá Puzur*₄-*A-šur* ³*A-šur-tù-ku--tí* ⁴*ù A-šur-ša-du-ni* ⁵*qí-bi-ma um-ma La-ma-/sà-tum-ma* ⁶*šu-ma a-ba-ú-a* ⁷*a-tù-nu a-na ma-lá* ⁸*ṭup-pí-im ša A-lim*^{ki} ⁹*é^{bé-tám} ša Kà-ni-iš*^{/ki} ¹⁰*<ú>-ṭù-up-ta-am : lu a-ma-tim* ¹¹*lu ṭup-pé-e : lu a-li* ¹²*kù-babbar 1 gín i-ba-ší-<ú>* ¹³*ih-da-ma : ku-un-kà-ma* ¹⁴*šé-bi-lá-nim : a-pu-tum rev.* ^{15d}*im-ba-ni* ¹⁶*ù túg*^{tù} : *a-na* ¹⁷*ší-mì-im : lá ta-da-/na* ¹⁸*a-na ma-lá ṭup-pí-im* ¹⁹*ša A-lim*^{ki} *i-na ša-ha-/at* ²⁰*ra-bi-ší-im* ²¹*i-zi-za-ma ṭup-pá-am* ²²*ša kà-ri-im Kà-ni-iš* ²³*a-na šé-er ṭup-pí-im* ²⁴*ša A-lim*^{ki} *le-qé-a-ma* ²⁵*a-na Wa-ah-<šu>-ša-na* ²⁶*a-na šé-er : Am-ri-a* ²⁷*ṭur*₄-*da-šu : lá i-sà-hu-ur*

¹⁻⁵Say to Pūšu-kēn, Zupa, Puzur-Aššur, Aššur-tukultī, and Aššur-šaduni: thus (says) Lamassatum.

⁶⁻⁷If you are my fathers, ⁷⁻⁸in accordance with the tablet of the city (of Aššur) ⁹⁻¹³concerning the house in Kaneš, take care to put under seal (all that it contains): furniture, female slaves, tablets, or wherever there is, (as little as) 1 shekel of silver, and ¹⁴send (it) to me. Urgent! ¹⁵⁻¹⁷Do not sell Adad-bāni and the textiles!

¹⁸⁻²¹In accordance with the tablet of the city (of Aššur), assist the attorney and ²¹⁻²⁴take a tablet from the *kārum* of Kaneš in addition to the tablet from the city (of Aššur), and ²⁵⁻²⁷send him to Wahšušana at Āmria's place. He should not tarry.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Smith as CCT 4, 40b + 41a; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 392). Lines 6–14 cited by Kienast (1984, 96).

Comments: Lamassatum is living in Aššur, but she was married to a merchant who had a house in Kaneš. The mention of an attorney might indicate that he died in Anatolia and that his goods had to be brought back to Aššur for the settlement of his affairs. The slave Adad-bāni is also mentioned in the letter 239:4–5, sent by Lamassatum to Pūšu-kēn.

140. Selling an Unsatisfactory Female Slave

Obv. ¹*um-ma Lá-qé-pu-ma* ²*a-na Hu-ta-lá qí-bi₄-/ma* ³*a-na-kam* 9 gín kù-/babbar ⁴*ša a-ša-at : A-bu-qár* ⁵*ha-bu-lá-at-ni : ša-dí-ni-/ší-ma* ⁶*nu-a-am : ša-bi₄-i* ⁷*šál-ma-ku¹(IB) šu-ma* ⁸*am-tum : i-še-ri-/ki¹* ⁹*lá tá-ba-at* lo.e. ¹⁰*a-na ší-mi-im* rev. ¹¹*dí-ni-ší-ma* ¹²*ší-im-ša¹ : le-qé* ¹³*a-ma-kam : A-šur-malik* ¹⁴*dumu A-šur-^dutu^š* ¹⁵*tup-pá-/am* ¹⁶*ša ^dim-gal : lu¹-še-lí-/ma* ¹⁷*kù-babbar ^dim-gal* ¹⁸*ša /tup-pè-šu²* ¹⁹*li-iš-qú-ul-ma* ²⁰*kù-babbar a-tí : le-qí* ²¹*a-pu-tum* ²²*ša-ší-ri*

¹⁻²Thus (says) Laqēpum: say to Huta-la.

³⁻⁵Here, (concerning) the 9 shekels of silver that Abu-(wa)qar's wife owes, ⁵⁻⁶make her pay (it back) and thus satisfy (the demands of the) Anatolian (creditor). ⁷I am well. ⁷⁻⁹If the female slave is unsatisfactory to you (fem.), ¹⁰⁻¹¹sell her and ¹²keep the price you receive for her.

¹³⁻¹⁵There, let Aššur-malik, son of Aššur-šamši, produce the tablet of Adad-rabi, and ¹⁶⁻¹⁷let Adad-rabi pay the silver of his tablet; then ¹⁸you take the silver. ¹⁹⁻²⁰Urgent! Make him pay the silver and its interest.

²¹⁻²²Urgent! Watch the house!

Bibliography: Text published by Hrozný as ICK 1, 69; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 389).

Comments: Hutala, written elsewhere Hatala, daughter of Enišru, married Laqēpum according to 24. She is living in Kaneš, where she manages her household while her husband is traveling. She is free to sell her female slave, and must watch carefully the house and its contents, among which is her husband's merchandise.

141. Female Slaves Taken as Collateral by Aššur Authorities

Obv. ¹*a-na A-šūr-mu-ta-pi-il*₅ ²*Bu-za-zu ú I-ku-pá-ša* ³*qí-bi-ma um-ma A-ha-ha-ma* ⁴*a-na-kam é Šu*^d*En-líl* ⁵*a-na kù-babbar is-ni-qú-ni-a-tí-ma* ⁶*a-na ší-ib-tim ni-il₅-qé-/ma* ⁷*nu-ša-bi-šu-nu : li-mu-/um* ⁸*ù-ša-ah-da-ra-ni* ⁹*ù géme*^{hi-tí-a} ¹⁰*ik-ta-na-ta* ¹¹*kù-babbar* ¹⁰*ma-na rev.* ¹²*šé-bi-lá-nim-ma* ¹³*ša-zu-za-tù-ku-nu* ¹⁴*lu-kà-i-lá-šu-ma* ¹⁵*a-ša i-ta-ší-a-ni* ¹⁶*li-iš-qú-lu : a-ma-kam* ¹⁷*a-tù-nu tí-dá ki-ma* ¹⁸*a-na-kam pu-ru* ¹⁹*é a-bi-ni ša-ki-in* ²⁰*a-hu-ú-a a-tù-nu* ²¹*a-na a-wa-tim* ²²*a-ni-tim ih-da* ²³*a-na-ku ša-zu-za-tí-ku-nu* le.e. ²⁴*lá a-sà-hu-ur*

¹⁻³Say to Aššur-mūtappil, Buzāzu, and Ikuppaša: thus (says) Ahaha.

⁴⁻⁵Here, Šu-Enlil's house put pressure on us for the silver, ⁶⁻⁷so we borrowed (some) at interest and satisfied them. ⁷⁻⁸The eponym is intimidating me, and ⁹⁻¹⁰he keeps seizing my female slaves as collateral. ¹¹⁻¹²Send me silver, about 10 minas, and ¹³⁻¹⁴let your representatives offer (it) to him and ¹⁵⁻¹⁶pay the amount that has been declared against me.

¹⁶⁻¹⁹You know over there that here the house of our father is getting unfair treatment. ²⁰⁻²²Pay attention to this case, as to me; ²³⁻²⁴let me not have to wait for your representatives.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Thureau-Dangin as TC 2, 46; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 315). Lines 7–19 cited by Larsen (1976, 202 n. 4).

Comments: Ahaha, from Aššur, writes to her brothers about debts of the family to the City Hall of Aššur—also called the House of the Eponym—perhaps after the death of their father. These debts might result from a delay in the payment of the export tax (use of the verb *wašûm*, line 15). The authorities put pressure on the family members still in Aššur, in this case Ahaha, a consecrated woman, by taking their slaves as collateral.

142. Bronze and Female Slaves Taken as Collateral by Aššur Authorities

Obv. ¹*a-na* ^d*A-šūr-ta-ak-lá-ku* ²*qí-bí-ma um-ma Ší-ma-Sú-/en₆-ma* ³*še-am : a-wi-lu-ú* ⁴*la i-du-nu : a-šu-mì* ⁵*tup-pá¹-am : ša ta-áš-pu-ru-/šu-nu-tí-/ni* ⁶*um-ma a-ta-ma : mi-šu-um* ⁷*ha-ri-tí : ta-áp-ta-na-té-e* ⁸*ú še-um : ta-da-na-šu-nu-tí* ⁹*i-na e-ne-a* (erasure) ¹⁰*tù-x-x^o-ku-ma : um-ma a-ta-ma* ¹¹*hu-bu-la-am : lu t[a-x-x]/-ki-n[i]* lo.e. ¹²*[š]ú-ùh-ri* ¹³*lu tù-ša-ki-il₅ lá* *šé-bu-ul-tum_x* rev. ¹⁴*lá ta-ak-ši-tum* ¹⁵*i-na A-lim^{ki} : a-ta a-ni-a-tím* ¹⁶*ta-ša-pá-ra-am* (erasure) ¹⁷*sí-pá-ru ú géme^{hi}-ká* ¹⁸*li-mu-um : ik-ta-ma* ¹⁹*a-ni : li-mu-um ú-ší-ma* ²⁰*a-ši-im ú-ká-lu-ú* ²¹*kà-sí-lu-ta-am : e-ri-iš-/ma* ²²*é^{bé}-tám : ip-té-ú-ma* ²³*i-dí-nu-nim : ú-ri-qá-e* ²⁴*a-mu-ur-ma : ša-bu-lu ú* ²⁵*sú-qú-um i-na še-ri-a¹(E) u.e.* ²⁶*i-za-az šu-ma* le.e. ²⁷*li-bi-kà : šé-bi-lá-ma ì-gi[š]* ²⁸*li-iš-pu-ku lá i-kà-le-ma* (erasure)

¹⁻²Say to Aššur-taklāku: thus (says) Šíma(t)-Suen.

³⁻⁴The men did not give the barley. ⁴⁻⁶Concerning the tablet about which you wrote them as follows: ⁶⁻⁸“Why do you time and again open my *harītum*-containers and give them barley?” ⁹⁻¹⁰In my eyes, you [...] and (said) as follows: ¹¹“Certainly, you should [...] me (with) a debt.” ¹²⁻¹⁴Indeed, you gave food to my children. (However,) there is neither a consignment nor a share of the profit in the city (of Aššur). ¹⁵⁻¹⁶You, you write this to me! ¹⁷⁻¹⁸The eponym has taken the bronze objects and your female slaves as collateral, and ¹⁹⁻²¹now the eponym has gone out, and has made senseless (?) demands for the purchase goods I hold, and ²²⁻²³they opened the house and sold (them).

²³⁻²⁴I saw my *vegetables*; ²⁴⁻²⁶they are dry and hunger is upon me! ²⁶⁻²⁷If you agree, send me (silver), and ²⁷⁻²⁸let them store oil. He should not detain me!

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Clay as BIN 4, 67. Lines 17–23 cited by Hecker (1968, 144) and Larsen (1976, 203 n. 42).

Comments: Šimat-Suen’s husband has large debts with the Aššur authorities, who put pressure on his wife to recover them. They took female slaves and bronze as collateral and sold some goods that were kept inside the house. She needs silver both to buy food and to pay his debts. She is afraid that she herself could be detained for the debt of her husband.

Line 7: *ha-ri-tí* could be the Assyrian form *haritum* of the word *harûm*, whose plural is *hariâtum*.

Line 10: the two middle signs of the verbal form are written over erasure. The word *uriq(q)û* could refer to vegetables (*urqû*).

Line 25: *sû-qû-um* would stand for *sunqum*.

143. An Anatolian Woman Buys a Female Slave from an Assyrian Merchant

Envelope

Obv. 1(seal A) ²kišib *A-bu-ša-lim* dumu *A-šur-du*₁₀ ³kišib ⁴*En-líl-ba-ni* dumu *Ì-lí-[a-lim]* ⁴kišib *Lá-qé-pí-im* dumu *A-šûr-[gal]* ⁵(seal B) ⁶*[A-ra-lá]* ⁷*[dumu-munus]* *Šál-ma-A-šur* ⁸*[dumu A-šur-ma-lik]* ⁹*[a-na 14 gín kù-babbar]* ¹⁰*[Lá-qé-ep]* dumu *A-šur-gal* rev. ¹¹*[a-na š]í-m[ì-im a-na]* ¹²*[Wa-lí-wa-lí]* dam *Lá-q[é]-ep* ¹³*[dumu A-šu]r-ma-lik* ¹⁴(seal C) ¹⁵*[i-dí-in-ší]* lo.e. ¹⁶*[šu-ma]* *a-na* *Wa-lí-wa-lí* ¹⁷(seal C) ¹⁸*[ma-ma-an a]-šu-mì* *A-ra-lá* ¹⁹*[(x-x)] i-tù-wa-ar* ²⁰*[L]á-qé-pu-um* ²¹*[ú-ba-áb-ší]*

Inscription on Seal A

¹*[Za-at-ip-ra]* ²gal *ha-ṭí-im*

Zatipra *rabi haṭṭim*.

¹⁻⁴Seal of Abu-šalim, son of Aššur-ṭāb; seal of Enlil-bāni, son of Ilī-[ālum]; seal of Laqēpum, son of Aššur-[rabi].

⁶⁻¹⁵Laqēp, son of Aššur-[rabi, sold to Waliwali], wife of Laqēp, [son of Aššu]r-malik, [Arala, daughter of] Šalim-Aššur, [son of Aššur-malik], [for 14 shekels of silver]. ¹⁶⁻¹⁹[If anyone] raises a claim against Waliwali concerning Arala, ²⁰⁻²¹[L]aqēpum shall clear her (from claims).

Tablet

Obv. ¹*A-ra-lá* dumu-mu[nus] ²*Šál-ma-A-šur* ³dumu *A-šur-ma-lik* ⁴*a-na* 14 gín kù-bab[bar] ⁵*Lá-qé-ep* dumu *A-šur-gal* ⁶*a-na ší-mì-im a-n[a]* ⁷*Wa-lí-wa-lí* ⁸dam *Lá-qé-ep* ⁹dumu *A-šur-ma-lik* ¹⁰*i-dí-in-ší* ¹¹*šu-ma : ma-ma-an* lo.e. ¹²*[a]-na* *Wa-lí-wa-lí* rev. ¹³*[a-šu-mì A-ra-lá]* ¹⁴*[i-tù-wa-ar]* ¹⁵*[Lá-qé-pu-um]* ¹⁶*[ú-ba-áb-ší]* ¹⁷*[igi A-bu-ša-lim]* ¹⁸*[igi dEn-líl-ba-ni]*

¹⁻¹⁰Laqēp, son of Aššur-rabi, sold to Waliwali, wife of Laqēp, son of Aššur-malik, Arala, daug[hter of] Šalim-Aššur, son of Aššur-malik, for 14 shekels of sil[ver]. ¹¹⁻¹⁴If anyone [raises a claim a]gainst Waliwali [concerning Arala], ¹⁵⁻¹⁶[Laqēpum shall clear her (from claims)].

¹⁷⁻¹⁸[In the presence of Abu-šalim and Enlil-bāni.]

Bibliography: Text of the tablet published in copy by Matouš as ICK 2, 76; text of the envelope in several pieces, published in copy by Hrozný as ICK 1, 46a, and by Matouš as ICK 2, 77, and KKS 45b; edited by Kienast (1984, no. 2); translated by Hecker (1980, 66). The seal of the official chief scepter bearer is Teissier 1994, no. 221.

Comments: The Anatolian woman, Waliwali, purchaser of the female slave, is married to an Assyrian merchant called Laqēp. The female slave, Arala, is a daughter and granddaughter of Assyrian merchants.

144. An Anatolian Woman Buys a Female Slave from Another Anatolian Woman

Envelope

Obv. ¹ki[šib ...] ²[(seal)] ³[ki]šib A-[zu 15 gín kù-babbar] ⁴šī-i[m am-tí-šu Ni-wa-al-ki] ⁵ta-a[l-qé ...] ⁶Na-ki-[il₅-wi-iš-we dam] ⁷(seal A) ⁸[A-šūr-mu-ta-pì-il₅ i-ša-am šu-ma] ⁹(seal A) lo.e. ¹⁰(seal B upside down) rev. ¹¹ma-ma-an : i-pá-ía-ar-[šī] ¹²(seal B upside down) ¹³1 ma-na kù-[babb]ar [a-n]a [d]am¹ ¹⁴A-šūr-mu-t[a-pì-il₅] ¹⁵Na-ki-il₅¹-w[i-iš-we i-š]a-[qal] ¹⁶šu-ma ša ú¹(W[A]-ba-dí-ni ma-ma-an] ¹⁷(seal C) ¹⁸[i-t]ù-r[a¹-am ...] (lacuna) lo.e. (seal B)

^{1'-3'}S[eal of ... se]al of A[zu. ^{3'-5'}Niwalka] rece[ived 15 shekels of silver], pri[ce of his female slave]. ^{6'-8'}Naki[lwišwe, wife of Aššur-mūtappil, bought (her). ^{8'-11'}If] anyone redeems her, ^{13'-15'}he s[hall pay] one mina of si[lver [to the wi]fe of Aššur-mūt[appil], Nakilwišwe. ^{16'-18'}If [anyone r]ais[es a claim] from the u[badinnum, ...]

Tablet

Obv. ^{15*} gín kù-babbar ²šī-im am-tí-šu* ³Ni-wa-al-ki ⁴ta-al-qé ⁵Na-ki-il₅-wi-iš-/we ⁶dam : A-šūr-mu-ta-pì-il₅ ⁷i-ša-am : ša ⁸i-tù-ru-šu-ni lo.e. ⁹[1 m]a-na kù-babbar rev. ¹⁰[i-š]a-qá¹(BI)-lá ¹¹šu-ma ša ú¹(WA)-ba¹(ŠÍ)-

dí-/ni ¹²*ma-ma-an* ¹³*i-tù-ra-am* ¹⁴*1 ma-na kù-babbar* ¹⁵*a-na dam : A-šur-mu-/ta-pi-il₅* ¹⁶*Na-ki-il₅-wi-iš-we* ¹⁷*i-ša-qú-lu* u.e. ¹⁸*igi A-zu igi Pè-ru-/wa-ah-/šu* le.e. ¹⁹*igi Wa-la-[a]h-šu* ²⁰*A-li-l[i]*

¹⁻⁴Niwalka received 15 shekels of silver, price of his female slave. ⁵⁻⁷Nakilwišwe, wife of Aššur-mūtappil, bought (her). ⁷⁻¹⁰The one who would raise a claim [shall] pay [one m]ina of silver (to Nakilwišwe). ¹¹⁻¹³If anyone from the *ubadinnum* raises a claim, ¹⁴⁻¹⁷they shall pay 1 mina of silver to the wife of Aššur-mūtappil, Nakilwišwe.

¹⁸⁻²⁰In the presence of Azu, Peruwahšu, Walahšu, and Alili.

Bibliography: Text of the tablet published in copy by Hrozný as ICK 1, 123; text of the envelope published in copy by Matouš as ICK 2, 182; edited by Kienast (1984, no. 13); translated by Hecker (2004b, 52–53).

Comments: Both parties of this sale contract are Anatolian women. The purchaser of the female slaves is married to an Assyrian merchant. The anonymous slave, object of the contract, is also a woman. The *ubadinnum* refers to land and tenants, granted by the king of Kaneš to high officials, acting here as a legal corporate body; see Dercksen 2004b.

The Anatolian writer did not use the feminine verbal forms for the verbs in lines 7 and 8 of the tablet and 8' of the envelope.

Envelope, line 11': this reading is suggested by Veenhof (2003a, 462 n. 154).

145. Bad Conduct of a Female Slave

Envelope

Obv. ¹(seal) ²*a-na Ma-ma-la* kišib *A-šur-utu*^{š_i} ³*géme lá ta-ší-im-tum* ⁴(seal *A*) ⁵*a-wa-sà : a-ga-mar-ma* lo.e. ⁶(seal upside down) rev. ⁷(seal) ⁸*a-ťá-ra-sí : a-tí šé-tù-tí* ⁹*tal-qé-e ma-nu-um i-bi₄-[sà-e]* ¹⁰*lá e-mar* ¹¹(seal) u.e. ¹²(seal) le.e. ¹³(seal) r.e. ¹⁴(seal)

²To Mamala, seal of Aššur-šamši.

³The female slave has no sense. ⁵I will have done with her and ⁸send her away.

⁸⁻¹⁰You held me in contempt. Who does not experience losses?

Tablet

Obv. ¹*a-na Ma-ma-la qí-bi-ma* ²*um-ma A-šur-^dutušⁱ-ma* ³*ha-ra-ni a-mì-šá-ma* ⁴*kù-babbar* ¹*ma-na dam-gàr^{ru-/um}* ⁵*i-ta-áš-a-ni wa-ar-/kà-sú* ⁶*ú-kà-ší-dam a-ni* ⁷¹⁰ *u₄-me a-lá-kam šu-ma* ⁸*lá a-tal-kam* urudu *lu* ⁵ *ma-na* ⁹*lu* ⁶ *ma-na ú-še-ba-lam* ¹⁰^{1½} *ma-na A-šur-sipa* ¹¹*sà-ku-ku-um ub-lá-ki-im* lo.e. ¹²*lá ta-áš-ta-na-me-/i* ¹³*[k]i-ma : ma-at* rev. ¹⁴*Ku-na-na-mì-it* ¹⁵*sà-ah-a-at-ni-ma* ¹⁶*lá na-aṭ-ú-ma a-šar* ¹⁷¹⁰ *ma-na urudu^{am} ha-bu-/lu-ni* ¹⁸*lá né-ri-iš* ¹⁹*um-ma «be» a-na-ku-ma* ²⁰*ma-lá du-lá-am ta-mu-/ru* ²¹*du-um-qám* : *lu ta-mu-ur* ²²*a-tí šé-ṭù-tí ta-al-qí-i-/ma* ²³*šú-ha-ar-tám ta-ta-/ad-ni* ²⁴*ú šú-ha-ra-am* ²⁵*lá ta-ší-ri a-[n]a* u.e. ²⁶*a-wa-tù-ki A-šur* ²⁷*lu i-de₈* le.e. ²⁸*um-ma a-na-ku-ma a-na* ²⁹*um-mì-<a>* : *a-tí* ³⁰*ta-za-ri-ni*

¹⁻²Say to Mamala: thus (says) Aššur-šamši.

³⁻⁵As I was on my way toward there, the merchant took away from me silver, at least a whole mina. ⁵⁻⁶I had to chase after him. ⁶⁻⁷Now I will come within 10 days. ⁷⁻⁹If I do not come, I will send copper, either 5 or 6 minas. ¹⁰⁻¹¹Aššur-rē'i, the deaf man, brought you 1½ mina.

¹²⁻¹⁵Do you not keep hearing that the land of Kunanamt is in a state of anarchy? ¹⁶⁻¹⁸So it is not convenient for us to ask for payment from people who owe (as much as) 10 minas of copper.

¹⁹I (said) as follows: ²⁰⁻²¹"May you see good as much as you have seen misery!" ²²⁻²³You, you held me in contempt, and you even sold the female slave. ²⁴⁻²⁵And you did not take care of the boy! ²⁵⁻²⁷Aššur certainly knows your actions! ²⁸⁻³⁰I (said) as follows: "As my mother, would you hate me?"

Bibliography: Text published by Dercksen (2010b) as LB 1209A (envelope) and LB 1209B (tablet).

Comments: The family connection between Mamala and Aššur-šamši is unknown. Mamala sold a female slave without Aššur-šamši's consent. But from the envelope of this letter, we learn that this female slave had no sense and that Aššur-šamši intends to get rid of her.

Lines 20–21 may be understood as an ironic statement: "You will get what you deserve!"

WOMEN AT HOME

Assyrian women were responsible for keeping up the house as well as managing their domestic staff. The house, *bētum*, was more than just a shelter for the night; it stood for all the life that was lived there and the people who made it their home: the couple, their children, the household slaves. The house was also the locus for certain family traditions. At Aššur, as at Kaneš, the basement could be used as a place for interments. Ownership of a house brought with it maintenance of the ancestor cult, because forgotten ancestors could come back to haunt the inhabitants of the house.⁴⁹

At Aššur, houses were built of unbaked brick, a material ill suited for extremes of weather, so frequently in need of repair. At Kaneš, mud brick walls rested on stone foundations. Floors were of packed earth. The roof was held up by wooden beams, which had to be replaced regularly, and the plaster roofing redone.⁵⁰ Women who lived alone at Aššur stocked up on bricks, and bought timbers to strengthen the walls and redo the roof, but might wait for their husbands' return to carry out any work (146).

The house was the woman's domain. She wanted to own as large and handsome a house as possible, to symbolize the couple's social success (147). Some women at Aššur bought houses for themselves or for joint ownership with their husbands, often the property next door, so they could enlarge their own home (129, 147).

The archives found at Kaneš contain contracts for the purchase of real estate in which women sometimes appear, either as buyers or sellers.⁵¹ Some bought, after some years, the house they resided in; others, widowed, were allowed to live in a house sold to a third party (51, 52, 150). Sale contracts for houses were drawn up either from the standpoint of the seller or that of the buyer. Women, Assyrian or Anatolian, married or not, could purchase assets on their own (148, 149, 150, 151, 152). The prices for houses purchased by women range from about 30 shekels to 2½ minas of silver. Purchase of a house by an Anatolian couple is also attested (153). Several texts mention women as owners of houses: "Have the scribe of the *kārum* search the house of Šāt-Ea."⁵²

49. Michel 2009a, and chapter 5 of this book, pp. 354–75.

50. Michel 1997b; Veenhof 2011, 213–15.

51. Kienast 1984. Add to the samples given in this chapter Kt v/k 52 (Günbatt 1989), which reports the purchase of a house by the woman Ala.

52. ATHE 34:23–25 (letter to Aššur-nādā from Aššur-idī) dub-sar: *ša ka-ri-im*,

At Kaneš, merchants' houses were built in the lower town, generally on two levels. The residences excavated in the commercial quarter have an average size of 70 to 90 square meters; larger houses could exceed 150 or 200 square meters.⁵³ The kitchen was located on the ground floor, with an oven, a servants' room, one or several storage rooms, and a sealed strong room (*huršum*, *maššartum*, *maknukum*). The different areas of the house could be ranged around a principal room (*ekallum*, 154). The sealed room was used for storage of merchandise, especially tin and textiles, and for archives, of which the debt notes were among the most valuable possessions of the couple. The family lived on the upper floor.

Women who lived alone had to see that their house was secure from thieves, especially at night. Their husbands would send them letters about this, urging them to ward off intruders (140, 154, 155, 156, 305, 307). Women also protected the couple's assets against moneylenders or investors and hostile associates who were tempted to avail themselves of a house abandoned by their debtor or partner. When they themselves were absent, women had to take steps to have their house watched throughout their absence (303). Texts do in fact refer to robberies committed in houses inhabited by merchants and their wives in the lower town (311).⁵⁴

146. Getting Together Bricks and Beams to Repair the House

Obv. ¹*a-na* ^d*En-líl-ba-ni* ²*qí-bi-ma* : *um-ma* ³*Ta-ri-iš-ma-tum-ma* ⁴*a-šu-mi* ^{é^{tim}} *ša wa-áš-ba-ni-/ni* ⁵*ki-ma* : ^{é^{tum}} *an-hu-ni* ⁶*áp-lá-ah-ma li-bi-tám* ⁷*i-na dá-áš-i-im* : *uš-tal-bi-in-/ma* ⁸*e-me-ra-am* : *e-té-me-er* : *a-šu-mi* ⁹*gu₅-šu-ri* : *ša ta-áš-pu-ra-ni* ¹⁰*kù-babbar* *ša šé-bu-lim* ¹*šé-bi-il₅* ¹¹*a-na-kam* : *gu₅-šu-ri* : *li²-[iš-ú-mu-kum]* (lacuna)

Rev. ¹*[š]a²-pá-ru-[um]* *i-[x-x-x]* ²*ú-sà-pá-ah-ma* : *ta-áš-[ta-pu]* ³*a-hi a-ta* : *a-na-ku* : *a-na* [*ma-nim a-ta-kál*] ⁴*ù a-ta* : *a-na ma-nim t[a-ta-kál i-na]* ⁵*a-lá-ki-kà* : *kù-babbar* : *zi-tám* *ša é* ⁶*a-bi-ni* : *ta-lá-ma-ad-ma* : *li-ba-kà* ⁷*ù li-bi₄* : *i-nu-a-ah* : *a-na* ⁸*ta-ki¹-li* *ù li-ša-nim* ⁹*lá ta-la-ak* : *i-na pá-ni* : *wa-*

é *Ša-té-a* : *dumu-munus Sú-e-ta-ta*, *na-hi¹(Dí)-id*. Sometimes, the formulation is ambiguous and might be interpreted as “the house in which ^fPN lives.” For example, Nuhšatum lived in the house of her husband; see Veenhof 2015c and Michel 2016d.

53. T. Özgüç 1986, 1–15, 115–17; 2003, 77–98.

54. The best documented example is the theft of two chests of previously stolen tablets from the house of a merchant, see CTMMA 1, 84, a dossier analysed by Michel 2000a, 135–38.

ša-i-kà ^{10'}a-šu-mì : kà-li-tí-ni tù-na-hi-/da-ni ^{11'}um-ma a-ta-ma : a-na é
^{12'}a-bi-ša : lá tù-šé-ri-ši qá-dí-ki-ma ^{13'}i-na é^{tim} lu tù-šé-ši-ib-ma é^{tám} ^{14'}bar-
kà-at-ki : lu ta-šur : ki-ma tù-uš-ni ^{15'}ma-tí-ma : ba-za-ša ù šé-la-sà : ú-lá
^{16'}ib-ši : a-ni : iš-tù iti-8-kam ^{17'}iš-tí-a wa-[š]a-ba-[am ú-lá] ta-mu-wa le.e.
^{18'}tù-uš-té-ša-ma : a-na é a-bi-ša-[ma] ^{19'}mu-ši-a-tim ta-ta-na-la-ak-m[a]
^{20'}lá dam-qá-tim áš-ta-na-me-ši-ma ^{21'}a-wa-tí : ša-ma-a-am ú-lá (erasure)
^{22'}ta-mu-wa

¹⁻³Say to Enlil-bāni: thus (says) Tariš-mātum.

⁴Concerning the house in which we live, ⁵⁻⁸I was afraid because the house has fallen into disrepair, so, in the spring, I had mud bricks made, and I stacked (them) in piles. ⁸⁻¹⁰Concerning the beams about which you wrote me, send me the necessary amount of silver ¹¹so that they [will buy] beams [for you] here (lacuna).

^{1'-2'}He wastes [...] and you have k[ept silent]. ^{3'-4'}You are my brother, in [whom else should I trust]? And you, in whom else should y[ou trust]? ^{4'-7}On] your arrival, you will learn how much the share in silver of our father's house is, and then you and I may be at ease. ^{7'-9'}Don't pay heed to slander and gossip!

^{9'-10'}Before your departure, you gave me instructions concerning our daughter-in-law ^{11'-12'}as follows: "Do not let her go to the house of her father; ^{12'-13'}it is with you that she must be made to live in the house, and ^{13'-14'}she must keep watch on the house after you (have left)." ^{14'-16'}When you left, there had never been any instance of misconduct or misdeed on her part. ^{16'-17'}(But) now, for 8 months she [re]fuses to sta[y] with me, ^{18'-19'}she fights with me, and at night she always goes to her father's house, and ^{20'-22'}I keep on hearing bad things about her; now she refuses to listen to me!

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Pinches (1908, 1); collated by Kawasaki (1998, 85); translated by Michel (2001a, no. 320; 2014b, 207). Lines 4–11, 9'–22' cited by Michel (1997b, 287 n. 3; 290 n. 14).

Comments: Tariš-mātum, sister of Pūšu-kēn, son of Sue'a, was married to Aššur-malik, son of Šu-Kūbum, and lived in Aššur. In the absence of her husband, who was probably deceased, she writes to her son, Enlil-bāni, about the maintenance of her house and about her new daughter-in-law, wife of Enlil-bāni, who was supposed to be living with her for the time.

147. A Bigger House to Show Off Social Success

Obv. ¹*a-na Pu-šu-ke-en₆* ²*qí-bi-ma : um-ma Lá-ma-sí-ma* ³*ta-ša-me-ma : ta-ni-iš¹-/tum* ⁴*il₅¹-té-mì-in* ⁵*a-hu-um : a-na a-hi-im* ⁶*a-na ha-lá-tim : i-za-az* ⁷*ku-ta-bi-it-ma* ⁸*ù al-kam-ma : ku-ur-ší-/kà* ⁹*pá-ri-ir : šú-ha-ar-/tám* ¹⁰*a-na sú-un A-šūr* ¹¹*šu-ku-un : i-na A-lim^{ki}* ¹²*síg^{hi-a} : wa-aq-ra-at* ¹³*i-nu-mì : kù-babbar* ¹⁴*ma-na* ¹⁵*ta-ša-kà-na-ni* ¹⁶*i-na qé-ra-áb lo.e.* ¹⁷*síg^{hi-a} : šu-uk-nam* ¹⁸*kù-babbar* ¹⁹*ma-na rev.* ²⁰*ša wa-ší-tí-kà* ²¹*ša tù-šé-bi₄-lá-ni : mu-ší-/um* ²²*e-ri-šu-ni-ma* ²³*a-šu-mì-kà : pá-al-ha-ku-/ma* ²⁴*ù-lá a-<dí>-in* ²⁵*um-ma a-na-ku-ma* ²⁶*li-mu-um le-ru-ba-/ma* ²⁷*ébe-té-tám* ²⁸*li-pu-/ug* ²⁹*a-ha-at-kà* (erasure) ³⁰*gème : a-na ší-mì-im* ³¹*ta-dí-in-ma : a-na-ku* ³²*a-na* ³³*gín áp-tù-ur-/ší* ³⁴*ša-lim-a-hu-um* ³⁵*šé-na : ébe-té-en* ³⁶*iš-tù a-ta : tù-uš-ú u.e.* ³⁷*e¹-ta-pá-áš* ³⁸*né-nu-ma : a-na ma-tí le.e.* ³⁹*né-pá-áš : túg : ša A-šur-ma-lik* ⁴⁰*i-na pá-ni-tim : ub-lá-ni : kù-babbar* ⁴¹*mì-in : lá tù-šé-ba-lam*

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

³⁻⁶You hear that people are behaving badly, one tries to gobble up the other! ⁷⁻⁹Be an honorable man, break your obligations, and come here! ⁹⁻¹¹Consecrate our young (daughter) to the god Aššur. ¹¹⁻¹²(Here), in the city (of Aššur), wool is expensive. ¹³⁻¹⁶When you put silver at my disposal, (about) 1 mina, put it in with the wool.

¹⁷⁻²⁰The *mūšû*-official asked me for the silver, (about) 1 mina, for your export tax that you sent me, ²¹⁻²²but I was afraid for you, and I did not give (anything); ²³I (told him) as follows: ²⁴⁻²⁵“The eponym may come in and confiscate (my) house, (but I will not give anything)!” ²⁶⁻²⁹Your sister sold a female slave, but I myself released her for 14 shekels (of silver).

³⁰⁻³³Since you left, Šalim-ahum has built two houses; ³⁴⁻³⁵when will we be able to do (the same)? ³⁵⁻³⁶As for the textile(s) that Aššur-malik brought you previously, ³⁶⁻³⁷could you not send the silver?

Bibliography: Text published by Garelli as RA 59, 159 (MAH 16209); translated by Michel (2001a, no. 306; 2014b, 208–9).

Comments: Lamassī urges her husband to pay his duties to Aššur authorities because an official put pressure on her asking for the money: the *mūšû*-official was involved in the levy of the export tax in Aššur.

At the end of the letter, she expresses her wish to enlarge her house. Veenhof (2011, 213–14), suggests that the first and second houses were

connected with each other (see ICK 1, 128). According to Sch. 22, Pūšu-kēn's representatives in Aššur bought for him Ilum-malik's house, next to his house; this house was previously rented by Pūšu-kēn and Lamassī (260). We may conclude that Lamassī was finally satisfied.

Line 20: the verbal form should be singular and not plural.

Line 37: according to Kouwenberg (2017, 348 n. 4), *mī-in* would be an error for *mī-šum*.

148. An Assyrian Woman Buys a House from an Assyrian Couple

Obv. ¹é ša Ištar-lá-ma-/sí ²ù A-šūr-du₁₀ ³a-na 2½ ma-na ⁴kù-babbar a-na ⁵Ša-lim-ma i-dí-nu-ma ⁶kù-babbar ší-im é-šu-nu ⁷A-šūr-du₁₀ ù Ištar-lá-/ma-sí ⁸ša-bu-ú ⁹é^{bé-tù} lo.e. ¹⁰ša Ša-lim-ma rev. ¹¹šu-ma : ma-ma-an ¹²a-na é be-tí i-tù-a-ar-/[ší]*-im ¹³A-šūr-du₁₀ ù Ištar-lá-ma-/sí ¹⁴ú-bu-bu-ší ¹⁵tup-pá-am ša ší-im ¹⁶é^{bé-tí} a-ni-ú-tim ¹⁷ša ku-nu-uk nu-a-im ¹⁸be-el é pá-nim A-šūr-/du₁₀ ¹⁹a-na Ša-lim-ma i-dí-in ²⁰igi ²¹utu-ba-ni ²²[igi] A-šur-ma-lik ²²[igi] Sú-en₆-sipa

¹⁻⁵The house of Ištar-lamassī and Aššur-ṭāb, for 2½ minas of silver, they sold to Šalimma; and ⁶⁻⁸with the silver, price of their house, Aššur-ṭāb and Ištar-lamassī are satisfied. ⁹⁻¹⁰That house belongs to Šalimma. ¹¹⁻¹²If anyone raises a claim against her for the house, ¹³⁻¹⁴Aššur-ṭāb and Ištar-lamassī shall clear her.

¹⁵⁻¹⁹Aššur-ṭāb gave to Šalimma the contract recording the sale of this house, with the seal of the Anatolian, its previous owner.

²⁰⁻²²In the presence of Šamaš-bāni, Aššur-malik, and Suen-rē'i.

Bibliography: Text published by Veenhof (2003b, 693–95) as no. 1 (Kt 91/k 522), then as AKT 8, 210; collated May 2012.

Comments: There are at least two other women named Ištar-lamassī: one married to Puzur-Ištar (23), and another who is a consecrated woman (171; TC 3, 128); in this text, Ištar-lamassī is presumably the wife of Aššur-ṭāb. Šalimma, the buyer of this house, is well-known from the archives excavated in 1991 and studied by Veenhof. Daughter of Lamasatum and Elamma, sister of Ummī-Išhara, she married Ir'am-Aššur (Kt 91/k 386). Šalimma left her husband alone with their child in Aššur and traveled to Kaneš, where she lived with her mother, already a widow

(Veenhof 2007). According to this contract, she bought a house while she was in Kaneš.

The contract mentions at the end the deeds of the previous transactions concerning this building, which are transferred to Šalimma, the buyer. In Old Babylonian documentation, at the sale of a house, letters and judicial records concerning earlier transactions of the building were transferred to the new owner (Charpin 1986).

Line 16: both plural *bētū* and *bētātu* are attested in Old Assyrian texts. The second corresponds to different houses belonging to various people. According to Veenhof (2011, 216–17), the first plural form could refer to a large complex and thus should be translated as a singular (see also in the following texts).

149. A Woman Buys from an Anatolian a House Previously Belonging to an Assyrian

Envelope

Obv. ¹(seal A) ²kišib *Puzur₄-e-na* *dumu E-li¹-a* ³kišib *I-dí-Sú-en₆* *dumu I-dí-Ištar** ⁴kišib *Pè-ru-a* *dumu Wa-lá-ah-ší-na* ⁵kišib *Da-lá-áš* *dumu Ha-ma-ra-a* ⁶kišib *Šu-pi^{*}-ú-ma-an* *dumu Ha-mu-ri-/a¹* ⁷(seal B) ⁸*é^{tám} ša iš-tí I-ku-nim* lo.e. ⁹(seal B) ¹⁰*dumu Sà^{*}-ma-a Pè-ru-a* rev. ¹¹(seal C) ¹²*dumu Wa-lá-ah-ší-na a-na* ¹³ $\frac{1}{2}$ *ma-na* ¹⁴ $\frac{1}{4}$ *lā gín* ¹⁵(seal D) ¹⁶*iš-ú-mu a-na* ¹⁷ $\frac{1}{2}$ *ma-na* ¹⁸ $\frac{1}{4}$ *lā gín* ¹⁹(seal E) ²⁰*ta-áš-a-am-šu kù-[b]bbar* le.e. ²¹*ša-bu* ²²(seal E) r.e. ²³(seal C)

^{2–6}Seal of Puzur-Enna, son of Eliya; seal of Iddin-Suen, son of Iddin-Ištar; seal of Peru(w)a, son of Walahšina; seal of Dalaš, son of Hamaraya; seal of Šu[pp]iuman, son of Hamurum.

^{8–12}Concerning the house that Peruwa, son of Walahšina, bought from Ikūnum, son of Samaya, for $\frac{1}{2}$ mina and 4 minus $\frac{1}{4}$ shekel (of silver); ^{12–15}Umminara bought it from Peru(w)a for $\frac{1}{2}$ mina and 4 minus $\frac{1}{4}$ shekel (of silver). ^{20–21}The silver has been paid.

Tablet

¹*é^{be-tám} ša iš-tí I-ku-/nim* ²*dumu Sà¹-ma-a «ta» Pè-ru-a* ³*dumu Wa-lá-ah-ší-na* ⁴*a-na* ⁵ $\frac{1}{2}$ *ma-na* ⁶ $\frac{1}{4}$ *lā gín* ⁷*iš-ú-mu iš-tí* ⁸*Pè-ru-a a-na* ⁹ $\frac{1}{2}$ *ma-na* ¹⁰ $\frac{1}{4}$ *lā gín* ¹¹*Um-mi-na-ra* ¹²*ta-áš-a-am-šu kù-babbar* ¹³*ša-bu* ¹⁴*igi I-dí-Sú-en₆* ¹⁵*igi Da-lá-áš* ¹⁶*igi Šu-pi-ú-ma-an*

¹⁻⁵Concerning the house that Peruwa, son of Walahšina, bought from Ikūnum, son of Samaya, for ½ mina and 4 minus ¼ shekel (of silver); ⁵⁻⁸Umminara bought it from Peru(w)a for ½ mina and 4 minus ¼ shekel (of silver). ⁸⁻⁹The silver has been paid.

¹⁰⁻¹²In the presence of Iddin-Suen, Dalaš, and Šuppiuman.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Lewy as KTS 1, 46; edited by Eisser and Lewy (1930, no. 107), and by Kienast (1984, no. 6). Seals are published in ICK 2, pl. CXXVIII, no. 83, A–E; and seal A is reproduced in N. Özgüç 2006, pl. 5 (CS 277). Envelope collated by Donbaz (2015, 63).

Comments: This sale contract concerns the same house and presumably the same transaction as 150. The Anatolian woman buys a house from an Anatolian man who previously bought it from an Assyrian.

150. A Woman Buys a House for Another Woman

Envelope

Obv. ¹(seal A) ²kišib Šu-pi-a-ah-šu ³kišib Šé-šú-ur kišib Áb-ša-lim ⁴kišib Šu-iš-ku-na ⁵(seal B) lo.e. ⁶(seal B) rev. ⁷(seal C) ⁸ša é^{ti} ša I-ku-nim ⁹Šu-iš-ku-na a-šu-mi ¹⁰[U]m-mi-na-ra ta-<áš>-ú-mu ¹¹[½] ma-na 3 gín kù-bab-bar ¹²[Um-m]i-na-ra ta-áš-qú-ul ¹³[la ta-q]á-bi⁴ Šu-iš-ku-na ¹⁴[é^{ti}-a] wa-ša-bu-tám ¹⁵[wa-áš-ba]-at u.e. ¹⁶(seal A) lo.e. ¹⁷(seal D) r.e. ¹⁸(seal C)

¹⁻⁴Seal of Šuppiahšu; seal of Šēšur; seal of Ab-šalim; seal of Šuiškuna.

⁸⁻¹⁰Concerning the house of Ikūnum that Šuiškuna bought in the name of Umminara, ¹¹⁻¹²Umminara paid ½ mina, 3 shekels of silver. ¹³⁻¹⁵Šuiškuna must not say: “(It is) my house.” But she may go on living in (it).

Tablet

Obv. ¹½ ma-na 3 gín kù-/babbar ²ši-im : é ša I-/ku-nim ³Um-mi-na-ra ⁴dam En-nam-A-šur ⁵kù-babbar a-na Šu-iš-kà-/na ⁶ta-dí-na : é^{ti} ⁷ša Šu-iš-ku-na ⁸ta-áš-ú¹-mu ⁹ša Um-mi-na-ra lo.e. ¹⁰la ta-qá-bi ¹¹Šu-iš-ku-na rev. ¹²um-ma ši-it-ma ¹³é^{ti}-a a-na ¹⁴wa-ša-bu-tim ¹⁵ki-a-ma : wa-áš-ba-at ¹⁶é^{ti} ša Um-mi-na-/ra ¹⁷kù-babbar ta-áš-qú-ul ¹⁸igi Áb-ša-lim ¹⁹igi Šu-pi-a-ah-šu ²⁰igi Šé-šú-ur

¹⁻⁶½ mina, 3 shekels of silver, price of the house of Ikūnum; Umminara, wife of Enna-Aššur, gave the silver to Šuiškuna. ⁶⁻⁹Concerning the house that Šuiškuna bought, it (belongs) to Umminara. ¹⁰⁻¹²Šuiškuna must not say as follows: ¹³“(It is) my house.” ¹³⁻¹⁵But she may go on living in (it) as she has been. ¹⁶⁻¹⁷The house (belongs) to Umminara: she paid the silver.

¹⁸⁻²⁰In the presence of Ab-šalim, Šuppiahšu, and Šēšur.

Bibliography: Text published by Wilcke (1983, 194–96, as *Or* 52, 1) (Prä-historische Staatssammlung 1979.1191, Munich); edited by Kienast (1984, no. 39).

Comments: Umminara, wife of Ennum-Aššur, buys a house through another woman, Šuiškuna, who is living in it. Šuiškuna is allowed to stay in the house after the transaction. We do not know if there was a family connection between these two women.

This sale contract concerns the same house and presumably the same transaction as 149. The seller of the house is not mentioned in this contract, but it must be Peruwa. The price announced is ¾ shekel less than in the previous contract.

Lines 14–15: these lines mean that she may live in the house only as tenant.

151. An Anatolian Woman Buys a House from Anatolians

Obv. ¹kišib Ni-ni kišib A-lá-bi?-za* ²(seal A) ³kišib Tù-hu-na-ra kišib ⁴I-li-a kišib Ha-bi₄-a ⁵kišib A-lá-ša-ki kišib ⁶Ta-mu-ri-a kišib Kà-li-a ⁷(seal B, stamp seal, 2 times) ⁸kišib Ša-da-ah-šu lo.e. ⁹(seal C, stamp seal, 3 times) rev. ¹⁰1 ma-na kù-babbar ší-im ¹¹(seal D) ¹²é^{be-tí} ša Ta-mu-ri-/a ¹³qá¹(IŠ)-dí na-dí-ša ù ¹⁴ku-nu-ki-ša Ha-ta-šu-šar ¹⁵a-na Ta-mu-ri-a ¹⁶Ša-da-ah-<šu> ù Kà-li-a ¹⁷ta-áš-qú^{qúl} šu-ma ¹⁸Ma-da-da ú šé-ru-šu ¹⁹i-tù-ru-ší-im ²⁰5 ma-na kù-babbar u.e. ²¹(seal A) ²²i-ša-qú-lu-ší-im le.e. ²³(seal E)* r.e. ²⁴(seal F)*

¹⁻⁸Seal of Nini; seal of Alabiza; seal of Tuhunara; seal of Iliya; seal of Habiya; seal of Alašaki; seal of Tamuriya; seal of Kaliya; seal of Šadahšu.

¹⁰⁻¹⁷1 mina of silver, price of the house of Tamuriya, with her [...] and her seal, Hatašušar paid to Tamuriya, Šadahšu, and Kaliya. ¹⁷⁻¹⁹If Madada

and his children raise a claim against her, ^{20–22}they shall pay her 5 minas of silver.

Bibliography: Envelope published by Bayram and Veenhof (1992, 96–97, no. 3 [Kt j/k 39]); collated May 2012.

Comments: The house is sold by three people, but only Tamuriya is living in it, since the house is referred to as his. No explanation is offered concerning the possible claim raised by Madada and his (or her) children.

Line 13: the editors proposed the reading ^{giš?}DÍ-NA-DÍ-ša, but do not give a translation; see Bayram and Veenhof 1992, 97 n. 4.

152. An Anatolian Woman Buys a House from Anatolians

Obv. ¹šī-im é^{ti} ša Wa-al-/ha-áš-na ²Kà-ba-šu-nu-wa : ³Lu-lu ù Wa-al-ha-áš-na ⁴Šu-pì-a-šu-wa : tù-ša-bi₄-šu-nu ⁵a-na Šu-pì-a-šu-wa ⁶ma-ma-an lá i-tù-wa-ar ⁷ša a-na é^{be-té} ⁸i-tù-ru-šī-ni ⁹5 ma-na kù-babbar lo.e. ¹⁰a-na Šu-pì-a-šu-wa rev. ¹¹i-ša-qal ¹²igi Ša-ha-ša-ra ¹³igi Pè-ru-a ¹⁴igi Ša-ha-ša-ra ¹⁵dumu Kà-ba-šu-nu-a

^{1–4}(With) the price of the house of Walhašna, Šuppiašuwa satisfied Kabašunu(w)a, Lulu, and Walhašna. ^{5–6}No one shall raise a claim against Šuppiašuwa. ^{7–8}Anyone who raises a claim against her for the house ^{9–10}shall pay 5 minas of silver to Šuppiašuwa.

^{12–15}In the presence of Šahašara, Peru(w)a, and Šahašara, son of Kabašunu(w)a.

Bibliography: Text published by Bayram and Veenhof (1992, 97–98, no. 4 [Kt 80/k 25]); collated May 2012.

Comments: As in the previous text, an Anatolian buys a house from three Anatolians, but the house seems to be inhabited only by one of them, Walhašna. The penalty in case of claim is very high, as in the previous text: five minas of silver.

There are two people named Šahašara among the witnesses; one is referred to with his patronymic.

153. Sale of a House by an Anatolian Couple

Obv. ¹[...] ²[be-ta-tim] a-ší-mì-im ³i-dí-in-(erasure)-ma ⁴a-na ^{1/3} [ma]-na
¹ gín ⁵kù-babbar Zu-wa ⁶ú A-ba-ba a-ša-sú ⁷iš-ú-mu-šu-nu ⁸šu-ma a-ma-
 tí-ma ⁹a-šu-mì é^{be-tim} ¹⁰lu tù-zì-num lo.e. ¹¹lu be-el hu-b[u-lim] ¹²lu ma-
 ma-an ¹³a-na Zu-w[a] rev. ¹⁴ú A-ba-ba ¹⁵a-ší-tí-šu i-tù-ar ¹⁶1 ma-na kù-
 babbar ¹⁷i-ša-qal-šu-nu-tí ¹⁸igi Ha-nu igi Ku-ku-ú ¹⁹igi Wa-ší-nu-ma-an
²⁰igi Ni-wa-ah-šu

¹[...] ^{2'-3'}sold the ["houses"] and ^{4'-7'}Zuwa and Ababa, his wife, bought them for ^{1/3} [mi]na, 1 shekel of silver. ^{8'-15'}If ever, concerning the house, either the *tuzinnum*, the creditor or any one raises a claim against Zuwa and Ababa, his wife, ^{16'-17'}he shall pay them 1 mina of silver.

^{18'-20'}In the presence of Hanu, Kukū, Wašinuman, and Niwahšu.

Bibliography: Text edited by Kienast (1984, no. 22) as Kay 4369.

Comments: An Anatolian couple bought a house for twenty-one shekels of silver; the name of the seller(s) is broken.

Line 7': the plural of the verbal form imposes the restitution *bētātim* in line 2'. But this does not necessarily mean that several houses were sold; the small price might refer to rooms gathered to form one house (line 9'; the word is singular); see note to text 244.

154. Moving into a New Home

Obv. ¹um-ma ^dEn-líl-ba-ni-ma ²a-na A-šur-gal A-lá-hi-im ³Áb-ša-lim «ú»
 Ša-ak-ri-el-kà ⁴ú I-dí-^dutu qí-bi-ma ⁵šu-ma ú-nu-tum i-ta-dí-ma ⁶ma ha-
 ra-nu-um wa-šu-ra-at ⁷ú-nu-tám šu-um-šu¹ ša i-be-tim ⁸i-ba-ší-ú a-na be-
 tim ⁹e-ší-im šé-ri-ba-ma ¹⁰é-gal^{lim} ú du-ri-ni ¹¹i-ku-nu-ki-ku-nu ku-un-kà-/
 ma ¹²ma-ma-an lá i-pá-té ¹³lu qé-mu-um lu ar-ša-tum ¹⁴a-šar še-um i-ba-
 ší-ú ¹⁵šé-ri-ba-ma pì-ih-a rev. ¹⁶ma-lá té-zi-ba-ni ¹⁷me-eh-ra-am a-na am-/
 tim ¹⁸dí-na ú ša-ni-am ¹⁹i-na é-gal^{lim} ez-ba-ma ²⁰am-tum iš-tí : A-lá-hi-im
²¹lu ta-ta-al-kam ²²1 am-tam Ki-lá-ri-tám ²³a-ší-mì-im dí-na-ší ²⁴I-dí-^dutu
 ú am-tám ra-bi₄-tám ²⁵a-šar be-tim na-hi-da-/ma ²⁶ku-nu-ki ša é-gal^{lim} ²⁷ú
 du-ri-ni lu-ša-ší-ru a-na ²⁸ba-áp¹-pí-ri ša é Šu-Ištar ²⁹ma-ma-[an] lá i-ṭá-hi
³⁰1/2 ma-na kù-babbar um-ma-ša ³¹ša am-tim ha-bu-lá-at le.e. ³²tup-pá-ša
 hi-ir-ma-ma a-na Áb-ša-lim ³³dí-na a-ha-ma 7 1/2 gín kù-babbar ha-bu-/lá-

am ³⁴*ša-áš-qí-lá-ší šu-ma še-am ta-š[a-qá-al]* ³⁵*a-li-bi₄ še-im-ma šu-up-kà-šu an-[na]* ³⁶*3 gín kù-babbar ú ší-it-ra-[am]*

¹⁻⁴Thus (says) Enlil-bāni: say to Aššur-rabi, Ali-ahum, Ab-šalim, Šakri-elka, and Iddin-Šamaš.

⁵⁻⁶If the goods have been deposited, and the road has been given free, ⁷⁻⁹then bring all the goods that are in the house into the new house, and ¹⁰⁻¹¹seal with your seals the main room and the *surrounding rooms*; ¹²nobody should open them. ¹³⁻¹⁵Either flour or wheat, wherever grain there is, bring it in and lock it up. ¹⁶⁻¹⁸Give the female slave a list of everything you have left behind, and ¹⁸⁻¹⁹leave another (copy) in the main room, ²⁰⁻²¹then let the female slave come with Ali-ahum. ²²⁻²³Sell one Kilarian female slave. ²⁴⁻²⁷Instruct Iddin-Šamaš and the senior female slave concerning the entire building that they watch carefully the seals of the main room and the *surrounding rooms*. ²⁷⁻²⁹Nobody should approach the beer breads of the house of Šu-Ištar.

³⁰⁻³¹The mother of the female slave owes me ½ mina of silver; ³²⁻³³draw up her valid sealed record and give it to Ab-šalim. ³³⁻³⁴In addition, she owes me 7½ shekels of silver, so make her pay! ³⁴⁻³⁵If she pays (her debt) in barley, add it to the stock of barley already stored.

³⁵⁻³⁶There is some tin, for an amount of 3 shekels of silver and a shawl.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Smith as CCT 3, 14; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 339). Lines 5–9 cited by Balkan (1957, 17); lines 10–27 by Michel (1997b, 287).

Comments: This letter, addressed to a woman (Ab-šalim) and her female slave (Šakri-elka) among other addressees, refers to moving from an old to a new home, and reveals the organization of the second one: it comprises a large main room surrounded by smaller rooms. In the household, one female slave was designated as the head of the female domestic staff.

Line 32: literally, “put her tablet into a sealed case.”

155. Watching the House and Its Contents

Obv. ¹*um-ma Puzur₄-Ištar-ma* ²*a-na Ištar-lá-ma-sí* ³*qí-bi₄-ma* : *a-ma-kam* (erasure) ⁴*a-šar* : *é^{tim} ša-ší-ri* ⁵*8 gú* ⁶*50 ma-na* ⁷*an-na* : *ku-nu-ku-ú* ⁸*i-na hu-*

ur-ší-im ⁸*i-na ma-ša-ar-tim* ⁹*ma-hi-ri-im* (sic) ¹⁰*me-at 30 túg^{hi-a}* lo.e. ¹¹*ša qá-tim* ¹²*me-at 20 túg^{hi-a}* rev. ¹³*sig^{tum}* ¹⁴*13 anše^{hi-a}* ¹⁵*ša-lá-me-ú mī-ma* ¹⁶*a-nim : i-na* ¹⁷*é^{tim}* *ku-nu-[k]e-e* ¹⁸*e-zi-ba-ki-im* ¹⁹*a-pu-tum : a-na ki-dim* ²⁰*a-e-ma : lá tù-ší-i* ²¹*a-dí : té-er-tí za-ku-sà* ²²*ta-ša-me-i-ni*

¹⁻³Thus (says) Puzur-Ištar: say to Ištar-lamassī.

³⁻⁴There, watch over the house.

⁵⁻⁹(There are) 8 talents, 50 minas of sealed tin in the store of the foremost strong room, ¹⁰⁻¹⁵2 hundred 30 ordinary textiles, 1 hundred 20 good-quality textiles, 13 black donkeys; ¹⁵⁻¹⁸all the (merchandise) I left you in the house under seal.

¹⁹⁻²²Urgent! Do not leave for anywhere outside before you have heard clear instructions from me (on what you shall do with all this).

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Veenhof as VS 26, 53; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 362).

Comments: Daughter of Aššur-nādā and his Anatolian wife, Šiṣahšušar, Ištar-lamassī was the *amtum*-wife of Puzur-Ištar, the writer of this letter (23). In the house in which she was living in Kaneš, her husband left large amounts of merchandise, tin, and textiles. Because of these, he asks his wife to stay at home and watch carefully his goods. She is presumably also in charge of the donkeys.

Line 9: *ma-hi-ri-im* is a mistake for *mahrīm*.

156. Watching the House

Obv. ¹*um-ma A-šur-lá-ma-/sí* ²*ù A-šur-gal-ma* ³*a-na Áb-ša'-lim* ⁴*ù Ší-ik-ri-el-kà* ⁵*qí-bi-ma šál-ma-ni* ⁶*mī-ma lá ta-ra-ší* ⁷*a-pu-tum a-šar* lo.e. ⁸*é^{be-tim}* rev. ⁹*ša-ší-ra* ¹⁰*šu-ma dingir-ták-lá-ku* ¹¹*iš-tù Tí-mi-<il₅>-ki-a* ¹²*i-tal-kam ú-ul* ¹³*ma-ma-an i-šú-ha-ri* ¹⁴*i-li-kam* u.e. ¹⁵*lá ta-[k]à-lá-a* ¹⁶*ṭur₄-da-nim* le.e. ¹⁷*a-Ší-ik-ri-il₅-kà* ¹⁸*qí-bi₄-ma a-pu-tum* ¹⁹*ma-ma-an*

¹⁻⁵Thus (say) Aššur-lamassī and Aššur-rabi: say to Ab-šalim and Šikri-elka.

⁵⁻⁶We are fine; do not worry. ⁷⁻⁹Urgent! Watch over the house. ¹⁰⁻¹²If Ilī-taklāku arrived from Tim<il>kiya, ¹²⁻¹⁴or if any of the servants arrived, ¹⁵⁻¹⁶you should not hinder (him); send (him) here.

¹⁷⁻¹⁹Say to Šikri-elka. Urgent! Whoever [...]

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Stephens as BIN 6, 5; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 337). Lines 7–9 cited by Michel (1997b, 287).

Comments: Šikri-elka (written Šakri-elka in the previous text, 154) is the servant of Ab-šalim and lives with her at Kaneš. This letter must have contained a second page that is lost.

FARMING ACTIVITIES OF ANATOLIAN WOMEN

Letters sent by Assyrians to their Anatolian wives, along with contracts, permit the reconstruction of certain activities of these women at Kaneš. Unlike the women at Aššur, who were mostly concerned about how their textile production would fare on the international market, the Anatolian women at Kaneš never even mention any weaving activities, but textiles tools have been found in their houses.⁵⁵ Among their day-to-day tasks was agriculture, something unattested for women at Aššur, who bought at the market grain and meat needed to feed their children and their household.

The letters sent by Aššur-nādā to his wife Šiśahšušar, for instance, refer periodically to fieldwork.⁵⁶ She was supposed to supervise the purchase of good quality cattle and collect fodder to feed them (319), then prepare them for plowing (157). She was also in contact with local peasants, who delivered to her large quantities of grain (132). She bought straw, wood, reeds, and various utensils for the house and for the fieldwork. Likewise, Kunnaniya got instructions from her husband, Aššur-mūtappil, about raising pigs, which she was responsible for (158).

Anatolian women raised a few cattle and pigs (161), the latter probably in their back courtyards. Sheep are not mentioned. The stock was fed on bran and barley; pigs were fed to fatten them (158). Women could use the leftovers from their daily beer production, especially the dregs after the wort had been filtered. This was not suitable for human consumption but was an excellent dietary supplement for domestic animals.⁵⁷

Livestock could be bought by the head or in lots (161). The sale contract 159 records the purchase by an Anatolian merchant of a number of animals from an Anatolian couple. It was drawn up in the presence of several witnesses who sealed it, among whom was Wašhupa, chief of the

55. Veenhof 1972, 103–23; Michel 2006b.

56. For Šiśahšušar, see Michel 2001a, 476–80; Larsen 2002, xxix.

57. Michel 2009d, with previous bibliography.

market. At the market, goods both local and from other places in Anatolia were exchanged, including slaves, livestock, textiles, foods, and metals.

The involvement of Anatolian women in agriculture and husbandry explains why they seldom traveled, unlike the Assyrian wives of merchants who came to live at Kaneš, who tended to go with their husbands on business trips in Asia Minor.⁵⁸ A few Assyrian women seem to have owned or managed an ox, used to draw a wagon (160).

157. Preparing Oxen for Plowing

Obv. ¹*a-na A-lá-hi-im* ²*E-me-me ù Ší-ša-ah-/šu-šar* ³*qí-bi-ma* ⁴ $\frac{1}{3}$ *ma-na*
 1 *gín kù-babbar* ⁵*ku-nu-ki-a* *Puzur*₄-*A-šur* ⁶*na-áš-a-ku-nu-tí* ⁷*e-ší* : *ù qá-nu-*
e ⁸*tí-ša-a-ma* *ša gu*₄^{hi-/a} ⁹*ša-da-dim* ¹⁰*li-iš-du-du-nim* lo.e. ¹¹*ša a-ma-kam-*
ma (erased sign) ¹²*ša ma-zi-re-e* rev. ¹³*ma-lá-hi ù ha-ba-/ša-tim* ¹⁴*ša-mì*
¹⁵*a-pu-tum mì-ma* ¹⁶*šu-mì-šu lu er-sú-ma* ¹⁷*i-na e-ra-bi₄-a-ma* ¹⁸*lu-ra-ṭi-ib*
¹⁹*šu-ma* ¹⁹*túg*^{hi-a} *ša Šu-Sú-en*₆ ²⁰*ù i-a-tí iš-tù* ²¹*Ur-šu ub-lu-nim* ²²*a-ma-kam-*
ma dí-na-ma ²³*ší-im-šu-nu zu-za* u.e. ²⁴*a-ni-um* : *a-na-kam* ²⁵*i-ta-an-ki-iš*
²⁶*šu-ma* le.e. ²⁷*Ku-du-bi₄-iš* : *kù-babbar mì-ma* ²⁸*e-ri-iš dí-na-šu-um*

¹⁻³Say to Ali-ahum, Ememe, and Šišahšušar: (thus says Aššur-nādā).

⁴⁻⁶Puzur-Aššur is bringing to you $\frac{1}{3}$ mina, 1 shekel of silver under my seal. ⁷⁻¹⁰Buy wood and reed, and let the oxen haul here as much as they can (in a wagon). ¹¹⁻¹⁴Buy whatever *mazīrum*-tin, *malāhum*, and *habašātum* (utensils) are available. ¹⁵⁻¹⁸Urgent! Make certain that everything is ready so that when I arrive, I can proceed immediately. ¹⁸⁻²¹If they bring the textiles belonging to Šu-Suen and myself from Uršu, ²²⁻²³sell them there and divide the proceeds; ²⁴⁻²⁵(all) this was set aside here. ²⁶⁻²⁸If Kudubiš asks for any silver, give him (some).

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Veenhof as VS 26, 20; edited by Larsen (2002, no. 58).

Comments: The author of the letter is presumably Aššur-nādā; see Larsen 2002, 83.

The oxen are used here to haul heavy and large materials, wood and reeds, perhaps to repair the house.

58. See chapter 1, texts 26–27.

Lines 12–13: the word *mazīrum* corresponds to a quality of tin, while *malāhum* and *habaštum* are household utensils; they are mentioned together with bowls in BIN 4, 118.

158. Pig Breeding

Obv. ¹*um-ma A-šur-mu-ta-p[i]-il₅* ²*a-na Kà-ru-nu-wa ù* ³*Ku-na-ni-a qí-bi₄-ma* ¹*pá-na-ra-/am* ⁴*iš-tù Za-al-[p]á* : *ub-lu-ni-/ki-im* ⁵*pá-ni-ri* ⁵*[+ x ma]-na* ⁶*síg^{hi-a}* ⁶*1 túg tí-sá-ba-a[m Šu-A]-šur ub-lá-ki-/im* ⁷*gín kù-bab[bar* ¹*pá-na-r]a-am* ⁸*A-šur-e-n[a-am ub-lá]-ki-im* ⁹*pá-ni-[ri A-šur-mu]-ta-pi-il₅* ¹⁰*ub-lá-k[i-im* ¹*pá]-na-ra-am* ¹¹*Ha-nu a-hu-u[m ša A]r-ší-ah* ¹²*[na]-pá-hi-im* : *ub-lá-ki-im* ¹³*[2 p]á-ni-ri* : *5 sí-sí-né-e* ¹⁴*[x m]a-na* ¹⁴*síg^{hi-a}* ¹*túg* ¹⁵*[tí-sá]-ba-am* ¹*túg ší-it-r[i]-a* lo.e. ¹⁶*[a-š]é-ni-šu* : *ma-áš-ku-nam* ¹⁷*[ša šú]-ba-tí-im* ¹*ší-it-ra-am* rev. ¹⁸*[r]i-ik-sú* ¹*ma-na* ¹⁰*gín* ¹⁹*[kù]-ki* ¹*mu-ša-lam* ²⁰*10 silá ì-giš ša ša-m[a-š]a-me* ²¹*1½ silá re-eš₁₅-tám ar-za-la-am* ²²*mì-ma a-nim* : *šú-ha-ru ub-lu-ni-ki-/im* ²³*pá-na-ra-am* ¹*sí-sí-nam* ²⁴*A-al-du₁₀* ¹*dumu Hu-ra-ší* ²⁵*ub-lá-ki-im* ¹*pá-na-ra-am* ²⁶*Ni-mar-Ištar* ¹*dumu Ba-lá* ²⁷*pá-na-ra-am* ²*sí-sí-né* ²⁸*kà-ša-ar A-zu-ta-a* ¹*dumu E-me-/me* ²⁹*ub-lá-ki-im* ³⁰*1 túg¹ ša lu-bu-ší-im* ³¹*ša šú-ùh-ri-im* u.e. ³²*Kà-ru-nu-wa* : *a-hu-[um ša]* ³³*A-li-li* ³⁴*ub-lá-k[i-im]* lo.e. ³⁵*šu-ma hu-zi-ru* : *lá i-kà-b[i₄-ru]* ³⁶*a-ší-mì-im* : *dí-na-šu-nu šu-ma* ³⁷*<i>-kà-bi₄-ru* : *li-zi-zu*

¹⁻³Thus (says) Aššur-mūtappil: say to Karunuwa and Kunnaniya.

³⁻⁴They are bringing you (fem.) ¹ *pannurum* from Zal[p]a. ⁵⁻⁶[Šu-A]ššur is bringing you ² *pannurum*, ⁵ [+ x mi]nas of wool, and ¹ *tisābum*-textile. ⁷⁻⁸Aššur-en[nam has bro]ught you ³ shekels of silv[er (and)] ¹ *pannurum*. ⁹⁻¹⁰[Aššur-mū]tappil is bringing you ² *panna[rum]*. ¹⁰⁻¹²Hanu, the brothe[r of A]ršiah, [the met]alworker is bringing you ¹ *pa]nnarum*.

¹³⁻¹⁵[² *p]annarum*, ⁵ brooms, [x m]inas of wool, ¹ [*tisā*]bum-textile, ¹ shawl belonging to me, ¹⁶⁻¹⁹[a do]uble *maškunum* [for a te]xtile, ¹ shawl, ¹ package of ¹ mina, ¹⁰ shekels of [go]ld, ¹ mirror, ²⁰⁻²¹¹⁰ silas of sesame oil, ^{1½} sila of prime oil, ¹ *arzallum*-implement; ²²all this, the employees are bringing you.

²³⁻²⁵Āl-tāb, son of Huraši, brought you ¹ *pannurum* (and) ¹ broom. ²⁵⁻²⁶Nimar-Ištar, son of Bala, (brought you) ¹ *pannurum*. ²⁷⁻²⁹The shipper of Azutaya, son of Ememe, brought you ¹ *pannurum* (and) ² brooms.

³⁰⁻³⁴Karunuwa, the broth[er of] Alili, brou[ght you] 1 textile as garment for a child.

³⁵⁻³⁷If the pigs do not become fat, offer them for sale, (but) if they become fat, let them stay.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Stephens as BIN 6, 84.

Comments: Aššur-mūtappil details for his Anatolian wife the list of objects and foodstuffs he has sent. He gives her advice about the pigs she is breeding. Anatolian women had a few pigs in their courtyard for the consumption of the family (Michel 2006d). For the lady Kunnaniya, see Michel 1997e and chapter 6 of this book, pp. 444–59.

Lines 13, 23: the brooms, *sissinum*, are made of date spadices; see Sturm 1999.

Line 15: the *tisābum* is a native Anatolian textile product; see Michel and Veenhof 2010, 245.

Line 16: the *maškunum* is a textile used as a kind of cover or pouch; see Michel and Veenhof 2010, 236.

Lines 5, 7, 9–10, 13, 23, 25, 27: for *pannurum*, see the comments on text 136.

159. Selling Pigs

Envelope

Obv. ¹kišib *Ku-lá* ²kišib *Šál-ku-a-ta* ³kišib *Wa-áš-hu-ba gal ma-/hi-ri* ⁴kišib *Ma-nu-kà-a* ⁵kišib *Du-/du* ⁶kišib *Pé-er-wa* ⁷kišib *Mu-lá* ⁸*a-ší-tí-šu hu-zi-ri* ⁹*ša Pé-er-wa ù Mu-lá* ¹⁰*a-ša-sú a-na* ¹¹(seal) ¹²*E-ni-iš-ru i-dí-nu-ni* ¹³kù-babbar *ší-im* ¹⁴(seal) ¹⁵*hu-zi-ri-šu-nu* ¹⁶*Pé-er-wa ù Mu-lá* ¹⁷*a-ša-sú ša-bu-ú* ¹⁸(seal) ¹⁹*a-na šu-mi hu-zí-ri ù ší-mi-šu* ²⁰*Pé-er-wa ù Mu-lá* ²¹*a-ša-sú a-na E-ni-iš-ru lá i-tù-/ru* ²²*šu-ma i-tù-ru* ²³*ma-na kù-babbar a-na* ²⁴(seal) ²⁵*E-ni-iš-ru i-ša-q[ú]-lu*

¹⁻⁵Seal of Kulā; seal of Šalkuata; seal of Wašhuba, the chief of the market; seal of Manukaya; seal of Dudu; seal of Per(u)wa; seal of Mula, his *aššutum*-wife.

⁶⁻¹⁰As the pigs that Per(u)wa and Mula, his wife, sold to Eni(a)ru, ¹¹⁻¹⁵Per(u)wa and Mula, his wife, have been satisfied with the silver, price of their pigs. ¹⁷⁻¹⁹Concerning the pigs and their price, Per(u)wa and Mula,

his wife, shall not raise a claim against Eniš(a)ru.²⁰⁻²³ If they raise a claim, they shall pay 1 mina of silver to Eniš(a)ru.

Bibliography: Tablet published in copy by Smith and Wiseman as CCT 5, 26a. Text edited by Kienast (1984, no. 25); lines 6–18 cited by Michel (2006d, 172 n. 12).

Comments: According to this contract, an Anatolian couple sold their pigs to a wealthy Anatolian merchant, Eniš(a)ru, whose business has been studied by Veenhof (1978). The number of pigs and their price is not specified.

160. Assyrians Owning Oxen

Obv. ¹*um-ma* [*Bu-za-zu-ma*] ²*a-na Lá-ma-ša* : *qí-bi-ma* ³*i-ša-am-ší* : *ṭup-pá-am* ⁴*ú-lá-pí-ta-ki-ni* ⁵*ku-šú*¹(BA)-*um* : *i-pá-tá-ar-ma* ⁶*a-na* 10 *u₄-me-e ú-ší-a-am* ⁷*ú-tá-tám lu ša Tár-ma-na* ⁸*lu ša Ha-tí-a-ar* ⁹*lu ša Tù-ru-ùh-na* ¹⁰*ma-lá* : *i-dí-nu-ni-ki-ni* ¹¹*iš-tí* : *Ku-ku-zi úz-ni* rev. ¹²*pè-tí* : *ù a-na ší-tí* ¹³*ú-tí-tim* : *ih-dí-ma* ¹⁴*lá-ma a-li-kà-ni* ¹⁵*ša-dí-ni-šu-nu* : *al-pu* ¹⁶*lá i-re-qú* ¹⁷*Ša-ak-ri-ú-ma-an* ¹⁸*qá-nu-e* : *li-iz-bi₄-lam* ¹⁹*šu-ma kù-babbar* 5 *gín* ²⁰*ta-ha-ší-hi* : *ú-ul* ²¹*Ku-lu-ma-a* : *ú-ul* ²²*Be-lá-num* : *iš-té-en₆* ²³*i-[na ba-ri-šu-nu]* le.e. ²⁴*li-dí-na-ki-im* ²⁵*šu-ma* : *am-tám* : *ša Zi-zi-im* ²⁶*ta-ha-ší-hi* : *šu-up-ri-im*

¹⁻²Thus (says) [Buzāzu]: say to Lamaša.

³⁻⁵The very day I am writing this tablet for you, winter is about to end, and ⁶I will leave within 10 days. ⁷⁻¹²Inform me via Kukuzi how much grain, either from Tarmana, Hatī'ar, or Turuhna, they gave you. ¹²⁻¹⁵And, take care, before my arrival, to collect the balance of the grain from them.

¹⁵⁻¹⁸The oxen must not be idle; let Šakriuman bring me reeds.

¹⁹⁻²⁴If you need some silver, up to five shekels, either Kulumaya or Bēlānum, one of [them], should give (it) to you. ²⁵⁻²⁶If you need a maid from Zizum, (then) write to me.

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Smith as CCT 3, 48b; translated by Michel (2001a, no. 364).

Comments: The author of this letter is presumably the Buzāzu who also sent 134, 162, CCT 6, 3b, and TC 3, 98, to Lamaša, his Assyrian wife living

in Kaneš. She is, perhaps, the owner of oxen to be used to haul a wagon-load of reeds. Many of the people mentioned in this letter are Anatolians.

161. Instructions about Oxen before a Departure

Obv. ¹*um-ma Bu-za-zu-ma a-na* ²*Lá-ma-ša qí-bi₄-ma* ³*šú-ha-re-e : a-na* *N[i¹-ih]-ri-a* ⁴*áš-ta-pá-ar a-dí* ⁵*u₄-me-e* ⁵*i-ma-qú-tù¹-ni-ma* ⁶*anše^{hi-a}* ⁶*ú-ul* ³*a-na* ⁷*[š]é-ri-ki* ⁷*ú-šé-ru-ú-ni-ki-im* ⁸*a-mi-ša-am e-ra-bi₄ : lá-šu* ⁹*ú-tù-up-tí* *ú ma-lá* ¹⁰*i-na* *ṭup-pi-im a-lá-pá-ta-/ki-ni* ¹¹*i-pá-ni-ki : tù-šé-ša-am* ¹²*gu₄^{hi-a}* *lu ša-a^l(A)-mu-tim* ¹³*lu ma-ar-šú-tim ma-lá* ¹⁴*té-er-tí-a ša šú-ha-ri* ¹⁵*ú-bu-lu-ni-ki-ni rev.* ¹⁶*i-nu-mi-šu-ma ep-ši-i* ¹⁷*a-dí* ¹⁰*u₄-me-e lá ta-ha-dá-/[r]i* ¹⁸*lu sú-a-tim lu* ¹⁹*ta-as-kà-ri-ni* ²⁰*kà-lá-šu-nu lu it-qú-/ra-<tim>* ²¹*ša sí-pá-ri-im* ²²*lu ša a-šar I-na-a* ²³*i-ba-ši-ú er-ši-ma* ²⁴*i-pá-ni-ki bi₄-lim* ²⁵*ša-hi-ra-tum lu sig₅* ²⁶*[e]-ru-ma e-ru-i-a* ²⁷*lu ma-ṭí-a-tim* ²⁸*[a[?]]-ha-ra-nim ma-dí-iš le.e.* ²⁹*[x]-nu-sú a-pu-tum mi-ma* ³⁰*[ú]-nu-tim lu [r]a-ku-sà anše* ³¹*a-dí a-ša-pá-<ra>-ni lu er-sú-a*

¹⁻²Thus (says) Buzāzu: say to Lamaša.

³⁻⁵I just sent the servants to N[ih]riya. They will arrive within 5 days, ⁵⁻⁷and they will lead 2 or 3 donkeys to you. ⁸I have not planned to go over there. ⁹⁻¹¹You will move out the furniture and whatever else I will write down for you on a tablet before your departure. ¹²⁻¹⁶(Concerning) the oxen, whether sound or sick, act immediately according to my instructions that my servants will bring you. ¹⁷Do not delay this over 10 days!

¹⁸⁻²³Ask the *sûm*-stones, boxwood, all that are available, or bronze ladles, or whatever is with Innaya, and ²⁴bring everything here yourself. ²⁵The shoe straps must be of good quality, ²⁶⁻²⁷*the copper as well because my own copper* is really bad! ²⁸⁻²⁹For the caravan, (there is) a lot of [...][!] ²⁹⁻³⁰Urgent! All the merchandise must be packed, (and) ³⁰⁻³¹when I will write, the donkey must be ready!

Bibliography: Text published in copy by Smith as CCT 4, 36b–37a; edited by Michel (1991, no. 252); translated by Michel (2001a, no. 365).

Comments: Lamaša receives instructions in Kaneš concerning oxen, then various objects that she has to bring personally to her husband, Buzāzu. Since she is going to leave her home for a while, she might have to entrust it to someone or to sell the oxen.

Line 25: the *šahirum* might be a part of a shoe or sandal; it is translated here as “shoe straps.” The reading of line 26 is not certain.

Line 31: the verbal form is feminine, but it should be masculine, the subject being the donkey(s).